December 14, 1946

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
Suite 305, 11 Pryor Street, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Alex:

Your letter of November 27 got covered up in a great pile of correspondence that I have been trying to catch up with. I read your note and the attached news story from Miami with much interest. I think that the Dade County Civil Rights Council is to be congratulated upon taking the stand it did on the cancellation of the football game between Miami and Penn State.

I am not quite sure that Atlanta is ready for a similar council on Civil Rights, but it is something that ought to be explored. I suggest that we take it up at the next meeting of Our Committee.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:mp

Southeastern Regional Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith
~~608 PETERS BUILDING~~
~~ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA~~
TELEPHONE CYPRESS 1618

RECEIVED
NOV 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON,
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
RICHARD E. GUTSTADT,
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
FRANK GARSON,
COMMISSIONER SOUTHEASTERN REGION
ALEXANDER F. MILLER,
DIRECTOR SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

NEW ADDRESS → SUITE 305
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

November 27, 1946

Dear Guy:

You will be interested in the attached copy of a news story from the Miami Herald, concerning the cancellation of the University of Miami--Penn State football game.

I am proud of the fact that our Miami office of the Anti-Defamation League is part of the Dade County Civil Rights council and is one of the strongest motivating forces behind the council.

I am sure you will agree with me that councils like this are a distinct step forward in the pattern of the South. At this point, however, I am not sure how many other southern cities, outside of Miami, are ready for Civil Rights councils.

I would be keenly interested in your thinking on this point.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/kre

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

THE MIAMI HERALD
November 22, 1946

Group Hits Cancellation

Of Penn State Grid Game

The Dade County Civil Rights council Thursday attacked the action of President Bowman F. Ashe of the University of Miami in canceling a Miami--Penn State football game, because the Northern team has negro players, as a "disservice" to harmonious race relationships.

"A blind acceptance of the alleged existence of 'two separate cultures in the South' runs counter to our democratic concepts," the council declared in a letter to Dr. Ashe.

The university president had cited existence of "two separate cultures" in a letter to Ralph D. Hetzel, Penn State president, as the basis for his decision to cancel the game.

"In our view," the council's letter asserted, "a great university ...should provide progressive leadership in the community and not endeavor to hide between customs and traditions which retard true human progress.

"Negro and white soldiers fought together during World War II, and many of them died together. They certainly should be good enough to play football together anywhere in these United States."

The Dade County Civil Rights council was formed recently of representatives from numerous civic, religious, fraternal, veteran, labor and community organizations. President is the Rev. Joseph Barth who is resuming the pastorate of the Miami Unitarian church.

In further explanation of its stand that cancellation of the game damaged race relations, the council's letter commented:

"The American tradition of fair play is deeply imbedded in the concept of good sportsmanship as we know it.

"The council feels that you also ran counter to the ideals of good sportsmanship in your action in this matter.

"The sportsmanlike, as well as the democratic, thing to have done would have been to let the two teams play in the normal manner...

"With positive action on your part, 'unfortunate incidents' could have been avoided and the game played as scheduled."

The council's letter concluded with an expressed hope that Dr. Ashe will reconsider his action and rescind the cancellation.

Dr. Ashe said he had "no comment."

1 Arts - Defamation League

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON, CHAIRMAN

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
B'NAI B'RITH

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PORTLAND 4, OREGON

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(NORTHERN CALIFORNIA)
110 SUTTER STREET
SAN FRANCISCO 4, CALIFORNIA

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
415 ROOSEVELT BLDG.
LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA

March 27, 1947

Mr. GeorgeS. Mitchell
% Southern Regional Council Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, North East
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Frederick Kraut from our New York office has informed me that he has received from you the first draft of a directory of veteran's organizations in the South. Mr. Kraut has also informed us that you were gracious enough to offer your assistance in veteran matters which we endeavor to promote.

The Veterans Department of the Anti-Defamation League cooperates with all major legitimate veterans organizations in the effort to combat intolerance and promote unity and better understanding in the field of veterans organizations.

Let me briefly tell you some of the services whichwe offer:

We have at our disposal display material and cartoons designed by the Pulitzer Prize winning cartoonist Shoemaker from the Chicago Daily News, as well as some easily readable literature material. All this lends itself to distribution in veteran posts.

It is possible for us to make available some visual material (film and film strips) for Americanism activities of veteran posts. In the near future we also hope to make available effective radio transcriptions.

At present we also entertain a free editorial service - brief articles dealing specifically with problems of vital importance to ex-service men. These articles can be printed without credit or by-line. I enclose a few samples for your perusal. Let me say that these articles can be printed in veteran papers as well as in local publications.

We have also on hand brief outlines for simple and lively veteran discussion groups and forums which can be used in connection with educational activities (if any) of veteran posts. There are more services this department has to offer and I will be happy to tell you about them if you should feel that you may be able to assist our endeavors in the veteran field.

I wish to thank you once more for your interest and cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Hans Adler

Hans Adler, Ass't Director
Veteran Relations Department

HA:be

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

EDUCATION - PLEASE!

It gives us a kick to announce that ANTHROPOLOGY has done well in recent years. Anthropology has become a recognized science of the physical and mental development of you and me and him and her everywhere all over this screwy planet.

So far so good. We'll be back with anthropology in a minute.

*

Meanwhile, it gives us an absolute pain in the neck to conclude that many unfair deals repeat themselves throughout history. Listen to this:

In the 16th Century, the University of Padua in Italy turned thumbs down on boys who had less than 1000 silver ducats in the bank. In 1887, few Russian universities granted academic degrees to fellows who were broke. In addition, certain Russian law-makers limited the enrollment of boys of Jewish faith, in middle and higher schools, to 2%. In 1920, some Hungarian reactionaries set up the ugly concept of the NUMERUS CLAUSUS which nailed that nation's education to the totem-pole of bigotry and prejudice.

In 1923, some Polish law-makers dragged race and religion into selective admission and decided to stick by quotas come hell, high-water or the League of Nations. In 1926, a few thick-headed Rumanian Legislators excluded students of all minority backgrounds from University study. And in 1935, Nazi law-makers in Nuremberg manufactured "laws" that stated, among other things, that you, dear American reader, are a degenerate moron of a degenerate race. Moreover, these Nuremberg laws were alleged to "protect German blood and German honor", and to prevent anybody from university study who couldn't show a fluff of strictly blond Teuton hair beneath his nose.

And in this year of our Lord, 1947, in this most progressive country on earth, some Universities, proud of their departments of anthropology which unmasked the hoax of German race theories refuse to admit students because of their race, color or creed.

*

Now admit, even if you were born in Chatawa, Mississippi, that you can't

possibly blame a Negro for going into fits of laughter whenever someone tries to hand him the time-honored spiel that "all men are created equal."

But let's assume that our Negro is a particularly patient fellow who consoles himself thinking: "Well, one day this equality business is going to come true like a jack-pot from heaven - after all, we have progressive people in this country."

After he consoles himself, he walks up to the University whose fine Anthropology Department has proved scientifically that black feet march exactly like white feet and that white noses sneeze exactly as black noses, and is promptly told, "No dice". "Why?" he asks timidly. Then it is tactfully suggested to him that black feet and black noses would feel uncomfortable in this lily-white sanctuary.

Than an applicant of Italian descent - and he may have a mind three times as powerful as Einstein's - is turned away because this repository of culture simply can't admit students of Italian background. "Not that we discriminate against citizens of Italian descent but..." You know the stalls.

Then, somewhere else, a Catholic boy, all keyed up to study chemistry, is made to realize that people who think about the Golgatha Incident in a different way won't be given a chance to learn chemistry at this institution. "Not that we discriminate against citizens of the Catholic faith, but..." Created equal - are we?

And somewhere else again, a Jewish fellow is told to go chase himself although he may be promising enough to kick cancer out of this world. "Not that we discriminate..."

*

The campus' outward calm is indeed not always a triumph of mind over pet dislikes. Beneath its monastic quiet, you may often find a whirlpool of the same bigotries as you may find at Duffy's Tavern on a Saturday night.

And don't kid yourself. The guilty parties in the universities don't simply drawl away and whimper on hearing accusations of the kind we make. Oh,

they offer explanations couched in plausible terms. Some explanations, in fact, sound so smooth and convincing that you have to look at them a couple of times before you discover the old fly in the new ointment.

But all that fancy fencing with words can't wipe out a few facts, facts which are taught with a straight face in the very universities guilty of discrimination.

Fact 1: That the right to education is a fundamental human right which is to be enjoyed by all. Repeat: BY ALL.

Fact 2: That racial and religious discrimination does not happen to be lawful in this country.

Fact 3: That all men are made by the Maker -- equal.

Somebody said something? How's that? Some men of certain racial origin lack the capacity needed for University study? Brother, you just walk to the next anthropologist and ask him. He'll tell you.

*

Why the fuss about discrimination? What can discrimination lead to? Finger around a bit in the phone-book and look for the number of the Graves-Registration Department of the United States Army. And then dial.

THE LESS LEVEL-HEADED

If a nut talks with an experienced psychiatrist, the latter won't be fooled even if the moron wears a 30 dollar hand-painted neck-tie and has a copy of Einstein's "Relativity Theory" sticking out of his hip-pocket.

And if a level-headed citizen talks with a subversive individual, the former can't be deceived even if the hate-peddler has a liberty-bell engraved on his signet-ring and wears a wrist-watch that plays "My country 'tis of thee" whenever one looks for the time.

But let's forget the psychiatrist and the sane citizen - it's the less level-headed man that worries us in general and it is the less level-headed veteran that worries us in particular.

There he is now, having fought a war the cause of which, basically - was nothing else but prejudice and the savage greed that sprang from it. There he is now, having slept in wet clothes, having walked with athlete's foot, having writhed with dysentery. There he is now, having seen his buddies' bowels splashed over the rocks of Iwo Jima and over the icy ground of the Huertgen forest. There he is now, a civilian, dancing cheek to cheek with his old bogey of racial and religious prejudice.

There he goes and, at times, he may be doggedly trailed by hate hawkers who spawn like salmon around any prospective victim. They'll watch him carefully because they only know too well that a spell of unemployment, a little illness or even a minor accident is likely to tip the frail balance of his mind, making him ready for their "treatment". And then one day they'll serve him the hate porridge---steaming hot.

*

They know their stuff. They'll assign the blame: "Thank the Catholics for your troubles! Thank the uppidy Negroes for your woes; And stay away from the Mormons and from the Christian Scientists, for God's sake!"

They'll apportion the responsibilities: "That's what you have to expect from the Baptists! And that's how you are fooled by the Quakers! And tricked by the 7th Day Adventists! And duped by the Jews who own, let me tell you, at least two thirds of the entire curling iron industry!"

They'll beat the racial tom-tom 'til it numbs the brain: "Look at your flawless pedigree! You don't want to mix with everybody, do you? Come to us! Join us! Join our super 200% American Veterans organization! Take a look at our Commander - his family was in this country at a time when princess Pocahontas was still not house-broken. Look at our treasurer - his family gave Chief-Sitting-Bull a pony for his fourth birthday. Join us, the "REAL WHITES"! Join us and your troubles will disappear like snow in a furnace!"

*

And then what happens? Then our less level-headed buddy may wriggle for a while; for a while he may play hard to get. But finally, he may miss his last chance to take the life-boat of sanity and find himself tied up in a straight-jacket of prejudice that has no give.

Sure, the "Star Spangled Banner" will drape everything. It will be used to muffle the noise of the shockingly foul tongues that harp on color, race and religion to prevent others to become shareholders in our daily bread. One day, our buddy will find himself sneakingly distributing little filthy lying slips of paper. One day, he'll find himself ringing door-bells to tell the folks behind the door that somebody behind another door ought to be punched in the snoot.

One day he'll find himself right in the middle of the pus-bloated scar of hate that disfigures the face of American life.

*

What to do with the less level-headed fellow? Warn him? Certainly. But it is our duty to tell him that a regular veterans organization can not offer him or anybody else a universal remedy for all his troubles. We must tell him

that even a 100 mile long line of dignified ancestors won't make him "one of the boys", if he himself turns out to be a heel.

*

That's about all. Oh, yes, we could also tell our less level-headed brother that although he still may be a sound apple, he could become rotten through sleeping with rotten apples in a heap.

We could try to prove to him that we are seriously trying to become a wholesome heap - but we may not be smart enough to make a rotten apple sound again.

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

SUITE 305 ELEVEN PRYOR STREET, S. W.
~~608 PETERS BUILDING~~

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Telephone CYpress 1618

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

April 23, 1947.

Dr. Harold Trigg,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorial Building,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Trigg:

Enclosed please find a copy of the pamphlet, "Race and Religion in Selective Admission" by Robert Redfield.

It is proposed that this pamphlet be distributed nationally to collegiate registrars, college presidents, leading educators, etc., etc. This pamphlet will be distributed under the joint sponsorship of organizations such as the Federal Council, National Catholic Welfare Board, National Conference of Christians and Jews, American Council on Race Relations, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the Anti-Defamation League. We would like to have the Southern Regional Council as one of the sponsors for this brilliant pamphlet. I would appreciate it if you or Dr. George Mitchell would advise me as soon as possible.

Cordially,

Alexander F. Miller.

Alexander F. Miller.

AFM:ak
Enclosure.

Ex Comm

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM: TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS: TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

RACE *and* RELIGION IN SELECTIVE ADMISSION

ROBERT REDFIELD
University of Chicago

Race and Religion in Selective Admission

ROBERT REDFIELD

THE INSTITUTIONS of higher learning of this country practice racial or religious discrimination in violation of a major principle of our national life. The truth of this general fact will not be seriously contested, although in any particular institution the discrimination there practiced may be denied, ignored or justified. I am today concerned with the justifications offered in defense of the practice of these discriminations in enrolling students. With those who deny or ignore that discrimination exists one cannot usefully discuss the principles of conduct involved. In large part, however, the practices are defended as wise or as necessary. It is these defenses that have my attention today. I bring them before you for examination, in the hope that discussion of them may help to clarify the duty and the opportunity of colleges and universities in meeting a common problem.

That the problem is common may not at once appear. Jews and Negroes are the two groups that notoriously experience discrimination, and the situations of the two may appear more different than similar. The relative difficulties of the Negro in obtaining a higher education form only a small part of his disadvantages and arise from a great system of institutions and attitudes rooted particularly in the history of our country, which relegate him to a position as a sort of half-citizen, or citizen with only secondary rights. The discriminations from which the Jew suffers are derived from prejudices ancient and world-wide; his social and educational advancement is as great as is that of the white gentile; and the obstacles to his enrollment or employment created by colleges and universities constitute one of the chief injustices of which he is conscious.

The Jew and the Negro are perhaps not always aware that each is engaged in the other's cause. Indeed, the different attitudes occasionally taken by Jew and Negro as to the application of a quota suggest viewpoints diametrically opposed. The Jew regards the quota as an unjust limitation on his right to compete in education and in the professions with non-Jews. On the other hand, some Negro leaders ask that Negroes be included in this association, in that com-

mittee or agency or other group, in proportion to their numbers in the national or local community. For the Negro, often denied any admission at all to a public group, the argument of proportionate representation offers an opening toward the improvement of his situation. For the Jew, the application of a quota prevents him from bettering his position in free competition. Whether or not the quota is defensible in either case is something to be considered later in this paper.

The differences as between North and South also obscure the common character of the problem. In the North the Negro is excluded, or his admission is made difficult, without the support of the law. But in seventeen states the denial of admission of Negro citizens to the principal institutions of higher learning is obedient to law as well as to custom. How can the colleges and universities take any single position with regard to racial discrimination in education when a great sub-community of the nation has made segregation, in a multitude of details of community life, a legal requirement? Do the colleges of the South then share with those of the North any common responsibility in the matter?

One may point out that one of the differences between North and South in regard to racial and religious discrimination makes each region the victim of discrimination practiced in the other. On the whole the Negro finds it less difficult to get a good higher education in the North than in the South, especially education in some of the professions, and therefore southern Negroes who have the means to do so go North for higher education. In some southern institutions, on the other hand, discrimination against the Jew, especially in medical schools, is less severe than it is in many northern institutions, and therefore some northern Jews go south for such higher education. In this way each major American region bears a burden of higher education which is thrust upon it by the greater discrimination practiced by institutions in the other region. Perhaps this fact alone provides a basis for consideration of the problem as common and national.

With regard to another ethnic group of students, the adventures in discrimination experienced by our colleges and universities in recent years did not divide into patterns along the Mason and Dixon line. I refer to United States citizens of Japanese parentage. Here, during the war, the obstacles to enrollment differed greatly from one institution to another, but not according to the location of the

institution in the North or in the South. Some colleges and universities showed more courage than others in admitting such students at a time when the Japanese-Americans were unjustly excluded as a group from participation in the national life. Some small colleges, especially some with church leadership, were bold in admitting Japanese-Americans against opposition in their local communities. Others—and some of the largest and most independent universities were included in this number—seemed positively eager to use the ambiguous and changing pronouncements of the War Department as to enrollment of Nisei students as a cover for their own disposition to discriminate. The large institution with war contracts to carry out and military officers close at hand often offered little resistance to advices that Nisei be excluded from its campus. Certain results were absurd. An administrative officer found himself denying admission as a student to some young Americans with Japanese parents, and perhaps on the same day signing a form appointing to the teaching faculty some Japanese alien hired to teach the Japanese language to soldiers of our army. The point in mind here is that the problems of discriminations in education raised by the removal and dispersion of Americans of Japanese origin were nation-wide, and presented to all of us in common terms the basic issues of ethnic discrimination in American education.

That the problem is in fact the same problem in all parts of the country and with regard to all minority groups appears from a mere statement of the principle of our national life and from recognition of discrimination as discrimination, no matter how explained locally.

The principle is simply that nothing granted one citizen is to be denied another by reason solely of his membership in a racial or religious group. Every fundamental American document has stated this principle, and no judicial decision, no great public pronouncement, has denied it. The inherent equality of all men with respect to the fundamental human rights declared in 1776 makes no exception against men of any particular racial or religious group. The Constitution contains no provision which would authorize racial or religious discrimination, and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were enacted in order to preserve this equality, as against discriminatory legislation of the States, for Negro citizens. Moreover, the principle of equality of all individuals, no matter what their religious or racial character, has in recent years become explicit and fundamental in the nascent international community. If any one

document today approximates expression of the conscience of mankind, it is the Charter of the United Nations Organization. In signing this document, our own country has pledged itself to promote respect for human rights and for the fundamental freedoms without distinction of race. Article Thirteen, defining the powers of the General Assembly, provides that the Assembly shall make studies and recommendations to promote "international co-operation in the . . . educational . . . field(s)" and to assist "in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race. . . ." Thus the right to education is recognized as a fundamental human right which is to be enjoyed by all without distinction as to race. A principle early enunciated in the United States of America has become a principle of international co-operation; the failure of the United States to realize its own principle within its own borders can then hardly be a matter for Americans to ignore.

It will be pointed out, however, that in many States of the union separate education for Negroes and for Whites is provided by law and that it is the duty of the college or university to obey the law. That, of course, is true. But it does not follow that it is the duty of the college or university to stand silent before educational discrimination. It is notorious that educational facilities offered Negroes are inferior to those provided for Whites. The Gaines decision is now eight years old, but it will not be claimed that Negroes find ready for them everywhere state institutions of higher learning and professional training equal to those open to Whites. The law of the State may require an institution to segregate Negroes from Whites; it does not require it to do nothing about bringing about equality of educational opportunity. Decisions of the Supreme Court have given legal recognition to local practices of segregation, but they have not made racial or religious discrimination lawful. It is the duty of every citizen to work to overcome such discrimination.

Moreover, the law does not require that citizens do not change the law. Let it be remembered that there is no national pronouncement adopting racial segregation as a national measure. Let it be recalled that Congress once adopted a federal civil rights statute and is free to do so again. Let it also be admitted that the decisions of the Supreme Court which make racial segregation legal rest on arguments of questionable validity, that the constitutionality of segregation has never been fully argued in terms of the broad social consequences to the nation of these practices, and finally that, with

the growing dependence for survival of all of us on the rapid development of a world community in which the principle of racial and religious equality has already found vigorous expression—then will it not follow that any citizen whose conscience so directs has an obligation to examine the bases and consequences of segregation in education and to call for a reversal of local practice and legislation? And if a world community is really required for survival, is it proper that the interests and traditions of one part of the country, when in conflict with a fundamental national principle, should stand in the way of the paramount interests of the whole?

To these questions someone may reply that whatever may be the conviction and the duty of the individual citizen, it is not the business of a college or university to question race discrimination or racial segregation in education. It will be said that education is the sole business of the college, and education and research the sole businesses of the university, and that neither education nor research includes questioning the accepted decisions of the community as to the relations between the races, let alone trying to change them. It will further be said that single acts that fly in the face of the prevailing attitudes of the community do not change the attitudes of the community and therefore are not to be attempted. The first argument says that the college or university has no responsibility, or no right, to change the prevailing attitudes of its community; the second, that it is helpless to do so. Both arguments involve assumptions as to the relation of single acts to community attitudes. Both involve assumptions as to the role and responsibility of institutions of higher learning in the national life. Conclusions as to these assumptions lead to conclusions on the questions at issue.

I take the second argument first. Is it true that the institution of higher learning is helpless to act to reduce discrimination if the attitudes of the community approve of the discrimination? I say it is not helpless. The assumption may be questioned that law and administration are no more than expressions of the mores. It may rather be asserted that the relation between law and administration on the one hand and the mores on the other is a reciprocal relation. Legislation and administration express the mores, but it is also true that they make the mores. A courageous act by a legislature or by an administrator, whether in a public or a private institution, that is consistent with the national principle of equality as among men, changes the mores to make them by some degree more nearly con-

sistent with the principle. The mores are not extra-human pressures, like the weight of the atmosphere or the pull of gravity. They are not something external to the wishes and the sentiments of men. They *are* the wishes and the sentiments of men (so far as imbued by a sense of rightness), and men change their wishes and their sentiments in response to what other men do and in response to what they themselves do. If one man or one institution takes a public position against racial prejudice so as to make effective an equality as among racial groups that was before denied, that act gives encouragement to all others whose attitudes inclined toward equality and justice but who were held from acting in accordance with their inclination by uncertainty or timidity or other causes. As a result, some of these will now act on their convictions; others will then be in their turn encouraged, and commit themselves to justice rather than injustice by performing just acts. And, as men tend to believe in the rightness of what they do, having done what is just, attitudes of these men will have changed toward racial and religious equality and away from prejudice and injustice, and so the center of gravity of the attitudes of the whole community will have shifted. On the other hand, an administrative decision to exclude citizens from a college, or from some facility of that college, or to limit the opportunity of students to enroll in the college because of racial or religious origin, results in moving the mores of the community in the opposite direction. An unjust act makes men complacent about their own unjust attitudes. We have seen the operation of this principle in the case of the Japanese-Americans in the recent war years. There is, I think, little doubt that the act of the national government in removing all persons from the Pacific Coast whose ancestry was Japanese, on that sole basis of selection, hardened the attitudes of a part of our people against their fellow citizens of Japanese ancestry. The important act of their own government, in seizing and so stigmatizing as possibly disloyal all persons of a certain ancestry seemed to give a formal and general approval to the prejudices of many Americans. Perhaps the act was made possible not only by the war but also by pre-existing anti-Oriental prejudice in some quarters, but on the other hand the act increased and widened the prejudice.

The point has been recently well argued with respect to legislation by Carey McWilliams.[1] He has assembled impressive evidence to

[1] "Race Discrimination and the Law," *Science and Society*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Winter, 1945.

show that in California prejudice against the Chinese and later against the Japanese was a creation of the agitation of small groups with special interests. Some special groups with a special interest, perhaps in a vested economic advantage, perhaps merely in professional super-Americanism, would agitate for passage of a law restricting the freedom of the Oriental. Once enacted, its existence helped deepen and generalize the prejudice. Similarly, it was not the mores of the whole community, but the special interests of the railway unions that excluded Negroes from jobs as trainmen and foremen—jobs custom had permitted them to fill for fifty years before the exclusion policy was adopted. In part, then, the mores follow legislative and administrative acts. McWilliams also argues that the legalization of segregation between Negro and White in the South has intensified racial prejudice, and quotes the prediction of that eminent Kentuckian, Justice Harlan, who dissented in the important *Plessy* case in which the segregation of the races in common carriers was upheld: "What can more certainly arouse race hatred, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed upon the grounds that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens."

What can more certainly arouse race hatred, what more certainly create a feeling of distrust between racial or religious groups than rules of schools or colleges which proceed upon the grounds that citizens of one racial or religious origin are so inferior—or so dangerously competent in free competition—that they cannot be allowed to attend or to attend in numbers proportionate to their scholastic competence, institutions of higher learning controlled by white gentiles? It seems to me that the reasoning offered by Justice Harlan has great force for those of us who make or administer the rules of admission of colleges and universities. The responsibility for the general consequences to our national community of acts of discrimination in schools and colleges cannot be escaped by a claim that what we do is necessarily a reflection of public attitudes and cannot itself make the public attitudes. The acts of colleges and universities have that same effect upon the mores which have the decisions of national and State governments. Indeed, within the field of education they have much more effect. Colleges and universities are the principal organs of society that function as to education; they are the laboratories and the forums and the assemblies in which those of the

community most concerned with education experiment, and make decisions, and the people respond to these decisions, changing their own attitudes in accordance. Whether we like it or not, our every act of discrimination or of equal treatment as between ethnic groups is an influence upon the general attitudes of the community. If we act so as to bring about just treatment of all citizens, the people of our community will, on the whole, tend to uphold that justice; if we act unjustly, then men will be helped to excuse their unjust attitudes. We are not helpless to reduce discrimination in the community.

If the policies and practices of the college or university inevitably tend to influence the community toward justice or away from it, the responsibility of the college or the university is clear. It is to lead toward justice. The colleges and universities must discharge a responsibility they cannot escape. The university especially, in this view, is an institution of moral leadership in the community. The university is not a mere agency of the general public opinion. I reject the view that it is the simple duty of a university to bring together teachers and scholars concerned, each separately, with teaching and studying what each wishes to study or is hired to teach. A university is put there by society not that each of its professors shall pursue his own interests but that there shall be a better society. The freedom of academic people does not have its final end in the relative freedom from interference enjoyed by the professors. Knowledge is to be sought and to be taught for the common good. The very privileges of academic people, and the special opportunities to study and to reflect which they enjoy give the university a role of leadership in the common effort which it would be stupid to ignore and cowardly to refuse. What the college or university does within matters subject to its control is presumably what, on the basis of the special opportunities of its members to think about the matter, it believes to be right. If it excludes students whom the law permits it to admit, because of the racial or religious origin of the students, presumably that is what it believes to be right. If it puts any limitation on the free association of citizens to meet under its auspices or on their freedom to discuss public questions, including the question of segregation itself, then presumably it regards this action as a right action. But our national society has not as a whole said that either of these actions is right. If the university does either

of these things it leads away from, not toward, the direction of the common effort.

The society we have said we want to be is a society in which the dignity and worth of the individual is a central good, and in which every individual is judged only by qualities which are personal to him and is denied no opportunity because of his race or religion. The many prevailing exceptions to the realization of such a society are admitted to be exceptions, even when they are justified. In the opinion of most Americans they should disappear. The university, more than any other institution, is the transmitter and refiner of our heritage. Freedom and equality are parts of that heritage, and in the university, itself a community in which what is thought is inevitably interdependent with what is done, the clarification of the problems of achieving freedom and equality cannot be carried on apart from action within that community that will tend to achieve freedom and equality. To argue that the university, or the college, must take no step toward racial and religious equality until the attitudes of the people outside have caught up with the spirit of the action is to deny the function of education. For who is to work to change these attitudes in the direction of the declared common ideal if it be not educators? If an institution of higher learning, within matters in its power, does not take every measure to make our society more nearly what it has declared it wishes to be, it has failed a responsibility. The rest of society has a right to ask if it has a good excuse for its failure.

To exclude citizens from opportunities to education legally open to them because of the applicants' race or religion is such a failure. To limit the number or proportion of students of any race, nationality or religion in the total enrollment, is failure also. The consequences of excluding all Negroes or all Jews or all Catholics are bad, but at least the action is clear, and raises without confusion the issue of racial or religious discrimination. The application of a racial or religious quota is in two respects more serious in its consequences than is total exclusion. In most cases the quota (or the informal procedures whereby the number of Jews, Negroes, Catholics or Italians is restricted without the fixing of a definite numerical limit) is invisible; its operations occur in private offices and in informal discussions, and the practice is not admitted or perhaps even recognized. In other cases the limited restriction of students of some

minority group is defended by arguments which have specious plausibility. It is said, in effect, that the limitation of educational opportunity on a racial or national or religious basis is done in order to realize good ends. The ends which it is said to serve are three. In this last part of my remarks I will consider if these ends are indeed good, if they are served by application of a quota, and if they conflict with even greater ends.

The educational quota is sometimes defended on the grounds that to have a good society there must be such a limitation. This justification is commonly heard in professional schools. It is argued that there should be no more Jewish doctors or, maybe, Catholic lawyers in a community than would correspond with the proportion of Jewish or Catholic citizens in the community. This argument assumes that Jewish doctors should take only Jewish patients or that Catholic clients should look only to Catholic lawyers for legal aid. The United States of America was not founded on such a principle. It has never been assumed that this country should be composed of self-sufficient ethnic or religious groups, each providing all the services required of that sub-community from among its own members. Only in the case of the Negro has such a semi-separate ethnic group developed, and the result there is the plainest of all inconsistencies with our national ideal. (Even in this case, where segregation is most strongly established, there are communities in the North where Negro teachers teach white pupils and communities in the South where Negro doctors treat white patients.) The quota, or *numerus clausus,* is no characteristically American device; it is well known in Europe; and we have lately seen to what horrors it leads. To apply the quota on the ground that the specialists in the nation should have ethnic origins corresponding to the numbers of such groups in the population is to deny the American assumption that men of all religious and all ethnic origins may come to acquire the capacities for carrying on the common life. That men of all religions have this capacity is not often denied today. That men of certain racial origins lack the capacity is asserted often enough, but no anthropologist of any repute reaches that conclusion. The capacities to carry on the activities and responsibilities of the citizen, the doctor, the lawyer or the educated man are as common and as general among the representatives of one ethnic group as of any other. To insist that specialists shall be limited by ethnic quotas is to deny the truth that human nature and intelligence are present in all ethnic groups.

A second justification for the quota is based on consideration of, not the general community, but the college or the university itself. Restriction of enrollment on an ethnic basis is defended as necessary to preserve a quality of the college community: the college must remain "Christian" or "non-urban" or must, still more vaguely and generally, "remain the kind of college it has always been." This argument is defective in at least two respects. In the first place it is not to be accepted without question that every college and every university ought to remain what it has always been. Institutions must change as society changes; our society has, on the whole, tended to realize, in a series of slow steps, the inclusive and democratic principles on which it was established. Even educational institutions that are accustomed to the preservation of one particular strain out of the manifold cultural heritage of America may find, on thinking it over, that it is to the interests of the learning and education they serve to widen their ethnic and cultural representation. They may, simply, do a better job by so doing. In the second place, even assuming the end a good end, the application of a quota in racial or religious terms, as a means to preserve the face and habits of the institution itself, is inappropriate because it is not adapted to the end sought and improper because it violates a more important principle. To limit the number of Jews, because they are Jews, is to assume that certain qualities of mind, character or manners are present in every Jew. This is not far from the principle of collective responsibility for crime. And besides, it isn't so. If we assume that proper qualifications for admission to a college or university include more than evidence of sufficient ability to learn, all additional qualifications, like the qualifications of educational preparation and intelligence, can and should be tested for each individual applicant, as an individual. It denies the principle of responsibility of the individual for his own acts only to seek to realize those qualifications in a student body by attributing them to a student because of his ethnic origin.

No, the arguments for the educational quota are shown to be unworthy of respect by incontrovertible facts. It is never applied consistently, and it is never applied against the ethnic or religious group of the people who apply it. The administrator of the dental college who restricts the number of Jews admitted to ten per cent of the students never insists that another ten per cent of the students be Negroes. Never do we hear a demand that "Germans be limited

in breweries, Catholics in municipal administration, Poles in symphony orchestras, Irishmen in fire departments and police forces, and whites in well-paying jobs of all sorts." These words are those of Yves Simon,[2] who goes on to declare that he will believe, "with Pascal, in the sincerity of witnesses who allow themselves to be martyred; . . . in the sincerity of the partisans of the *numerus clausus* when they demand that their principle be applied with a rigor fatal to their own interests. Until we see white workers demanding a limit on the number of white workers in well-paid positions, we shall refuse to believe that the advocates of the *numerus clausus* are really interested in the common good and in the harmonious distribution of the various parts of the community." The real reasons behind the application of ethnic quotas lie in the motive to preserve, for a privileged group, the competitive advantages its members enjoy, with respect to both jobs and prestige. When the competition gets hard, we hear a demand for the quota. Race or religion provides a criterion, for excluding people of a group to which, one may be sure, the excluder does not belong.

There is yet a third argument offered in justification of limitation of enrollment on a religious or racial basis. With a comment on this third justification I will conclude. This third argument justifies restriction as a measure conducive to the welfare not of the general community and not of the college community but of the minority group itself. It is the argument stressed by President Hopkins in his famous letter written a year ago to Herman Shumlin about the limitation of enrollment of Jews in Dartmouth College. It is argued that the number of Jews admitted should be limited in order to prevent an increase in anti-Semitism. It is argued that it is not safe to admit Jews and non-Jews merely according to the capacities of the applicants as individuals, but that even competent Jews should be excluded after there are already so many Jews in the college that to admit more would result in more anti-Jewish sentiment than existed before. From this point of view the non-Jewish applier of ethnic discrimination does the Jew a service, for he prevents a "concentration" which would be "ill-advised."

This argument is often buttressed with reference to the concentration of the Jews in Germany before the rise of Nazism and statements that it was this concentration which laid a foundation for

[2] "Secret Sources of the Success of the Racist Ideology," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, January, 1945, p. 84.

Hitler's work. Therefore, this argument runs, let the non-Jew, by excluding the Jew, protect him from the results of his efforts to find his place in society in equal competition with non-Jews.

What is to be said about this argument? It may be said that the concentration of Jews in Germany was not as it has been represented by Nazis or by those who have uncritically accepted Nazi representations. It may be asked if the greater association of Jews with non-Jews, or of members of any ethnic group with another always results in an increase of prejudice between them, or if it even usually has this result. But these are not the principal weaknesses in the argument for educational quotas which I am now considering. The trouble with the argument is not so much that it is false in fact but that it is in some part true in fact. It is in considerable part true that increase in success achieved by members of a group that has for long been the object of discrimination brings an increase of prejudice or even hatred against that group. The real weakness of the argument is that it is made by the wrong people. It might be open to the Jew to ask that fewer of his kind be caused to appear in areas where the Jew fears that an increase in his numbers might do him harm. But is it proper that members of the majority group should compel an unjust limitation of the numbers of members of the minority group, against the will of the minority, on the ground that the majority group is thereby protecting the minority from injustices or even violence that would be committed by the majority? Is there not something disingenuous in one, not a Jew, who contends that the Jew is his own worst enemy and that to keep him from injuring himself by pushing his case too far, he, the non-Jew, should limit the enrollment of Jews, when it is remembered that it will be the self-appointed protector's own group that will do the threatened damage to the Jew? There are occasions when we are compelled to take measures of this sort. If a man, innocent or guilty, is pursued by a mob bent on his destruction, the sheriff may rightly put into the safety of the jail the man who is pursued. But it is understood that this is a remedy of desperation. We know that it is the mob that should be jailed, and we jail the man only because we cannot jail the mob. But all such cases of protective custody are confessions of wrong done by the jailer, and all such cases carry the danger that the power exercised by the majority may be used against the minority in the real but hidden interest of the majority. To limit admission to the schools or the

professions against the will of a minority is to admit one's own group to be the doer of the wrong which one claims to prevent, and the measure chosen therefore cannot be a measure that goes to the heart of the difficulty. In every such case, whatever be the nationality, the religion or the color of the group thus compelled to accept an injustice in what the dominant group says to be the interest of the group so treated—in every such case we may look into the underlying circumstances with some care. For, by limiting the minority one gives an unjust advantage, in the getting of jobs or the getting of an education, to himself, to his own group, and the honesty as well as the effectiveness of the measures one employs are open to challenge.

DISCUSSION

MR. HOY TAYLOR: I want to direct a question to Dean Redfield. Assuming the mores as it exists in 17 states, I believe, and the statutes as they exist in that number of states in regard to racial segregation, and assuming, as Dr. Redfield does, that that is not the ideal, I wonder if Dr. Redfield would like to step out of the academic role just a minute and talk about what probably an administrator of a college ought to do in one of those states in regard to this.

DR. REDFIELD: I arise to disclaim any power to make such a statement. I don't think I am wise enough to tell anyone what he should do in any particular institution, least of all one of the institutions of the South. I have had my troubles in trying to define general principles of action in terms of which a policy could be formulated. It was only my hope that a common agreement upon those principles could be reached, so that the general character of the policy might become to a degree uniform and consistent throughout the national community. Beyond that point, I will not venture to go.

I am willing to add that if we had clear agreement that the general direction of effort was to be that which I have suggested in my remarks, if we had a sincere commitment on the part of those of us who have responsibilities to pursue that effort in a common direction, I am sure that every man who has a particular situation to face will take whatever step it is within his power to take that will help in moving towards that common end.

MR. R. B. THOMPSON: It occurs to me that the reason that we have these elective admission procedures is that in the various racial,

religious and geographic groups, those people do not adequately take care of their own college and university students. Now, what hope may we hold out that those various racial, religious and geographic groups will more adequately take care of their own students, so that the burden will not rest on the other groups?

DR. REDFIELD: I can only return to the question. The question is whether it is not an assumption of American life that every minority in this country is to take care of its educational needs, or perhaps of all its other needs. To put the matter otherwise, has it not been assumed in this country that there is a common responsibility to develop to the fullest the capacities of citizenship by all citizens? If we carried the principle as suggested to its ultimate end, we would expect members of every sectarian and every national group to provide the educational and perhaps social service facilities for its own kind. I cannot contemplate such a situation.

FATHER J. J. HIGGINS: I would like to address a question to Dr. Redfield. It is just for clarification, not exactly a question. Dr. Rosenlof mentioned at the beginning that every admissions officer should clarify his own ideas on the functions, the objectives and the philosophy of his own institution. I am wondering whether Dr. Redfield's paper started with the assumption that all colleges and all universities start with the same philosophy and the same objectives and the same functions. For instance, if a good Baptist college here in Atlanta has as its philosophy and objective to train good Christians in the Baptist religion, I wonder how they would feel about accepting me in that institution, when my philosophy may be quite different from that of that institution.

DR. REDFIELD: That is of course a very good question. It helps me to clarify a confusion I may have created. I do not assume that every institution and every educational institution in this country should perform the same function. I do not assume that there should not be educational institutions which should be directed to the performance of special functions; some institutions in this country will train rabbinical students or students of other kinds of religious specialization. I also assume that institutions of education in this country will continue to exist which will be confined in their clientele to members of particular religious groups. I do, however, hope that all educational institutions in this country will join in a common assumption that it is the responsibility of all of them, along with other institutions in the country, to make our way of life far more democratic

and that they will do that, each of them in the ways appropriate to themselves. Where we have an institution that is not devoted to the training of particular people, people for particular kinds of priesthoods or the like, where we have an institution that offers itself as an institution of general education or education for the professions, where, by definition in this country, the religious and racial qualifications are irrelevant, there what I have said applies.

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OF COLLEGIATE REGISTRARS

through courtesy of

INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Advise Dr. Mitchell
W. P.

A.D. League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

November 17, 1947.

RECEIVED
NOV 18 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
Wesley Memorial Bldg.,
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

One of the finest developments recently, I think, in the battle against bigotry and intolerance is the increasing effort to reach the public on these problems through the commercial users of various types of media. The efforts of newspapers and radio, particularly such series as "Lest We Forget" are pretty well known. The movie makers recently have produced several full length pictures and a number of shorts which are useful. Incidentally, you will be glad to know that the few prints we have in this office are in such demand by church and school groups that they have been booked through March, '48.

Recently, my friend Chester Schiff, who is the owner of the Georgian Book Shop, called my attention to a popular set of records for children which deals in excellent fashion with the problem of Negro-white relations. The album is called "Herman Ermine in Rabbit Town" and the narration is by motion picture star John Garfield. The records are produced by the Mercury Record Album Company and the retail price is in a low bracket, being in the neighborhood of $3.

Some time, if you get a chance, I wish you or one of the members of your staff would listen to these records and give me your opinion. If you feel that this is a worthwhile educational medium, perhaps we might plug the distribution of this set of records or request other record manufacturers also to enter this field and contribute their bit to better understanding between groups.

With all best wishes, I am

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:ak

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

PACT FOR PEACE

By Mrs. Wendell Willkie

Two and a half years ago, when newsreels exposing the unbelievable horrors of Nazi concentration camps were shown in theatres throughout the United States, a single thought came into the minds of all of us—"This must never happen again!"

We now have the opportunity to put this conviction into action by supporting the United Nations in its protests against such barbarism. The UN Secretariat has finished drafting the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, the deliberate wiping out of a race or group of human beings.

Under the terms of the Convention being considered by the General Assembly at Lake Success, individual countries would be given the power to seize and punish any criminals guilty of genocide who are captured in their territory. An International Criminal Tribunal, similar to the Nuremberg Tribunal, may also be set up to punish flagrant cases of the crime.

There can be no question in our minds as to the vital need for this pact. The persecution of minorities is like an infectious disease; it is seldom confined to a single group of victims. In Germany, Hitler did not stop with the persecution of the Jews. One by one, Catholics, Protestants, trade unionists and all liberal Germans were suppressed by the Nazis.

But here in America we have always felt the necessity for protecting the rights of minorities and for the strengthening of their basic human rights. Wendell Willkie I think very aptly expressed this thought when he said:

"It has always impressed me that, quite apart from any reasons of humanitarianism or justice or any sentiment regarding the protection of the weak by the strong, it is only common sense to safeguard jealously the rights of minorities. For minorities are rich assets of a democracy, assets which no totalitarian government can afford. Dictatorships must, of necessity, fear and suppress them. But within the tolerance of a democracy, minorities are the constant spring of new ideas, stimulating new thought and action, the constant source of new vigor."

Mrs. Wendell Willkie

We cannot afford to let down now, even though the wartime pictures have faded somewhat from memory. Rather we must tell our representatives to give their immediate, full support to the passage and enforcement of the Convention to Outlaw Genocide, and must encourage others to do likewise.

A. D. League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

January 5, 1948

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 6 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Under separate cover I am sending you a new song book called Little Songs on Big Subjects and also an excellent record made from these songs. I would like to have you and your staff look over the song book and listen to the record. Personally, I think that the record, particularly, is an excellent educational device.

I could probably get a few extra records for you if you could put them to good use. In any quantity, however, they would run to a dollar apiece and the books sell at forty cents apiece through this office.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/mb

Anti-Defamation League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

April 7, 1948

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was nice seeing you yesterday afternoon. I am only sorry that we were not able to achieve more tangible results in the form of action.

Attached please find the latest release from the Institute for American Democracy by Reverend William C. Kernan. You will note that the release is devoted entirely to the resolutions recently passed by the Methodist women in Orlando, Florida. I took the liberty of sending these resolutions up to Rev. Kernan, whom I have known for several years.

This release is sent to some 1500 religious, labor and weekly newspapers throughout the country, many of which are in the South. I think it is important that this sort of "gospel" continue to spread.

I would be obliged if you would show this release to George Mitchell, and give it to Mrs. Tilly, who may want to show it to some of her Methodist women.

With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:bp
Encl

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

1 - Anti-Defamation League

June 9, 1948

Mr. Alex Miller, Director
Southeastern Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, SW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

If you have another copy of the survey, "Anti-Semitism in the United States in 1947," I should like to have it.

Dr. Will W. Alexander is writing an article on Anti-Semitism in the South and I sent him my copy of the survey as a useful summary on the Klan, among other things. It is--all of it--a good job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

RECEIVED
MAY 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 3, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Under separate cover, I have sent you a copy of the survey of "Anti-Semitism in the United States in 1947," prepared by the Anti-Defamation League. We believe it may be of some reference value to you as one index of the cross currents of group tension which exist in this country today. This office prepared the section on the Southern scene.

I would appreciate your comments and criticisms, particularly, as to our interpretation.

Kind personal regards.

Cordially yours,

AFM

AFM:bp

Alexander F. Miller

Need another copy.

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

1 - Anti-Defamation League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

2030/600

June 23, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 25
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

3

I have just received a copy of the "Condition of Our Rights" and I think it is one of the finest pamphlets yet put out by any organization in this area. Miss Price deserves commendation. The objectivity of the report and its cool presentation of facts in orderly fashion should make a strong impact.

I would like to see some work done eventually in the section "The Right to Safety and Security of the Person" on my favorite topic. That is the attitude of the southern white male, particularly in rural areas, to law, order and justice. It is my feeling that he still has much of the pioneer spirit in which justice is administered by the individual rather than by appointed police officials. This attitude coupled with the fact that personal violence is not uncommon to him as it is to many of the more effete city dwellers plus his attitude toward the Negro that the latter must be treated somewhat as a cross between a child and a pet animal while, at the same time, he has feelings of guilt and fear towards the Negro, makes for a climate in which it is commonplace in rural areas for the individual white man to administer personal justice to the Negroes within his sphere. This results in his administering corporeal punishment to Negroes when he thinks it necessary and in extreme cases killing him. John Wallace and his associates recently sentenced in Newnan, Georgia are typical of this type of individual. While this climate exists in the South, particularly in rural areas, it will be difficult for Negroes to have safety and security of the person guaranteed to them by law and order rather than the whim of some white man. I think what needs to be done is a presentation of some facts indicating instances where Negroes are beaten and otherwise maltreated by individual white men, not law officers, but who act in accordance with the mores of their own group. I have tried to explain a rather complicated thought in just a few sentences, but I am sure you understand what I am driving at.

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

I think that if these facts were brought to the attention of the public that perhaps some attack could be made on the base problem of which lynchings is only the end result.

This is a long letter with which to order 30 copies of the above mentioned pamphlet.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ff

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation ~~League~~
71 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

June 25, 1948

30 copies Condition of Our Rights @20¢ $6.00

7/13/48

L.S.

6/28/48

1-Anti-Defamation League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

July 16, 1948

RECEIVED
JUL 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

Enclosed please find two pamphlets which have just come to my desk which supplement beautifully from a national standpoint the excellent pamphlet prepared by SRC, "The Condition of Our Rights."

Should you desire to distribute any of these pamphlets to individuals who might desire to carry on similar projects in their own communities I believe that I could get a reasonable quantity for you. Of course, in the average Southern town they would have to change the method considerably from what was done in Montclair, New Jersey. — Montclair Community Audit

The pamphlet, "Let's Look At Ourselves", is significant as I understand it is the first release by the newly formed National Citizens' Council on Civil Rights. I have seen a list of the sponsors of this new organization and it seems to me to be wholly respectable and reputable.

See pamphlet files under Civil Rights for materials mentioned

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:cd
Enclosures
cc: Harold Fleming

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

1- Anti-Defamation League

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National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

July 28th, 1948.

Dear Friend:

Within the next few days a Special Session of Congress will be considering legislation of great significance to our moral well-being as individuals and as a nation -- Displaced Persons legislation that is truly American in concept and spirit.

The D.P. legislation passed in the previous session of Congress violated some very basic concepts of American democracy. It discriminated against individuals because of their religion and national origin. In the powder-keg situation that characterizes the world today, it is of the utmost importance that this country strengthen its moral position by passing fair and democratic D.P. legislation that will give new hope to the so-long oppressed minorities who were and still remain victims of totalitarian aggression.

To this end, it is urgently requested that you write to your senators and representatives in Congress, requesting them to give whole-hearted support to the new D.P. legislation. Further, you are urged to enlist the aid of friends and neighbors in this most vital matter.

I know you will appreciate the immediate importance of such legislation, not only because of our moral well-being and strengthened position in the world, but also because hundreds of thousands of oppressed persons look to us for the only ray of hope in this dark world. This must be done now--today; every day that passes brings to them deeper frustration and death!

Most sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

Alexander F. Miller.

AFM:ak

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

FACT SHEET

Certain Failings in Present Displaced Persons Act

D. P. BILL	EFFECT
1. Excludes DP's who entered Germany, Austria, or Italy after December 22, 1945.	Discriminates against Jewish DP's and others who fled from religious persecution and terror after December 22, 1945. A logical date would be April 21, 1947, at which time General Clay closed DP camps to further admissions.
2. Requires that both job and housing be obtained in advance of admission.	Imposes a terrific barrier on most of the DP's who have no "connections" in this country.
3. Charges DP's admitted against their country's future immigration quota. The number of DP's admitted will be deducted from a country's future quota to the extent of 50% each year.	Merely "mortgages" future quotas and really admits no additional persons.
4. Requires that 40% of DP's come from Eastern Poland and Baltic states.	Discriminates against Catholic DP's.
4. Permits 50% of people admitted under German and Austrian immigration quotas to be of "German ethnic origin" who were born in Poland, Czechoslavakia, Hungary, Romania, Holland and Yugoslavia.	Gives priority to the Volksdeutsch, the Nazi fifth column, many of whom are suspected of being Hitler quislings.

1- Anti-Defamation League

SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southern Regional Office

January 4, 1949

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Some years ago, Dr. Gordon W. Allport, Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, prepared for the YMCA a pamphlet entitled "ABC's Of Scapegoating." It was one of the finest documents of its kind yet written and in simple terms gave some understanding as to why people disliked or "scapegoated" others, particularly if they were members of different groups. This pamphlet has now been brought up to date and reissued as the fourth in the series of FREEDOM PAMPHLETS published by the Anti-Defamation League. Under separate cover, we are sending you a copy.

We feel that this particular presentation is a most useful educational tool for bettering human relations. Certainly, if its message receives wide enough dissemination and acceptance, the total impact should go far towards removing the group tensions which impede our progress.

In order to help achieve this in some measure, and by dislocating our budget to some extent, we are able to make copies of this pamphlet available to individuals who, by reason of their activities as speakers and writers and also because of their interest in this work, would find this pamphlet of value to them. If you know of any such individuals, and you will furnish us with their names, we will be glad to send them a copy. We will advise them, of course, that we are doing so at your suggestion.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:bw

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO PRESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

1- Anti-Defamation League

March 4, 1949

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Alex:

My friend in Charleston, South Carolina whom I called the other day writes that she got in touch with Mr. Lionel Legge, dean of the Charleston county delegation in the South Carolina legislature, who agreed to bring up the matter of anti-mask legislation at a delegation meeting in Columbia some nights ago.

The matter was also laid before two or three other influential Charleston citizens. Several of these wired the Governor last Friday, asking that the Governor give his support to anti-Klan legislation.

You will be interested in the enclosed clipping sent me from Charleston, showing that the Bishop of South Carolina and his clergy lately resolved strongly against the Klan.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1-Anti-Def. League

April 4, 1949

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

You very kindly sent us a copy of the House Journal of the Missouri Legislature for Wednesday, March 2, 1949, containing the report of the Missouri Equal Rights Committee.

If you could possibly get me twenty more of those, I would greatly like to send them out to officers of our state divisions and affiliated interracial committees. We will bear any reasonable expense.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

4/9/49

He replied, sending additional copy + stating he had ordered 20.
MET

cc: Harold Fleming

1- Anti-Defamation League

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

April 12, 1949

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Bldg.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

You are familiar, of course, with the findings of the National Labor Relations Board which on March 26 ordered the Bibb Manufacturing Company of Macon, Ga., to desist from distributing 2000 copies weekly of Parson Jack Johnston's Trumpet. Attached please find a short document giving some background regarding Parson Jack. I think it extremely unfortunate that big business should subsidize a hate monger of the Johnston stripe. I thought big business had already learned that "you can't do business with Hitler."

The NLRB also found that the Bibb Company was responsible for the anti-union activities of Herman Lavender. Lavender has admitted being a cyclops of the Macon, Ga., KKK.

Any publicity you can give to these facts will be helpful.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:CD
encl.
cc: George Mitchell
Atlanta, Ga.

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

WHO IS PARSON JACK?

Since 1937, E. G. "Parson Jack" Johnston has been peddling anti-Semitism, anti-Negroism, anti-unionism and almost every other kind of anti-ism from the pulpit of his Tabernacle in Columbus, Ga., and through the pages of his two publications, the Trumpet and the Tribune. Here is a short record of some of his activities:

Parson Jack and the Southern Baptist Convention

Parson Jack has been a consistent critic of the Southern Baptist Convention and its leaders, particularly the Rev. Louie D. Newton of Atlanta, Ga. For example, in the Tribune of August 22, 1946, in his column "Parson Jack's Personal Word" he writes: "I'll take on all the Stokes, McLemores, McGills, Newtons (Louie D.) for they are all members of the AAACP (American Association for the Advancement of the Colored People). All of these gentlemen may not have been to Russia lately but they should go and stay for they seem to like it very much." His paper is shot through with similar references to the Rev. Newton and the Southern Baptist Convention.

Parson Jack and Other Religious Denominations

Parson Jack has not confined his attacks to the Southern Baptist Convention but at one time or another has denounced the Federal Council, Churches of Christ, the Methodists, Presbyterians, the Catholics, the Jews and other groups.

Parson Jack and the Ku Klux Klan

On August 1, 1946, the Tribune published a strong defense of the KKK. "It is a well-known fact that there are four classes of people who oppose the Klan and they are the Jews, the Catholics, the Negroes and the whore-mongers. Now, if you put these four in a sack and shake them out, it would be hard to tell which would fall out first."

On October 24, 1947, Parson Jack declared to a reported from the Columbus Ledger that more than 100 persons have joined the Columbus chapter of the Ku Klux Klan of which "I am as much the head as anyone else." This is in contrast to a statement that he had made to the same reporter on August 15 of 1947 when he stated that he regarded the policies of the Columbians more to his liking than the KKK. Parson Jack liked the Columbians because "there is nothing secret about the organization and because they don't wear robes and they go about doing things normally."

On June 30, 1948, a new Klan splinter group, the Original Southern Klans, Inc., was granted a charter in Muscogee County Court, Columbus, Ga., by Judge T. Hicks Fort. Grand Dragon Samuel Green of the Association of Georgia Klans - when he heard about this new group called them "bolshevik Klans which pulled out because they couldn't run things themselves."

Dr. Green charged that Parson Jack Johnston was the guiding spirit behind this new organization. Dr. Green's statement has never been refuted.

1- Anti Defamation League

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

August 8, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

As you may be aware, the move to amend the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 to remove from it the many objectionable features it contains, has been stalled in the United States Senate because of the refusal of Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, to allow his committee to report out a bill for Senate action. The House has already passed such a bill and sent it to the Senate.

A group of Senators led by Senators Ives and Ferguson have announced that they will invoke a rarely used Senate procedure, a motion to discharge the Committee if Senator McCarran does not permit the subject to come to the Senate floor for consideration by August 15. The Administration which is strongly for amendment of the DP Act of 1948 has no objections to the use of this procedure though it will not invoke it itself because of other considerations.

Accordingly, we urge you and your friends to write immediately to the two Senators from your State to support a motion to discharge the Senate Judiciary Committee and to bring the proposed amendments to the DP Act of 1948 to the Senate floor for immediate consideration.

Congress plans to adjourn in a few short weeks. This matter is urgent. Please act NOW!

Sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

1- Anti Defamation League

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

August 17, 1949

Mrs. Rudy Crohn
Cherry Villa Court
Morristown, Tenn.

Dear Mrs. Crohn:

Attached please find letter which we have just received from the Southern Regional Council indicating the efforts which that fine organization has been exerting to be of assistance to you in Morristown.

I think you might call to the attention of Mrs. Hill and the League of Women Voters the excellent work of this splendid organization as demonstrated in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ff

Blind copy: George Mitchell

COPY

RECEIVED
AUG 18 1949
Southern Regional Council

1- Anti Defamation League

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

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AUG 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

August 19, 1949

Rev. Robert L. Russell
Ga. Committee on Interracial Cooperation
65 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Russell:

The following are the responsibilities which we accepted at the meeting this morning with reference to the recent Bainbridge, Ga. case.

Legal action on a federal level: The NAACP will request officially that Federal action be taken in this case. The FBI will be asked to make a thorough investigation and the District Attorney's office in Macon will also be asked to act. District Attorney Gossett is in charge of that office. Pressures for this type of action will also be applied at the national level by NAACP, supplemented by the other organizations represented at this meeting.

The Georgia Interracial Committee, acting through Rev. Russell, will send a letter to Attorney General Cook with a copy to Governor Talmadge, and copies to the daily press, the wire services, and the Bainbridge press requesting action on a state level to bring the culprits to justice and to strengthen the "security of the person" in the rural areas of this state.

According to attorneys, the young boy of 15 who was assaulted has two civil suits against the arresting officer. The first is for assault and battery, and the second is for false arrest. Mr. Harper of the NAACP will take the responsibility of having this legal action placed.

As many pressures as possible will be brought on the local city and county officials to take action and bring the culprits of this heinous crime to book. Dr. Russell will contact the Rev. G. C. Cooper. Mr. Harper will get information from the various Negro leaders as to the names of possible white people in Bainbridge who might be motivated into positive action.

He will advise Dr. Russell of these names and Dr. Russell will follow through.

Mrs. Tilly will contact women representatives in Bainbridge and ask for definite action by them.

On Monday, at Ridgecrest, George Mitchell will speak to the Rev. Hugh Brims, asking him to communicate with his Baptist clergy and lay leaders in Bainbridge, asking them to take action.

On a national level, the NAACP through its Washington representative, Mr. Lester Perry, will call this case to the attention of the Department of Justice and the FBI. In addition, he will bring the McGill article to the attention of members of Congress in an effort to have them use the McGill article and the case itself as a text to build another important argument on behalf of the civil rights program.

The other organizations likewise will make contact with federal officials and elected representatives to get their assistance and cooperation in this case.

On the national publicity level, George Mitchell will send the McGill article to the Washington Post and ask that it be reprinted. Mrs. Tilly will send it to Doris Fleeson. Dr. Russell will forward the article to various church publications. The writer will send the article to Baptist publications. Mrs. Tilly will send a copy of the article to the Christian Century.

It was agreed by all present that letters of commendation be sent to Ralph McGill for this column and also the one he has on county government in today's issue of the Atlanta Constitution.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/ww

CC: Mrs. Tilly
George Mitchell
G. L. Harper

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

September 7, 1949

RECEIVED
SEP 8 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter of August 29 in which you indicate that you have been advised by friends in Chattanooga that existing Tennessee state law provides ample legal safeguards against familiar Klan tactics such as masked parades, cross burnings, etc.

We do not think that it does, and therefore we have been pressing for this legislation in Tennessee. The same argument was advanced to us by various people in Morristown who referred particularly to Sections 11031 - 11035 of the 1932 Code of Tennessee.

I asked Morris Abram, who serves as our legal advisor, to draw up the attached memo which explains the reason why we think existing laws inadequate.

I believe it tremendously important that these reasons be advanced to our friends in Tennessee as indicating why further action is needed at this time. Therefore, I am sending you a couple of extra copies of this memo, hoping that you will forward them on.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ff

While no one would want to minimize the importance of Sections 11031 - 11035 of the 1932 Code of Tennessee, still these Sections are not the practical answer to masked terrorism in any Tennessee municipality. In the first place the chief menace of the masked terrorists comes from the scare atmosphere which its very presence creates. Section 11035 is supposedly designed to deal with this problem. But in order to obtain a conviction under that Section several elements must be proved--i.e., that the masked activity was to the disturbance of the peace and the intimidation of citizens; that it was willfully done for the purpose of intimidation and terrorizing. Statutes which can only be enforced by proof of such elements have proved generally to be toothless. That has been the trouble with most state laws and even federal laws against the Ku Klux Klan. Under such laws as the Tennessee Code the law enforcement authorities have never been able to lock up the mass terrorists the moment they appear in public in their regalia. In Tennessee, for example no positive crime is committed until the masked person goes on the premises of another, or assaults somebody (unless one can prove which is almost impossible, that they put on their disguises in public for the purpose of intimidation). In Tennessee, the only way the law can arrest andprosecute a hooded Klansman for appearing in public is to charge and prove that he was disturbing the peace, trying to intimidate citizens, or destroy property, or doing inherently criminal deeds.

Yet, as everyone knows, the only real way to deal with the Klan has been to stop it from ever appearing in public under disguise. Actually, everyone knows the whole purpose of the Klan is to intimidate and to terrorize. Yet is is one thing to know something by ordinary experience but quite another for a juryman to convict in a criminal trial when the state has the burden of proving the elements of the crime beyond a reasonable doubt.

The way out of the mess all along has been, as the Alabama legislature has recently recognized: Let the law-making body declare as a matter of public policy that masked persons constitute <u>of themselves</u> a threat to the safety and good order of the community. Then simply forbid anyone (with certain obvious innocent exceptions such as Santa Claus) from wearing disguises in public. Then the juries and the judges can easily and conscientiously bring in convictions for the crime which very simply becomes that of wearing a disguise in public.

While we recognize that a person has the legal right to defend his house when another attempts to enter in a forceable or violent manner, there is also the obligation of a part of the community to see that that terrible situation never develops in the first place. The way to stop it is quite simple: just prevent hooded terrorists ever appearing anywhere in public in the first place.

As far as the power of the municipality to pass these ordinances is concerned, while we do not have access to the Morristown Charter, almost every municipality has the right to pass ordinances for the preservation of the public peace and safety. It is under this power, which is almost everywhere a simple derivation from a municipality's existence as a group, that the authority to outlaw masks and symbols of intimidation is secured. To deny this power is to withhold from the municipality the simple authority to protect its citizens which is one of the principle reasons for its very existence. Therefore, the power and necessity of these types of ordinances would seem apparent.

1-Anti Defamation League

August 29, 1949

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

I understand from friends in Chattanooga that at Morristown the City Attorney has advised the City Council that existing Tenn. State Law provides electrocution for a person who assaults another person while masked.

The City Council having given evidence of intent to enforce the law appears to have satisfied for the time being Mrs. Hill's wish for further local ordinances on that point.

I am also told that State Law also satisfied the point about cross burning, but I have nothing specific on that.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:wgd

1- Anti-Defamation League

August 16, 1949

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

Thank you for the letter about Morristown, Tennessee. We don't happen to have a member in the town, so there wasn't any one I could reach directly.

I talked with the editor of the Chattanooga Times, Mr. Alfred Mynders and asked that he run the matter through his mind and take such steps as he thought would be helpful. I rather think he will urge the editor of the Morristown paper to concern himself.

A careful message was left for the Tennessee Director of the CIO at Knoxville. The CIO has a little better than six hundred members in Morristown. I am satisfied that Mr. Christopher will get in touch with his Morristown man and get to Mrs. Hill in Morristown some evidence of labor support for her movement.

I talked also with Mrs. B. R. Stout at Knoxville. She is important in the Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church. Mrs. Stout knows Morristown quite well and has a good many friends there. She undertook at once to call up a number of her friends and urge them to get in touch with Mrs. Hill and help. Quote from Mrs. Stout, "We will get something moving."

I hope Morristown turns out to be a lucky spot.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

August 12, 1949

RECEIVED
AUG 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I have been advised that the League of Women Voters of Morristown, Tenn. are making a desperate fight to get anti-mask and anti-cross burning ordinances passed in that city. The women have been trying to get support from other groups in that community, but thus far have been unsuccessful. People, particularly those heading organizations seem to be extremely timorous.

I wonder if you could write to some of your contacts in and about Morristown to rally to the support of the League of Women Voters. The next hearing of the City Council there will be on Friday, August 19th at which time these ordinances will probably be presented, for vote. Mrs. Al Hill of the League of Women Voters has led the fight.

I do hope that you will write to your friends about this situation and ask them to rally to the support of the League of Women Voters and Mrs. Hill on this critical issue. I would appreciate your advising me if you are able to do anything in this matter.

With kind personal regards.

Cordially,

afm

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

1- Anti-Defamation League

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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September 29, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Attached please find copy of a column written by Franklin Acker in the September 26 issue of the Independent of Anderson, S. C. It seems to me that the language used by Acker offers a good opportunity for you to send a letter not only to him but also to his publisher, Mr. Wilton Hall, in which you not only make out a case for not using this type of language, but also enclose your excellent booklet, "Race in the News."

Cordially yours,

afm

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ff

RECEIVED
SEP 30 1949
Southern Regional Council

The Independent
Anderson, S.C. 9/26/49

Around The Town

By FRANKLIN ACKER

IRA C. BOLTER

There was a tingle in the atmosphere and some trees showed traces of color. Vegetation appeared in the doldrums, like an old rheumatic dog about ready to lie down and die. No doubt about it, fall was moving in. The best-regulated almanacs said so. So did spry old Ira C. Bolter.

On this particular day in late September, Ira was at his accustomed fortress. He leaned back relaxed in his barrel chair out under a gnarled wateroak within reacr-crawling distance of his favorite beer bistro. Alongside the barrel chair snoozed Butch, Ira's red bone hound; and on an upturned box in the same proximity sat Zeb, Ira's refuge cousin from Georgia. Ira and Zeb were taking a few beers, but not with the gusto and proficiency as back in the summer, when the sun bore down to the tune of 100 in the shade.

"'Soon I'm gon'a have to put my barrel chair in storage until next spring and switch operations inside," commented old Ira. "My beer consumption already is down 50 per cent due to the chilliness o' the weather. Guess I'll have to switch to Calvert's, cactus juice, hard cider or something of that sort to keep my morale in good condition."

Cousin Zeb grunted approval, tossed an empty bottle aside and reached for a full one. It was apparent that so long as Ira was paying for the beer, he was out to drink his share of it no matter what the season or the climate.

"I got 'possum huntin' on my mind," continued Ira. "Persimmons soon be ripe; probably along 'bout last part o' next month. Then me and my friends are gon"a have some high times. Nothing more enjoyable than to get out in the open with a pack o' musical hounds on a chilly fall night, take a few snorts of warming-up fluid and then light out after 'possums. My, my, what entertainment. City folks don't know what they're missin'.

"An' then after you fatten yo' 'possums on buttermilk, cornbread, sweet 'taters and such, throw an old fashioned 'possum supper. Get a good nigger cook to fix it. Don't trust nothin' like this to a white cook. Sit around an open fire for a while befo' supper is ready, cracking jokes and whetting up the appetite. Then march in and sit down in a good stout chair befo' a good stout table, relax yo'self and await developments."

Old Ira paused and smacked his lips in anticipation. In his mind's eye he could see such a supper as he talked about: not one of those polite, elegantly served affairs, but a homey, regular old plantation feast where the diners put elbows on the table and ate with their fingers if they wanted to.

"The possum is usually brought in first, right smack in the middle o' a huge platter," Ira continued. "Or there might be three or four 'possums, depending on the number o' folks at the table. And surrounding the 'possum will be sweet 'taters cooked right along with him to sop up up the juices. Then there will be 'possum gravy, hot cornbread, hominy grits, apple sauce, plain baked 'taters, and apple pie for desert."

Ira sighed, gazed dreamy-eyed in the general direction of the Blue Ridge Railroad cut, then reached for another beer. Obviously he was ready for fall and winter. The summer was fine, but since the operation of the solar system dictated that the time had arrived for a change in the seasons, Ira was reconciled to it. He had lived through 97 summers and 96 winters, having been born in the month of May. His ultimate goal was to live 100 summers and 100 winters, then pause take stock of his position in life.

Once when asked the secret of his many years, Ira said he kept his blood pressure down by not harboring grudges, resentments and envy He said there is no place in his philosophy for past regrets and future fears; that he let every day take care of itself, regarding it as a separate unit in life; and above all, he sought to do as little worrying as possible.

"Too many people kill themselves off worrying about their past mistakes and trying to get ahead of the fellow just ahead of him," asserted Ira. "Ambition is a fine thing but if coupled with gouging craving for more authority, recognition and money, it can kill you off just as good as a dose of arsenate. Too much emphasis is placed on getting to high and exalted places; too little on orienting yourself to the station in life where you find the most satisfaction and staying there, not rambling around in foreign fields wrestling with people you hardly know. If a Bowery bum is satisfied with being a bowery bum, then he's a biggers success in life than the millionaire who's worrying himself into a stroke because he can't make a second million before he dies."

That's old Ira's creed, in his own word, and he lives it. Nothing fancy about Ira; no self-glorifying bull, either. He's as down to earth as a terrapin's belly. Offer him the presidency of the United States and he'd sign a quit claim for a case of beer.

"You know, Zeb," mused Ira, resuming the conservation "I jes' been thinkin'. Can you tell me what's the most fragrant smell there is?"

"Hoyt's cologne," promptly replied Zeb, tossing away an empty.

Ira snorted and sort of cast a flinty glace at Zeb. "Four your information," he snapped, "Hoyt's cologne ain't even in the running. The most fragrant smell in the world is when you're way out in the pasture early on a frosty morning along in late November and smell bacon cooking for beakfast in the kitchen of some nearby farmhouse. That smell can't possibly be beat by no possible combination o' perfume makers, no matter whether they have their manufacturing plant in France or on Tobacco Road."

"Now you're talkin'," agreed Zeb "Makes me hongry to even think about it. Won't be so long now, Ira, 'till we'll be get'n fresh sausage, spareribs and cracklings for cornbread."

Ira nodded. Then he arose, kicked Butch and started toward the rear end of the beer bistro.

"Where yuh goin'?" inquired Zeb.

"I going to start getting myself in shape for the hog, collard and cornbread season," flung back Ira

"I am going to start getting myself hotdog!"

cc: Alexander Miller

1- Anti-Defamation League

September 30, 1949

Mr. J. Harold Saks
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Saks:

We were delighted to learn from our good friend Alex Miller yesterday of your order for 100 copies of Race in the News. They went out yesterday.

I send you copies of the magnificent notice the pamphlet got both in Time and in Newsweek.

In addition to our effort to get the pamphlet read in newspaper offices, we are extremely anxious to get it used by interested newspaper readers over the South. Experience has proven that local citizens who will notice their papers with care in the light of the rules laid down in the little green book, and then visit their editors as a small committee, can produce amazing changes in the papers. I am doing all I can to get people with a religious or civic interest to take up that task quite across the South. In that way the movement already under way in the South for better coverage of news involving race will be helped along and shaped.

Whatever you can do to get it widely taken up we shall all be most grateful for.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

11/21/49

GSM:

You left this letter on my desk with a note about whether they had been billed.

I find that we received ADL's check for $15.00, postmarked October 21. Envelope with this info is in the orders-completed-and-payment-received file box, on the order desk.

I just wanted to be sure that this was clear, and that you had finished with the letter.

met

ADL
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 6-8010

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October 5, 1949

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of September 30, and in the same mail I received 100 copies of "Race in the News". Thanks for giving such prompt attention to our request.

Alex Miller showed me the booklet a couple of weeks ago and I told him at the time that I thought it was a very significant contribution to the entire human relations field. Today I am even more convinced of its value and of the impact which it will make upon the press of the nation, and particularly, the Southern press. You are certainly to be congratulated for this fine piece of work.

We are distributing it through our regional offices and the independent community relations offices with which we cooperate. I am sure that they will agree that this booklet has an important place in our work.

Sincerely yours,

J. Harold Saks

J. HAROLD SAKS

JHS:KBL

RECEIVED
OCT 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

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425 New York Life Bldg., 20 W. 9th St., Kansas City 6, Missouri, *Sidney Lawrence, Director*

SOUTHWESTERN REGIONAL JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCIL,
1003 Scanlan Bldg., Houston 2, Texas, *S. Thomas Friedman, Director*

FROM THE DESK OF

Alex Miller

1/18/50

TO George Mitchell

Attached advertisement &

comment of our regional

director will interest

you. I still think

your Miami branch

should protest this

showing —

Regards

Alex

Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Bldg., Miami, Fla.

a 10 f

Arnold Forster

Gilbert J. Balkin

January 17, 1950

BIRTH OF A NATION

Subject film is now showing at the Embassy Theatre in Miami.

I went to see this picture. While it does contain vicious stereotyping of the Negro and a glorification of the Klan, its technique is so ridiculous in the light of modern photography that its impact is probably greatly lessened.

I know that at the showing I attended yesterday, there was a great deal of laughing and snickering at many of the scenes.

GJB:dda
Enclosure
cc: Oscar Cohen
Alex Miller

RECEIVED
JAN 20 1950
Southern Regional Council

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EMBASSY
320 S.E. FIRST ST.
MIAMI
OPENS 11 A. M.

STARTS TODAY!

EXCLUSIVE SHOWING IN GREATER MIAMI

THE GREATEST PICTURE OF ALL TIMES

BACK TO THRILL A NEW GENERATION

D.W. Griffith's

BIRTH OF A NATION

See and Hear

THE 8th WONDER OF THE WORLD!

★

IF YOU'RE UNDER 40 — YOU HAVE NOT SEEN IT!

★

WITH SOUND EFFECTS AND ORIGINAL MUSICAL SCORE Recorded By 100-PIECE ORCHESTRA

UNCUT! UNCENSORED! EXACTLY AS FILMED!

"The Birth of a Nation" is the greatest picture of all time, and is too important an attraction to remain on the shelf, and deprive millions of the right to see it. Accordingly, a sound track with appropriate sound effects and the original music score has been added to the re-issued version, which is being brought back, by special arrangement to thrill a new generation!

80 MILLION PEOPLE HAVE SEEN IT!

Many of these same millions will want to see it again for old time's sake!

MILLIONS MORE WANT TO SEE IT!

Millions, born since "Birth of a Nation" was first exhibited in 1915, and who have heard so much about it from their elders, will want to see it for the first time. Any person under 40 years of age hasn't seen it. IT'S A FIRST RUN PICTURE FOR THEM!

EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD SEE IT!

Because of the historical significance, every American owes it to himself to see "Birth of a Nation." No other picture tells such a thrilling story of the fusing of warring sectionalism within our nation, into a United States of America.

★ ★ *Now* AT POPULAR PRICES! ★ ★

SEE Civil War Battle Scenes Which Have Never Been Equalled!

SEE The assassination of Abraham Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth in the Ford Theatre!

SEE The surrender of General Robert E. Lee, to General U. S. Grant at Appomatox!

SEE The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation by President Lincoln!

A LIVING PAGE OF AMERICAN HISTORY!

SPAIN Coral Gables | CIRCLE Miami Springs

Southern Office
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

11 Pryor Street, S. W., Suite 305
ATLANTA 3, GA.

MEMORANDUM

To Harold Fleming

From A. J. Levin

Date Jan. 30, 1950

Subject:

This will undoubtedly be of interest to you.

Have you any S.R.C. members in Miami who can get behind movement to hold 1951 convention in Miami?

ajl

Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Bldg. Miami, Fla

copy

RECEIVED
JAN 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

copy

MIAMI TIMES
Jan. 20, 1950

OUR LOCAL RED CROSS (Editorial)

One of the major topics being discussed this week is the Red Cross Chapter in Miami. This chapter, a year ago, invited the National Red Cross Convention to meet in Miami and the invitation was accepted.

Now, upon learning that there are National Red Cross Colored officials who will attend the convention in 1951, the chapter voted 17 to 10 to ask the National to forget about the invitation, and not to come to Miami.

The convention has nothing to lose by this action, certainly there are many cities that will be pleased to have this outstanding organization as their guest. However, because of the feeling of a few, another black spot will be chalked up against Miami.

The Red Cross is an organization that rightfully has the respect of all classes, and while that respect will be maintained; we have had several persons discuss the matter with us, and some have said that they will have little to do with the local chapter. That's unfortunate, nevertheless, it is not hard to understand the reaction in matters of this kind.

Miami has made, and is making notable interracial progress, we hate to see anything happen to mar this progress.

One of the Miami Herald's leading writers, Jack Bell, has this to say:

"Our Red Cross chapter leaders a year ago asked the national chapter to bring the 1951 national convention to Miami. National accepted and we all felt honored.

But our present local Red Cross chapter, hearing that certain Negroes have done such outstanding work as humanitarians that they're national Red Cross officials, voted 17 to 10 to ask National not to come here.

It is most unfortunate that we have such opinions in our local chapter. Red Cross is free from bigotry, women and men banded together to help all mankind. Red Cross, regardless of individual opinions to the contrary, does not function for social reasons.

So I have an idea. Why doesn't the City of Miami tell Gen. George C. Marshall that Miami wants the convention? If the present local members of the chapter don't feel they want to be in a room with a Negro, that's their privilege and it should be respected. But that's no reason Miami's fair name should be sullied by stories of intolerance.

I will guarantee good accommodations for the half dozen Negro delegates, in good hotels if they wish. I'll guarantee that they meet plenty of good Miami citizens too, White and Black, and won't be permitted to feel we're kicking them around. Nor am I taking on any difficult task. Listen: a brillian Negro woman singer, here for a church convention, was refused a seat at a dinner at the

COPY

Anti-Defamation League
130 Seybold Bldg. Miami, Fla

Women's Club, and dozens of our finest White women leaders sent to a tea given in her honor.

If the City of Miami will do this, the 17 local chapter members then may act according to their own feelings. It isn't fair, if they don't care to sit in convention with Negroes, to insist that they do so. My plan should make everybody happy. I'd like to attend the world's greatest humanitarian convention, headed by the leader of all our armies during the last war and our former Secretary of State."

# # #

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Anti-Defamation League
930 Seybold Bldg. Miami, Fla

RECEIVED
FEB 16 1950
Southern Regional Council

Leo Shapiro

Gilbert J. Balkin

February 14, 1950

I am attaching hereto report which appeared in the local press on an excellent address delivered by Dr. Robert Giffen, Executive Secretary, Greater Miami Council of Churches and Director of the Miami Protestant Service Bureau, before a mass meeting of 2000 Dade County (Miami) public school teachers.

I have received firsthand reports on Dr. Giffen's address, which was in many ways quite remarkable. As you will note from the attached, he approached frankly the issue of Negro teachers meeting together with White teachers and other serious aspects of local intergroup relationships.

I am informed that the teachers were enthusiastic in their response to Dr. Giffen's talk.

GJB:mg
Encl.

Gil

cc: Oscar Cohen
Frank N. Trager
Alex Miller
Rabbi Irving Rosenbaum

COPY

COPY

MIAMI DAILY NEWS - 2/11/50

BROTHERHOOD PROBLEMS STRESSED TO TEACHERS

The practice and violation of brotherhood in the school system were brought home to some 2000 Dade county teachers at a mass meeting yesterday.

Dr. Robert Giffen, head od the Protestant Service Bureau here, listed the subject out of the "abstract" and laid it before the teachers -- and school officials -- for inspection.

"We might as well face it," Giffen said. "Children learn their prejudices from their parents and their teachers."

Giffen, who said he addressed a group of Negro teachers on brotherhood the day before the White teachers meeting, conducted a question and answer forum on classroom or teachers' problems dealing with brotherhood.

He said one of the questions at the Negro meeting concerned the practice of White and Negromeeting teachers holding separate meetings.

"They wanted to know," Giffen said, "Why can't all the teachers meet in Dinner Key?!"

When it was time to read questions submitted by the White teachers, there were at least two asking "why not?" joint meetings in Dinner Key.

Teachers also heard addressed by School Supt. James T. Wilson and School Board Member Milton Weiss. Wilson gave a brief review of the school financial picture and Weiss discussed relationships within the school system.

###

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Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council

S. Thomas Friedman
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHONE CHARTER 2633

1003 SCANLAN BUILDING
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

7HCP A02

March 16, 1950

RECEIVED
MAR 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I feel very much indebted to Harold Fleming and yourself for the list of names which you just forwarded from Atlanta. You may rest assured that they will be given the confidential treatment they require and at no time will be used improperly.

In looking over these lists, I find a few familiar names and I am looking forward to making the acquaintance of those whom I have yet to meet. Just this past weekend, I had the privilege of getting to know Dr. Lewis M. Killian at the University of Oklahoma who is vitally interested in your work.

I look forward to seeing you and Harold again at some time in the future. With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alan D. Kandel

Alan D. Kandel
Associate Director

ADK:ccg

A.D.L.

March 14, 1950

Mr. Alan D. Kandel, Associate Director
Southwestern Jewish Community Relations Council
1003 Scanlan Building
Houston 2, Texas

Dear Mr. Kandel:

Here are the lists which Harold Fleming wrote to you about on March 10.

This is an unprecedented step for the Council to take, and I supply the list because I value a cooperative effort in producing improvement and preventing injustice and violence which the Council and the A.D.L. can have. I must be strict in requiring that you keep these in your own desk for your own personal use. It is of the greatest importance to the Council that they not be washed into a general clerical operation and that they not be used ever as a basis for a mailing.

You are most welcome to refer to the list yourself from time to time for a name that may be helpful to you in some special situation in some particular town.

I am sure you will understand my caution in this regard. People who join the Council do so in the expectation that the Council will preserve an entirely personal relationship with them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:wgd

June 12, 1950

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Alex:

Thanks for the note about Jackson, Mississippi. I have sent out to head people over there copies of "How to Stop Violence, Intimidation in Your Community," and asked them to get busy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

SUITE 305
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1950
Southern Regional Council

June 7, 1950

Dr. Hugh A. Brinn
Southern Baptist Convention
2825 Lexington Road
Louisville 6, Ky.

Dear Hugh:

Brant Cooperamith, the very able director of our New Orleans Regional Office, has just communicated with me regarding a most interesting Klan situation in Jackson, Miss.

You may recall my having mentioned on several occasions that there has been practically no Klan activity in the State of Mississippi for a number of years. Perhaps, with representative government officials like the late Senator Bilbo and Rep. Rankin the citizens of Mississippi felt that their minority problems were being so well attended to that there was no need for further intimidation by a hooded group. Recently, however, Lycurgus Spinks, former organizer for Imperial Wizard Samuel Roper of the Association of Georgia Klans, returned to Mississippi to take up residence once more in his home city of Jackson.

A short time after Spinks moved to Jackson, he announced in his usual grandiloquent style that he was going to organize the women of the state into a huge Klan auxiliary. This scheme failed but only a week ago last Saturday, Spinks did manage to put on a sizable Klan demonstration in Jackson. He had a rather large number of robed Klansmen who marched in military manner. Being himself an old-time patent nostrum seller, he opened the meeting with thirty minutes of excellent music by a hillbilly band. In addition, there was quite a bit of publicity. As a result, there was not only quite a large group of Klansmen, but also a crowd of curious townfolk who attended the meeting.

Spinks spoke to his audience for well over an hour using typical Klan-like anti-religious and anti-racial prejudice.

A number of people in Mississippi have become somewhat alarmed and feel that unless public sentiment is aroused, Spinks' spectacular tactics may result in a revival of the Klan as a powerful force in Mississippi. This threat becomes even more potentially dangerous in the face of the recent ruling by the Supreme Court in the segregation cases.

The people of Mississippi, however, particularly of Jackson, have not as yet become conditioned to taking forthright action as have the people of Georgia, Alabama, and other states where the Klan has been more active in recent years. While a number

of members of the Ministerial Alliance abhor the revival of the Klan, they are not yet convinced that they should speak out as a group or that they should urge the city fathers to pass remedial action such as anti-crossburning and anti-mask ordinances. We have found that the passage of such ordinances, even though there have been to date no prosecutions, have resulted in everyone of the 37 Southern cities and the State of Alabama, where such legislation has been enacted, in a sharp diminution of Klan activity and strength.

In view of the above I wonder if it would be possible for you to write to any of your contacts in Jackson urging upon them the need to take action.

I do hope that our paths will soon cross again. With kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,

AFM

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ca
cc: Mr. Brunt Cooperamith
Mr. George Mitchell
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Rev. John H. Marion
Mr. Nelson Jackson
Miss Nelle Morton

Dear George:

I wonder if it would be possible for you to write to any contacts you may have in Jackson, Miss.

~~KKK~~ ADL

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S., W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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National Director

COMMISSIONERS
Southern Area

LEONARD ABESS
Miami, Fla.

FRANK GARSON
Atlanta, Ga.

MAURICE DANENBAUM
Houston, Tex.

JOHN HORWITZ
Oklahoma City, Okla.

August 28, 1950

Dear Friend:

Attached is an offset of a letter sent by the Southern-Northern Knights Ku Klux Klan to all state officials in Florida, including every member of the legislature. It illustrates the new line adopted by this Klan organization.

You will also note that this Klan is an amalgam of the Florida, Carolina and Alabama Klans. The other large Klan organization is the Association of Georgia Klans whose Imperial Wizard is Sam W. Roper. There is a third and much smaller Klan group now in existence started some months ago by Lycurgus Spinks whose headquarters is in Jackson, Mississippi.

The Rankin Bill to which Hendrix refers was introduced by the Congressman into the House of Representatives on October 19, 1949 and stated, "That it shall be unlawful to be a member, or to participate in the activities of the un-American, subversive organization known as the Anti-Defamation League."

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:tl
encl.

RECEIVED
AUG 29 1950
Southern Regional Council

EMPEROR
SAMUEL II

BILL HENDRIX
NATIONAL ADJUTANT
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

IMPERIAL WIZARD
NO. 4-006800

SOUTHERN-NORTHERN KNIGHTS KU KLUX KLAN

NOT FOR SELF BUT FOR OTHERS

DEATH TO COMMUNISM

CYCLOPS
KLAVERN NO.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.
P. O. BOX 4914

TO ALL STATE OFFICIALS:

Dear Sir:

The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith (Jewish Facist organization) is one of the leading Communist front organizations in the United States, and is organized for the purpose of smearing, blacklisting and boycotting all organizations and individuals who are effective in the fight against Communism. It controls the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the CIO-PAC and is closely linked with the Federal Council of Churches and all Socialist and pro-Communist groups in the Nation.

We enclose a copy of the Bill by Honorable John Rankin, now pending in Congress, to outlaw the Anti-Defamation League. It should be passed by the Legislature of Florida.

Sincerely,

Bill Hendrix
Grand Dragon, State of Florida

IMPERIAL COUNCIL KU KLUX KLAN — EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

BILL HENDRIX
RT. 2
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

THOMAS L. HAMILTON
BOX 231
LEESVILLE, S. C.

WM. HUGH MORRIS
BOX 2401
BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

1773-SONS OF LIBERTY ● 1866-1915-1949-KU KLUX KLAN

SEAL

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

August 29, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

HF attach copy of letter to MW

Dear Harold:

I am wondering if you or George Mitchell have any contacts in Myrtle Beach or in the neighboring community of Conway. It might help to activate them.

Incidentally, the action in this case bears out at least one finding in the survey with regard to the attitude of Negroes towards the Klan.

Cordially,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea

RECEIVED
AUG 30 1950
Southern Regional Council

August 29, 1950

Mr. J. H. Spann
Box 1244
Myrtle Beach, S. C.

Dear Mr. Spann:

Attached is a copy of a news item which appeared in today's Atlanta Constitution. I imagine the facts have been called very adequately to the residents of your city.

I am wondering if it would not be a wise move, in order to forestall further trouble, to get your city council to pass an anti-mask ordinance as contained on pages 7, 8, and 18 in the attached booklet. Over 41 Southern cities have thus far passed anti-Klan legislation of this type and in all of these cities we have noted almost a complete cessation of Klan activity following their passage.

I can well understand that feelings are running high in Myrtle Beach at this time. I do think however that passage of an anti-mask bill and other Klan legislation, which you will find in this booklet, should go far towards preventing further trouble.

I would appreciate hearing from you in this matter.

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea
blind copies: Arthur Rittenberg, Charleston, S.C.
Melvin Harris, Columbia, S.C.
Mr. Sidney Abrams, Conway, S.C.
Mr. Harold Fleming, Atlanta, Ga.

KKK

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION
August 29, 1950

POLICEMAN IN KLAN ROBE FATALLY SHOT

Myrtle Beach, S.C., Aug. 28. - When parading Ku Klux Klansmen ignored a warning not to stop at Negro night club, an off-duty policeman wearing a robe was killed in the resulting 2---shot battle, officers disclosed Monday.

The night spot, part of a tourist-court layout, was "completely wrecked" during the battle and at least one Negro was wounded slightly, Sheriff C.B. Sasser reported.

The slain policeman was James Daniel Johnston, 42, of nearby Conway, the seat of Horry County. Johnston was wearing a white Klan robe over his police uniform, but he was not on duty, the sheriff said.

Johnston was elected magistrate in last month's South Carolina Democratic primary and was to have taken office in March.

The wounded Negro was Charlie Fitzgerald, owner of the night club who allegedly had warned the Klansmen not to demonstrate before his place. Fitzgerald has been taken to a jail in another part of the State for "safekeeping," Sasser said.

Fitzgerald has not been formally charged and State and local officers said they expected to make other arrests in the case.

Masked and robed Klansmen marched through this Atlantic Coast resort Saturday night. Witnesses said from 100 to 150 men and 50 automobiles participated in the demonstration which was climaxed with a visit to "Negro Hill," a settlement near Atlantic Beach.

As the band approached Fitzgerald's place, Sasser reported, the owner sent out word to the motorcade to keep moving or there would be shooting.

CC: Mr. Alex Miller

ADL

September 14, 1950

Mr. Prescott Kelly
Brown-Marx Building
Birmingham, Alabama

My dear Mr. Kelly:

I take the liberty of writing you on the advice of one of our friends.

On the basis of such information as has been supplied, it seems to me that an attempt to carry out the provisions of Mr. Woodward's will as relating to the establishment of a boys' school is regrettable. The two types of racial exclusiveness are repugnant to good manners, good education, and good democracy.

I would like to express the opinion that the Board having the matter in its authority would do more for Alabama's and America's honor and profit by refusing to create an institution under these terms than by building and conducting for fifty years an institution whose very terms of origin would be felt as an insult by many good American citizens.

It is greatly to be hoped that the plan will not be proceeded with.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Minister
HENRY M. EDMONDS
Phone 3-3634

Pilgrim Congregational Church

1819 NORTH 8TH AVENUE
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Secretary
MRS. CHAS. R. PLOSSER
Office Phone 3-4522

September 7, 1950

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Referring to your letter of August 18: I am just back from vacation myself. I would suggest that you communicate with Prescott Kelly, Brown-Marx Building. He is prominent on that Board and no doubt in position to give some valuable advice.

Sincerely,

Henry M. Edmonds

Find original

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Alanta 3, Georgia

HME:ep

RECEIVED
SEP 11 1950
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

August 18, 1950

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I believe you received a copy of the attached letter the other day. Truly, this situation is an unhealty one. Unfortunately, undemocratic ideas have a way of spreading as rapidly as democratic ones.

I am wondering whether there are some people in Alabama whom you might like to activate with regard to this situation.

With kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

Insp—

August 21, 1950

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S.W., Suite 305
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

When the memorandum about the Birmingham business came in, I wrote to Edmonds over there and asked him for advice as to how our slender forces could best be used in that situation. I will let you know what we can do.

It is pretty bad, and it needs to be jumped on.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

August 18, 1950

Rev. H. M. Edmonds
2409 Henrietta Road
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Edmonds:

I would like for the Council to do whatever would be helpful in getting Birmingham to perform cleanly in this matter.

It so happens that Mr. Beittel, Chairman of the Alabama Division, is on vacation. Mr. Marmion, on whom I usually call for Birmingham advice, has gone.

Would you be kind enough to think about and advise me about ways in which our slender forces could work on the right side of this?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

ADL

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

George Mitchell:
this is in reply
to the letter we
discussed in your office.

Regards

Art Levin

N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N.Y.

LOngacre 3-6890

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1950
Southern Regional Council

October 26, 1950

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Levin:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 23.

Mr. Dombrowski of Southern Conference Educational Fund has circularized about 15 professors of southern institutions and, so far, one has accepted. We have secured acceptances also from Dr. Otto Klineberg and Prof. Eugene Hartley from New York.

Our big job now is to get a person in the general field of education, and we are trying to get someone from this area to testify for us in this case. I think it probably will be preferable that we save Mrs. Coulborn of Atlanta University for our Atlanta case if she is willing to do it.

We are very appreciative of your suggestions as they were most helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

s/ Robert L. Carter
ROBERT L. CARTER
Assistant Special Counsel

RLC: plh

COPY

14

ADL

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

We have sent this letter to 472 of our contacts in South Carolina. You might want to do likewise.

RECEIVED
NOV 15 1950
ARCHIVES
Southern Regional Council

Art Levin

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST., S. W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

November 14, 1950

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Miami, Fla.

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Atlanta, Ga.

MAURICE DANENBAUM
Houston, Tex.

JOHN HORWITZ
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear Friend:

In the past you have demonstrated your deep interest in strengthening our democratic way of life by writing to this office for our educational materials. We are, therefore, calling the attached United Press release to your attention. It represents what amounts to armed insurrection in South Carolina by a mob of hooded and masked terrorists.

In Alabama, which has State legislation directed against masked intimidation and terrorism, and in the 42 Southern communities which have similar city ordinances, the type of violence described in the news story has been reduced almost to the vanishing point.

You may wish to write to your Representatives in the State Legislature urging that their first order of business in January be the enactment of legislation to curb such occurrences in the future. Your Governor-elect, a man of international reputation and integrity, will certainly react favorably to your letters to him requesting that he expedite such legislation.

You may also want to request your Mayor or City Council to pass anti-mask and anti-crossburning ordinances which will serve to prevent similar invasions of your community.

As a matter of information, the Attorney General of the United States has classified the Ku Klux Klan, along with various other fascist and communist groups, as subversive and un-American organizations.

If you would like to have copies of model laws designed specifically to prevent intimidation and violence by masked and hooded groups, please write to me.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin

Arthur J. Levin, Director
Atlanta Regional Office

AJL/ea

SHERIFF, 'NEXT ON KLAN LIST,' ASKS FBI HELP ON FLOG CASE

CONWAY, S.C., Nov. 9 — Sheriff C. E. Sasser, saying he was "next" on the Ku Klux Klan's punishment list, Thursday called for the FBI and state constabulary to help him investigate the flogging of a farmer and his two sons.

He denied a Klan leader's charge that his own officers were responsible for the beating of 40-year-old Rufus Lee and his sons early Wednesday.

Sasser said Lee had warned him that his attackers told him "the sheriff will be next on our list" if Lee told officers of the attack on himself and his two sons.

Lee, who was released from a hospital Monday with a minor ailment, was dragged from his bed about 1 a.m. Tuesday by hooded men and taken from his home in a car. He said the masked men, wearing Klan robes, whipped him, cut off his hair and left him about a mile from his farm home.

"They told me I had been drinking too much liquor," Lee told the sheriff. "I've never been delinquent in my life. My only offense is drinking a little and I don't think it's right to punish my family for something they didn't do."

Lee's sons, Coolidge, 23, and Hinson, 18, were seized by another group of hooded men, Sasser said. They were taken from the house, marched a mile down the road in their underwear, roughed up and told to "keep going," he said.

Sasser posted a 24-hour guard around the Lee home as he called for help from other authorities. He said the elder Lee was bedridden in his home, but neither son was seriously injured.

Coolidge's wife, who lived with the Lee family, was taken to a hospital "in hysterics" after the attack, the sheriff said. Doctors reported she was pregnant and had had "a severe shock."

Sasser said one of the men had been recognized, but did not disclose his name.

* * * * *

ADL

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

We have additional copies of the attached available for your use if you would like to send them to your contacts.

Art Levin

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST., S. W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Atlanta, Ga.

MAURICE DANENBAUM
Houston, Tex.

JOHN HORWITZ
Oklahoma City, Okla.

November 15, 1950

Dear Friend:

You will undoubtedly be interested in the attached reprint, which is self-explanatory.

Because of your deep interest and concern in strengthening the American way of life, I believe you will want to communicate with the Board of Governors of the Woodward School, pointing out the disservice which this school will be performing to the state of Alabama and to the Nation, and calling upon the Board to sever their connections with this school and the discredited ideology for which it stands.

The Chairman of the Board of Governors is Mr. Ray L. Lange, 3505 Salisbury Road, Redmont Park, Birmingham, Alabama.

In these times of mortal conflict between democracy and totalitarianism, we cannot afford to have this beachhead of totalitarianism in our country - right here in Alabama! I would appreciate hearing from you as to your actions in this important matter.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin

Arthur J. Levin, Director
Atlanta Regional Office

AJL/ea
encl.

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1950
RESOLVED

LIGHT

A Bulletin of the Social Service Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention
108 Breckenridge Lane Louisville 7, Kentucky

Volume III SEPTEMBER, 1950 Number 7

HITLER'S GHOST WALKS IN ALABAMA

To those of us who are striving to promote the ideals of true Christianity and American democracy incidents such as the following, make us realize how much there is yet to do.

The late Harvey G. Woodward, a wealthy former resident of Birmingham, Alabama provided in his will the sum of three million dollars for the establishment of a preparatory school for boys near Birmingham. Seven outstanding citizens of that city were named as Directors of the Board of Governors of the Institution.

The following stipulations are quoted from the

Book of Wills
Jefferson County Probate Court
Alabama

"It is directed that members of the Ethiopian or Negroid races shall not be employed as house or culinary servants or in the buildings of the school, or on the grounds, except as common laborers and then only if necessary. This due to the probability of pupils unconsciously acquiring the Negro's type of actions, language, lack of real observation, and way of thinking.

—p. 475

"The Board of Governors shall provide for determining the order in which persons applying for admission shall be admitted, giving preference, however, to (1) those with English or British ancestry; (2) those best fitted; (3) those born in Alabama, in the order named.

"No pupil, except those of British ancestry, shall be admitted unless his father and mother were both natural born citizens of the United States and unless such parents were of the Caucasian or white race. Each pupil shall be a natural born citizen of the United States. The Board of Governors shall determine what evidence or proof of ancestry shall be required of applicants for admission. No Jew or Hebrew, referring to his race not his religion, shall be eligible, or shall be admitted — this is not intended as a reflection upon the people of that race or nation, but the object for which this school is founded will, in my opinion be best accomplished by designating as beneficiaries thereof the class I have hereinabove specified.

"The Board of Governors, faculty, head or entrance examining board, as the Board of Governors may determine, shall have the right at all times to refuse entrance to the school or to expel from the school without giving any reason therefor."

—p. 477

It is interesting to note that such brilliant people as Dr. Ralph Bunche, Dr. George Washington Carver, Miss Marion Anderson and other outstanding scientists, artists and professional people would not be permitted to work here even as servants because the young men of the school might **unconsciously acquire their way of acting, thinking and their lack of real observation!**

It is pathetic to realize that, should He come as a lad to Birmingham, our Lord would find the doors of this institution slammed in His face. Can you imagine Jesus appealing to the Christian members of the Board of Governors for admission? Then hear them as they say, "We are sorry, we neither employ niggers nor enroll kikes."

Hitlerism is not dead. Not only does it sneak up and down the land under hooded sheets blasphemously waving a cross of fire, but it also moves in the upper strata of respectability and is both proclaimed and practiced by men of intelligence and culture.—H. A. B.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI

CORAL GABLES (University Branch) 46, FLORIDA

December 7, 1950

Mr. Gilbert Balkin, Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Gil:

Thank you so much for the two copies of Safety, Security, and The South. I looked it over hurriedly but carefully enough to feel that it is very much worthwhile.

If you can spare them, I'd like to have a dozen or so copies for our Materials Room in the Department so that all our students may read the study. I shall expect my 301 class to do so.

I should say, however, that I regret the choice of words on page three of the study:

> "The North and West seek new avenues by which to extend civil rights laws. The South adamantly barricades the way."

Such ascribing in blanket fashion of virtue in civil rights to the North and West and guilt to the South is not calculated to move along the social process. I think Ina Corinne Brown (Race Relations in a Democracy) and S. Andhil Fineberg (Punishment Without Crime) would agree with my criticism.

I know you'll be delighted to know we have got Graduate Committee approval on a concentration in human relations studies for the M.Ed. degree at the University of Miami. It will be the first organized graduate program in human relations in the South. It will be offered cooperatively by the School of Education and our Department.

Thanks for your splendid cooperation always.

Sincerely,

s/ Miller

M.A.F. Ritchie, Chairman
Department of Human Relations

MAFR/dw

COPY

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE — 11 PRYOR ST., S. W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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DEC 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

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Miami, Fla.

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Atlanta, Ga.

MAURICE DANENBAUM
Houston, Tex.

JOHN HORWITZ
Oklahoma City, Okla.

December 12, 1950

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have just received the attached copy of a memo from Seymour Gorchoff who is director of our Kentucky-Ohio office. His address is Suite 400, 83 S. High Street, Columbus, Ohio. Seymour wonders if there is any information or any suggestions which we might have regarding his participation in the Louisville Institute.

If you have any training material, I would appreciate it if you would send it on directly to Seymour.

Many thanks for your kind cooperation.

Cordially,

afm

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

This is in regard to your recent memo concerning the Louisville University Training School for Police Officers.

I have been in touch with Colonel David McCandless, who is in charge of the Louisville Police Institute at the University of Louisville, and Captain Gerald Kopp, who has been handling this program for the Police Department. We have been trying to get as much of our materials as possible injected into these courses. The courses will start in January, both in the Police Department and the University. I have been advised that the Institute at the University will have an attendance of Police Officers from all over the South, and the advance registration has been so heavy, that the school cannot accommodate all the officets who wish to participate.

The book entitled "Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups" is the manual which will be used in the course. I have been trying to get copies, but have been advised that they are not available at this time. The Police Department advises me that they will place copies at my disposal as soon as possible. I will keep you advised of developments.

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

1-A

RECEIVED
DEC 15 1950
Regional Council

December 14, 1950

Mr. Gilbert Balkin
Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Bldg.
Miami, Fla.

Dear Gil:

I am arranging to have twenty-five additional copies of "Safety, Security and the South" sent to you.

I was very much interested to read the comments by Professor Ritchie, Chairman, Department of Human Relations, University of Miami.

I believe he makes a valid point in his criticism of our statement:

> "The North and West seek new avenues by which to extend civil rights laws. The South adamantly barricades the way."

What was meant when the statement was written, but was not made sufficiently clear, was that the Southern Congressional Bloc has elected a formidable barricade against every single federal civil rights proposal. Of course, not all Northerners and Westerners have favored the civil rights proposal, but I think it is fair to state that if the Southern Congressional Bloc had not engaged in parlimentary maneuvers we would today have some federal civil rights legislation on the books. You may remind Professor Ritchie that it was strictly the work of the Southern senators under the leadership of Senator Russell of Georgia which blocked approval at the last session of Congress of the House-approved FEPC Bill.

You may assure him that if this pamphlet goes into a second edition that these two sentences will be reworded in order to make our thoughts clearer in accordance with his suggestions.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea
cc: Dr. Mozelle Hill
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Oscar Cohen

ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W.-ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

a new anti-discrimination front

Alex Miller

Anti-Defamation League
190 Seybold Bldg. Miami, Fla.

1 add

Southern Regional Council
JAN 26 1951

Oscar Cohen

Gilbert J. Balkin

January 15, 1951

The attached copy of the front page lead article from the January 15, 1951 issue of the Miami Times, local Negro weekly, reflects a very significant development in Negro-White relations in this area, in my judgment.

GJ Bmb
Encl.

cc: Arnold Forster
Frank N. Trager
Alex Miller.

Hil

COPY

Anti-Defamation League
490 Seybold Bldg. Miami, Fla.

THE MIAMI TIMES
January 13, 1951

'COLOR BAR' DROPS AT BEACH NIGHT CLUB

JO BAKER OPENS TO MIXED HOUSE

History was made in Miami Beach Thursday Night when the internationally famous Josephine Baker played to a mixed house at the Beach's swankiest night club, beautiful Copa City.

Miss Baker, the toast of Paris for 25 years thrilled the 800 odd guests with her songs and dances. Her $50,000 wardrobe by Paris designer Christian Dior amazed the appreciative audience.

Supporting Miss Baker, who was introduced by Sophia Tucker, was the Harmonica Raskcals, the Paul Steffan Dancers, Stan Kramer and the 16 Copa Lovelies.

Among the guests who shattered traditions on Miami Beach were: Ann Lindsey, Robert Barnett, Frances Jollivette, Garee C. Reeves, Mr. and Mrs. John Diaz, Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Killens, Atty. G. E. Graves. Princess Griffin, J. D. Brooks, Maxine Sullivan, Bill Chase, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley I. Sweeting, Willie Lamar and Florence Pinder.

###

COPY

aDL

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

February 14, 1951

Dear Friend:

Thanks to the generosity of the National Committee for a Free Europe, we have arranged to have sent to you in the near future the book, "Tell the West" by Jerzy Gliksman.

This is a factual account of conditions in Soviet labor camps, written by an eyewitness who is presently in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Alexander F. Miller

Alexander F. Miller

RECEIVED
FEB 20 1951
Southern Regional Council

AFM/ea

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
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NEW ORLEANS REGIONAL OFFICE
BRANT COOPERSMITH, Director
5342 St. Charles Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

February 27, 1951

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you know, George Mitchell is planning to tour this state during the week of of March 12. This visit, as I understand it, will be used for the purposes of publicising the formation of the Louisiana Division of the SRC.

Father Louis Twomey, Acting Chairman of the Louisiana Division, has asked me to assist the communities in preparation of publicity for this visit. In order that we can properly do the job, will you send me twelve(12) copies of biographical data and twelve(12) mats of his picture for newspaper publicity.

Please send me this as soon as you can in view of the fact that the people in the communities ought to have this information no later than March 7 or 8.

I hope this letter finds you well and happy.

Cordially,

Brant

Brant Coopersmith, Director
New Orleans Regional Office

mats sent air special 3/7/51 - BR

BC:js
cc: Rev. Louis Twomey

RECEIVED
MAR 1 1951
Southern Regional Council

1 Anti Defamation

RECEIVED
APR 3 1951
Southern Regional Council

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION
11 [illegible]
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

April 2, 1951

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

As you know, the Klan in Florida has been particularly active and vicious. Judging from my own experience, there is probably more Klan activity today in that state than any other in the entire South.

On the other hand, according to a recent survey made by this office, whenever either a state or city passed any sort of anti-mask or anti-crossburning ordinance, there was a marked diminution of Klan activity. The Florida Legislature convenes on Tuesday, April 3rd in Tallahassee. I understand that plans have been made to introduce a state anti-mask, anti-crossburning bill. A number of members of the Legislature have already signified their approval of this measure. It would be tremendously helpful if you would write to some of your leading contacts in Florida and urge their support of this measure both through making statements to the public press and also through advising the representatives and senators of their particular area of the state that they favor the passage of this bill.

Cordially,

AFM

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea
cc: Dr. George Mitchell
Ben Harrison - New York
Gilbert Balkin

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

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Director Southeastern Regional Office

adl

April 16, 1951

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APR 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

You will recall my writing to you a couple of weeks ago regarding the Florida anti-mask bill which has been introduced in the Legislature.

I am attaching for your interest a copy of an editorial which appeared in the Tampa Morning Tribune on April 10, 1951. It will give you an inkling of the problem which we have to face.

I know you will do all you can to get your people in Florida to help get this legislation passed.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/ea
cc: Gilbert J. Balkin

TAMPA MORNING TRIBUNE

April 10, 1951

(Editorial)

THE KLAN GROWS BOLD

The boss of the Ku Klux Klan in Florida has had the gall to register as a lobbyist at the 1951 session of the legislature. Tallahassee dispatches quote Grand Dragon Bill Hendrix as saying he is there to fight any anti-Klan laws which may be proposed.

If legislators need anything more to whip them into action on outlawing public mask wearing and cross burning, this ought to be enough.

The picture of an admitted Ku Klux leader boldly lobbying in our legislative halls is one that does no credit to this enlightened state. The Ku Klux Klan, in its several branches, has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General of the United States and put on the same list with Communist front organizations. Although the Klan has attempted to sneak back into political power by posing as an anti-Communist group, the actions and words of its leaders prove that it still trades in the same old religious and race hates.

In his message to the 1949 legislature, Governor Warren recommended "appropriate legislation against Communism;" and in the next paragraph he urged an anti-Klan law, in the form of a ban against mask-wearing in public places. But the legislature failed to act.

Governor Warren, who early in his administration denounced Klansmen as "hooded hoodlums" and "covered cowards," did not mention the Kluxers in his message to the present legislature. Although he revived several of his leftover 1949 recommendations, he said not a word about the anti-mask law.

But the legislature needs no further advice from the Governor. Its members well know the danger of Kluxism; they know that wherever the seeds of hate are actively sowed and cultivated, the inevitable harvest is brutal lawlessness.

A few days ago a Negro citrus worker was beaten and shot to death near Orlando by four white men who broke into his home and dragged him out to a woodland execution ground. We don't know whether these murderers were Klansmen or not. But we do know that this cowardly crime took place in an area which long has been a center of Klan activity.

The seeds and the harvest --

It is impossible, of course, to banish prejudice by law. But we can make it harder for the sowers of hate to escape responsibility for their acts. We can require them to walk in public with their faces uncovered, as any honest man should be willing to do. And we can stop them from burning their emblem of intimidation anywhere except on their own property.

Georgia's recent legislature passed a strong anti-mask law, with the backing of Gov. Herman Talmadge. Surely, Florida cannot afford to show less concern for the protection of justice.

Directors of the Tampa Junior Chamber of Commerce have adopted a resolution urging the legislature to outlaw public mask wearing and cross burning. We think all organizations in Florida which cherish American freedoms -- for others as well as themselves -- should do likewise.

-0-

ADL

August 13, 1951

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St. S. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Alex:

My cordial thanks to the A. D. L. for sending me the green manual on Public Human Relations Agencies.

Getting it together was a mighty useful thing to do.

I was able to figure from it very quickly that fourteen Northern States spend in excess of $250,000 a year—by far the greater part of it public money—to try to handle this problem at which you and I and others in the South work with pennies.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Sept. 17, 1951

Miss Gertrude Noar
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Miss Noar:

Many thanks for your letter of September 13 about Human Relations Education.

We hope that a little later on we can be really helpful in getting such instruction used within Southern schools. We are in touch with Alex Miller and his people on it. I hope that a time will come when we can all have the benefit of consultation with you here in Atlanta and elsewhere.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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212 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 6-8010

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September 13, 1951

SEP 17 1951
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Southern Regional Council

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Sir:

You undoubtedly know of the work in the area of Human Relations Education which has been and is being done by this organization. I have recently become Associate in the Department of Education in the National Office and expect to devote my time to the work in the eastern part of the country.

Until last May I had been associated with public education in Philadelphia as teacher, then as principal of Gillespie Jr. High School and as speaker and consultant in administration, curriculum and teaching techniques. This past summer, I taught at the University of Minnesota, was consultant in the New York University workshop for administrators and in the pre-term city-wide workshops in Oklahoma City. You may know my book on curriculum, "Freedom To Live and Learn" published in 1948 by Franklin, Philadelphia. Another one on the Jr. High School will be published by Prentice Hall early next year.

I believe that I could be of service to your association wherever curriculum development, improvement of instruction, the content, techniques and tools of human relations education are on the agenda for discussion. I would like to have the opportunity of making known to your membership the resources in printed materials, films, recordings and graphics that we have developed. Should you plan to include human relations in conferences and conventions, I would be glad to know about it, to help you to plan, to participate as speaker, resource person, discussion leader or consultant, and to place the services of our regional office at your disposal.

Kindest personal wishes for a most successful school year.

Sincerely yours,

Gertrude Noar

Gertrude Noar

GN:rb

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ADL SOUTHERN OFFICE
11 PRYOR ST., S. W., ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

11-15

Dr. George Mitchell

Progress in Virginia

The Challenge is a picture about Civil Rights

Alex Miller

C
O
P
Y

APL

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE
Petersburg, Virginia

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1951
Southern Regional Council

November 7, 1951

Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Miller:

Your immediate response to our request provided an opportunity for over two hundred students, representing seven colleges and universities in the Richmond and Petersburg area, to see the film, "The Challenge". The response was tremendous.

There was a request for me to hold the film for showing on and off campus during the next ten days. I abided by your request, however, and this day returned the film under separate cover.

You may be interested to know that a discussion on the subject Discrimination and Civil Rights followed the film. We had present in the audience Americans who are Jewish, Catholics, Protestants, Negro and White. We look forward to your cooperation in the future.

Sincerely,

/S/ Samuel L. Gandy

Samuel L. Gandy
Director of Religious Activities

SLG/es

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JAN 7
Southern Regional Council

January 6, 1962

Mr. Theodore Freedman
401 E. Franklin St.
Richmond, Va.

Dear Ted:

We still continue to get gratifying responses to the first ADL Southern Newsletter which we sent out last fall. Attached please find two letters which reached my desk this morning, coming from individuals in your territory. I know that you will respond to their requests with your usual able celerity.

You will be happy to know that the second ADL newsletter is already in the hands of the printer and should be ready for mailing within the next week or two in plenty of time to have it in the hands of our contacts for Brotherhood Month.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

CC: William P. Bloom
Dr. Alfred Weinstein
Harold Fleming
Barney Medintz
Bernie Isaac
Gil Balkin
Arthur Levin

COPY

Cullowhee, N. C.
January 2, 1953

Southern Office
A.D.L. of B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia .

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for sending me your Newsletter for October. I read it with more than usual interest. As State Chairman of Minority Groups for the N.C. Federation of Womens Clubs, I need your help. Will you please send me any visual aids you have for correcting unkind attitudes toward minorities. I wish to write every club president in the state and send her materials which will put into action a program for improved relations.

It was heartening, I think, to see the editorial in The Asheville Citizen for December 31 concerning Tuskegee's report that there had been no lynchings during 1952 and entitled "The South Lifts Its Head."

Do you have addresses and references to other organizations which might help me? I shall be grateful for suggestions from your able staff for reaching several thousand club women.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Mrs. Carl Killian

COPY

FERRUM JUNIOR COLLEGE
FERRUM, VIRGINIA

Dept. of Social Studies
Allan R. Moore

December 19, 1952

Southern Office
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I notice from your "Southern Newsletter" that you have a series of "Freedom Pamphlets"

I am anxious to secure some of these for the use of my students, and shall appreciate it if I may have a list of titles.

We appreciate the films which you have been sending us. They have proved to be very instructive.

Yours very truly

/s/ Allan R. Moore

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MUrray Hill 6-8010

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July 17, 1952

RECEIVED
JUL 18 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Although I am on vacation this week I have discussed the housing release with our Public Relations Department by phone. We are doing everything we can to assist in the favorable reception of the release.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC AW

ADL

December 19, 1952

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Alex:

Do you think we could get about thirty copies of Elmo Roper's reprint, "Discrimination in Industry," from the Industrial and Labor Relations Review, July, '52, which you sent us?

I would like to send it out to the officers of our State Divisions. The Council will gladly pay if need be.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ade

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN & ABRAM
515 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG

January 2, 1953

Mr. Harold Fleming
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You may be interested in the enclosed letter from Sol Rabkin, to which I have made the enclosed reply.

Sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

A/c
Enc.

COPY

ANTI-DEFEMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N.Y.

December 19, 1952.

Mr. Morris B. Abram,
Heyman & Abram,
515 Healey Building,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Morry:

Thank you for your letter of December 15th in which you call to my attention as one evasion of the use of private institutions to avoid state action proscribed by the 14th Amendment, the white primary. I do not believe, however, that the inquiry from Mr. Burke of the Indiana Law Journal was concerned with such political discrimination. Rather, he was interested in such devices as the proposal to turn the South Carolina public schools over to private ownership in order to avoid the impact of a possible Supreme Court decision striking down racial segregation in the public schools.

Similar schemes were used in West Virginia where a public bond issue financed the building of a swimming pool, which was then leased to a private corporation for operation at a nominal rental so that the pool could maintain a policy of excluding Negro would-be patrons. Have there been housing projects that you know of in the south built wit state or federal aid and then turned over to private operation so that Negroes could be excluded? Have municipalities in the south built auditoriums with public funds and then provided for their operation by private corporations so as to permit segregated operation? Have such public utilities as busses and trolley lines been aided by state or municipal funds and then turned over to private operation to insure continued policies of racial segregation?

In the case of housing, such examples may well exist. Was the project which was bombed in Miami one such project? Do you know of any golf courses or other recreational facilities built with city funds and turned over to private groups for operation in order to insure their being able to maintain politicies of racial exclusion?

That, I believe, is the kind of information that Mr. Burke would like to have. I shall, of course, turn the contents of your letter over to him in any case, being careful to refrain from naming you as the author.

Thank you very much for the suggestions that you did make. Please accept my sincere greetings of the season and be sure to give my regards to your charming and beautiful wife.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Rabkin

COPY

LAW OFFICES OF
HEYMAN & ABRAM
515 HEALEY BUILDING
ATLANTA 3, GA.

January 2, 1953

ARTHUR HEYMAN (1867-1951)
HERMAN HEYMAN
MORRIS B. ABRAM
ROBERT G. YOUNG

Mr. Sol Rabkin
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Sol:

In answer to yours of December 19th, I do not know of any housing projects in the South built with state or federal aid and then turned over to private enterprise for the purposes you mentioned. That would not be necessary in view of the fact that in the field of public housing segregation has been accepted in the South and no litigation, at least that I know of, has resulted from the practice. I might add that Public Housing authorities have been pretty scrupulous and have usually built the Negro projects first.

As for auditoriums, I do not believe that any have been turned over to private organizations. The same is true with respect to bus and trolley lines.

I think the important, and perhaps significant point, in this discussion is in how few areas we have had litigation on the separate but equal question. Consequently there has been very little need for the evasion when the direct practice itself has not been challenged.

I hope we will get to see more of you this year than last. Meanwhile I wish for you the best of everything in the coming year.

Very sincerely,

Morris B. Abram

A/c
CC: Alex Miller
BC: Harold Fleming

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
SOUTHERN OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Atlanta, Ga.

February 10, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 11

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Attached please find copy of letter which appeared on February 3rd in the Christian Science Monitor. This same letter also appeared in the Washington Post. It is in line with some of our recent discussions. Our Washington Director thought that the letter in the Post would probably be called to the attention of some of the Supreme Court Justices and other top officials.

Prior to sending this letter, I discussed it with Harold Fleming in your absence. Harold, as usual, offered a number of excellent and constructive suggestions.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

Southern Safeguards

To The Christian Science Monitor:

May I express my appreciation for your recent excellent editorial commenting on the fact that there were no lynchings in the United States during 1952, as presented in the annual report of Tuskegee Institute.

It should be noted, however, that for some years now a truer index of the state of intergroup tensions in the South has been the incidence of violence growing out of racial and religious frictions. Lynchings, heinous as they are, have become so rare in recent years that to say that race relations have improved or deteriorated because there were two lynchings in one year, four the next, and none the following year, is statistically unsound.

The report from Tuskegee Institute did indicate that during the latter part of 1951 and during 1952 an unprecedented, and largely unpublicized, wave of violence washed through the nation and particularly the South. The crude, homemade bomb and the dynamite stick became a favored method of expressing hostility towards members of racial and religious minorities.

It is my belief that the interpretation of what this rash of violence means is much more important than the chronicling of the incidents themselves. Interpretation is highly necessary at this time when certain alarmists are warning the United States Supreme Court that a decision by the Justices upsetting current segregation patterns in southern public schools would lead to extreme violence and virtual anarchy, and that the clock of race relations would be set back 50 years.

Some years ago, while speaking in Washington, D.C., before a meeting of the Fellowship Churchmen, I predicted, and I have since repeated this prediction before a number of other forums, that we might expect considerable violence during this decade. It was and is apparent that customs generations old are changing with extreme rapidity. As the walls of segregation begin to crumble, a small minority is attempting to replace the cloak of legality, which has heretofore safeguarded this wall, with a cloak of violence.

The incidents of violence we are experiencing now, in my view, represent only a bitter, rear-guard action. The crude bombs and the dynamite sticks may provide stumbling blocks on the road we are traveling towards a more meaningful democracy. They cannot stay for more than a brief moment the forward surge.

This is because the people of the South respect legally constituted authority. Southerners are intensely law-abiding and anarchy is as repugnant to them as communism. There are strong forces in the South —the press, the church, women's groups, the FBI, a growing number of local police authorities—who are determined that the rapid changes in mores be carried out in an orderly fashion. These are the forces that have done away with lynching; that have bested the Klan, the Columbians, and similar groups; that have made it possible for an increasing number of Negroes each year to vote and to enjoy other attributes of citizenship.

These are the same forces which, if the United States Supreme Court rules that segregation in the public schools is illegal, will prevent the chaos and mob violence so direfully being predicted by the prophets of doom.

Alexander F. Miller,
Anti-Defamation League
Southern Director,
of B'nai B'rith
Atlanta, Ga.

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RECEIVED
FEB 27
Southern Regional Council

February 26, 1953

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Attached please find photostat of a newspaper account of a sermon by a Methodist minister of Itta Bena, Miss. I was horrified when I read it. I thought you might want to call it to the attention of some of the Methodist leaders in your building and also show it perhaps to Mrs. Tilly.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/fsw

FEB 10 1953

THE MORNING STAR, GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI

Itta Bena Methodist Minister Explains Segregation In Sermon

A SERMON ON SEGREGATION
By Rev. J. C. Wasson
Itta Bena Methodist Church

Text, Genesis 9:18-27, Deuteronomy 7:1-6, Acts 13:1.

In this present time there is a large volume of propaganda being put forth for the equalization and mongrelization of the various races of mankind. Violent utterances are being made against the segregation of any race. I think the urgency of the situation, and the Holy Spirit, requires me to speak, by the Grace of God, and the authority of the Holy Scripture, on this controversial but very important subject. Race Relations Sunday is observed to improve the relations between the races. Here in the South we are concerned principally with the niger race. I believe whole heartedly in the principle of white supremacy, and I have come to that conclusion from the reading of the Bible.

Noah Started It

From the Genesis text, we might think that Noah was the man who should have suffered, but drinking parents have, through the ages, caused their children and grand children to suffer, and to bear the curse. The noted Bible Commentator, Dr. Adam Clarke, said, "It is very probable that this was the first time the vine was cultivated; and it is a probable that the strength or intoxicating power of the expressed juice was never before known. Noah, therefore might have drunk it at this time without the least blame; as he knew not, till this trial, the effects it would produce." However, the fact is, Noah made some light wine and drank it, it made him drunk, and he acted indecently, exposing his nude body; from that day until this wine has been making indecent drunkards.

Saw Noah Drunk

Noah had three sons, all full blood brothers. Ham was the youngest of the three, and he saw his father drunk, and in his indecency and reported it to his two older brothers, Shem and Japheth. They took a garment and put it upon their shoulders and walked backwards and covered their fathers nudeness. The conduct of Shem and Japheth was such as became pious and affectionate children, who appear to have been in the habit of treating their father with decency, reverence, and obedient respect.

Ham had on this occasion treated his father with contempt or reprehensible levity. Noah was a prophet, and the Spirit of prophecy pronounced a curse upon Ham, the curse of perpetual servitude to his bretheren, servant to both Jews and Gentiles. From his contemptible conduct to his father, the curse would have followed even though it were not pronounced: but the Spirit of prophecy pronounced a blessing upon the two obedient sons: that is God's plan for humanity.

Moved To Africa

The word, Ham, means hot and it signifies burnt or black. Ham's descendants moved southward into Africa, a hot country, without any doubt this was the beginning of the niger race. You may raise the question, how could three full blood brothers be two white and one black? If God can make a race of people, He can make them all spring from one family; God hath made from one blood all the races of the earth. Shem was the father of the Hebrew race, and his descendants settled along the southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea. Japheth was the father of the white gentiles, and his descendants moved north of the Mediterranean Sea. The three races will be meeting through the remainder of history, and sometimes unpleasantly.

Gave Jews Palestine

The Hebrews were God's own elect people. God selected their inheritance in the world, and gave them the land of Palestine. I think that ought to be their national home today. Segregation is the law of God. It was His law for keeping the Hebrew race pure. In the Deuteronomy text the penalty for violating the law of segregation was death. No intellient Bible student can deny that God is the author of segregation. God gave the law against inter racial marriages, and He commanded the segregation of the Jews in Palestine.

Ordered Segregation

In the Deuteronomy text we find that God ordered and decreed a full and complete segregation of the Jews from all other races. "Neither shalt thou make marriages with them; thy daughter thou shalt not give unto his son, nor his daughter shalt thou take unto thy son". Deut. 7:3. There the social equality theory is cast out forever. If it was good for the Jews to be segregated, and not allowed to mix, nor inter-marry with other people, then surely it would be good for all races and nationalities to be separated, and live in separate places.

The reason God gave for separating the Jews was, "For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto Himself, above all the people that are upon the face of the earth". Deut. 7:6, Let me repeat, if it was good for the Jews to be segregated to keep their race pure, then it is good for all races to be kept separate and pure. "Thou art an holy people, and therefore thou shalt have no connection with the workers of iniquity". I believe in segregation. I think that all those people who do not believe in segregating the black race from the white race do not accept the Bible and its teachings. King Solomon disobeyed God's law of segregation and the result was the kingdom of Israel was divided into two divisions, ten tribes in one division, and two tribes in one division. "But King Solomon loved strange women" (the strange women were gentiles) "And he had seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines; and his wives turned away his heart. And the Lord was angry with Solomon". 1 Kings 11.

Violated Segregation

If the law of segregation be discarded the nation shall perish. Joshua, 23:12-13. The Jews violated the segregation laws of God and were carried away into captivity as a punishment for their sin, the ninth chapter of Ezra makes that so plain that there can be no missing of the meaning of it. A full description of the confession of Israel for transgressing the law of segregation, for taking strange wives, and putting them away to turn away the fierce wrath of God is given in the tenth chapter of Ezra. Israel, by a curse and an oath, assumed the obligation to keep the law of segregation, "which was given by Moses the Servant of God." Nehemiah, 10: 28-30.

Again, Nehemiah, 13:23-31, describes the curse and sin then on Israel because of the violation of the law of segregation. "Shall we then hearken unto you to do all this great evil, to transgress against our God in marrying strange wives." The circumcised were to make no marriages with the uncircumcised. Genesis 34: 14-17. To show how serious this matter was with God, He forbad the mixing of the circumcised with the uncircumcised in the Sanctuary; no they were not to sit together in church.

Says Against God's Law

Yet, there is a great cry throughout the land today, saying, let us do away with God and the law, and let the nigers and the whites come and sit down together in the church, and defile the Sanctuary of the living God. "It is unlawful for the Jew to keep company with one of another nation". Acts 10:28. Let the United States begin this day to mongrelize the races and to practice social equality, then we shall quickly perish out of this good land which the Lord our God hath given us. The words of Joshua may well be applied to the United States if the Civil Liberties Union plans are carried out.

The proper word for the Hamitic race occurs in the Bible only one time, the words negro and nigger are not in the Bible. In Acts 13:1, is the only place in the Bible where the black race is designated by its proper name; "And Simeon that was called Niger", niger the I is a long I, prounounced Ni-ger, the word means black.

Honor To Be Black

It is an honor to be a black man in his place, it is a disgrace to be a mulatto; that is plain evidence of adultery. God has made of one blood all nations, and has provided one Saviour for all people, and one law for all people. God's law is perfect but it is imperfectly administered by the hand of man: therefore the law of segregation has not been kept according to the will of God: but in heaven the law will be executed perfectly and segregation will be complete. A niger has a soul, and if he is a Christian he will be saved in heaven.

I do not believe in persecuting the Jews nor Ni-gers, but I believe in separating the Jews into Palestine, and the Nigers into Africa, but with justice to all men.

(Note: This sermon is to be delivered [illegible] the Itta Bena First Methodist Church since it has been designated as Segregation Sunday.)

ADL

June 1, 1953

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Ave.
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

I warmly appreciate your kind letter of May 26.

Much of whatever we in the Council are able to get done is because of the cordial friendship and ready effectiveness of the ADL all over the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

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May 26, 1953

RECEIVED
MAY 28
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I note that Ben Epstein has written you a letter of congratulations with regard to the award you have received from the Catholic Committee of the South. I hasten to add my congratulations too.

I think I have told you on a number of occasions how invaluable we consider the work of the Southern Regional Council and its director. Through our Southern Office, we are proud to be associated with you and your tremendous achievements.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC AW

167

~~CC~~ ADL

June 1, 1953

Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Epstein:

How very kind that was of you to write me about the award from the Catholic Committee of the South.

Some wise man recently said, "Praise is all right if you don't inhale it." But I do appreciate the honor from the Committee. Meanwhile, I am mindful that one of our strong links in all our work in the South is Alex and the whole ADL.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL DIRECTOR
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

RECEIVED
MAY 23
Southern Regional Council

May 22, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Alex Miller has informed me of the honor that has been bestowed upon you by the Catholic Committee of the South and he has been good enough to send me a copy of the citation. Never was an honor more justly earned. My heartiest congratulations.

It is gratifying to note that at least some recognition is being given to the tremendous role you have played in the development of democratic attitudes in the South. In these days of ferment and change your wise counsel and organizational ability are tremendous factors in the remarkable developments which are taking place throughout the southern states.

My warmest good wishes for the continuation of your excellent work and magnificent contribution you are making to our nation.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin R. Epstein

Benjamin R. Epstein

BRE A

ADL

June 8, 1953

8

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor St., SW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Alex:

ADL did everyone a real favor in reprinting the chapter from WHO SPEAKS FOR MAN, which you sent me the other day. I have never seen that problem so well put.

You and I have both, in these last few days, spent some time with the delegation from India, and we know at first hand how keen is their interest in the problem of discrimination in the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

adl

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

June 24, 1953

RECEIVED JUN 25 Southern Regional Council

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Miami, Fla.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Board
63 Auburn Avenue S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I believe you will be interested in knowing that the Old Dominion Graduate Nurses Association, a Negro association of nurses, liquidated itself at its thirty-seventh annual convention.

The group liquidated because the Graduate Nurses Association of Virginia has accepted the Negro nurses in their organization with full participation and status as members.

This is but another sign of the growing maturity of the South.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Art

Arthur J. Levin

AJL:d

ADL

Georgia Association B'nai B'rith Lodges

July 20, 1953

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Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Aven., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

You will recall reading in the newspapers of the firing of J.B. Matthews as chief investigator of the McCarthy committee as a result of Matthews' article charging that the Protestant clergy are the chief supporters of communism in this country.

On that occasion, President Eisenhower made a courageous statement condemning "irresponsible attacks that sweepingly condemn the whole or any group of citizens". This had the effect of probably nipping in the bud group defamation and smear, at least as far as the McCarthy committee may be concerned.

May I ask your cooperation in writing a personal note of congratulations to President Eisenhower for his stand on this issue. He will undoubtedly be thankful for support from some responsible people.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin

AJL:d

RECEIVED
JUL 21
Southern Regional Council

Re: File
A.D.L.

January 5, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for your letter concerning Dr. Kennedy's proposed project. My judgment squares with yours in every respect. I should make it clear that I had no idea that ADL would be interested in financing it; as I discussed it with Art, the thought was that you might be able to help Kennedy find a suitable philanthropic source for such academic research.

I will be in New York for a couple of days this week and am hoping to touch base with you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Executive Assistant

December 31, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I looked over with interest Dr. Kennedy's outline for a research project. The project is an interesting one but my reservations are as follows:

1) I would rather see money spent on a more action-oriented project.

2) The research is to continue until April 1960. Based on past performances we could expect the document to be written and available for circulation late in the year or almost two years from now. Could any one predict that this kind of research would be helpful in two years in view of the fast moving situation in the South? If somebody has a lot of money to spend for research it might be alright. Agencies such as ours don't have this kind of money and if we did we would have better use for it.

I could not in good conscience recommend it at this time when there are so many other projects crying out for help.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

EL — what have we? P A

Re-file ~~Anti-Defamation League~~ Anti-Defamation League Oscar Cohen

approx 300

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

April 20, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Our stock of the Cole pamphlet, which was a cooperative publication between our agencies, is now just about exhausted. Do you have any stock you can spare? We will take as many copies as you have. If not, then we would like to republish. In this connection, it may be that Cole would like to make some revisions. I would hope that you could negotiate with him, for he is closer to you than he is to us.

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen per

OC/fb
cc: Stan Wexler

4/26/66 info given Adelman verbally.

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File
Anti-Defamation League - Atlanta

May 19, 1966

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ted:

Thanks very much for the copy of the Weiner Library Bulletin. Let's get together sometime soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Anti-Defamation League
Atlanta

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Freedman, Theodore
Anti-Defamation League

REGARDING

Housing -
Racial Advertising (Eagle Creek Shores, Atlanta Area)
June 21, 1966

DATE

Freedman ltr. dtd. June 30, 1966
Anthony Reply " July 1, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Urban Planning files - Moreland Smith

file

file
Anti-Defamation League

August 3, 1966

Mr. Ted Freedman
Director
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ted:

Just a note to express my deep appreciation to you and to Sherman for your help in these matters related to Captain Reddick.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
Anti-Defamation
League

December 12, 1966

Mr. Ted Freedman, Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ted:

Thank you for the copy of Vincent Harding's speech. It's excellent.

May we have your permission to consider its publication in an issue of NEW SOUTH? We are writing Vincent for the same permission.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

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Of B'nai B'rith
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., TELEPHONE 523-3391
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

File

File

December 19, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

This is in response to your letter of December 12 relative to Vincent Harding's speech.

I concur with you that it is a good item, and one that would be appropriate for a forthcoming issue of "New South." As far as I am concerned, you have our permission, and I trust that Vincent will also concur.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF/rk

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41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., TELEPHONE 523-3391
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

file → file

March 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You may recall that some months ago you and I discussed the possibility of joint action regarding the use of potentially discriminatory questions on the applications for admissions to colleges and universities in the South.

To this end, I am attaching a brief summary of the survey which we have just completed under the direction of Bruce Rosen. Even a causal perusal of the material indicates that there is a problem and one that should be dealt with forthrightly. Therefore, I would appreciate your looking the material over and giving me a call. Perhaps we can get together for lunch to discuss the project, the findings and joint action.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF/rk

Paul: i've nitpicked this. the most serious fault is the sampling bias, and the failure to say what percentage of the universe the sample represents. the findings don't have much meaning without this latter, and are put in question by the former. as a general indication though of a certain reality in the south, the report would i think be useful.

pat

THE USE OF POTENTIALLY DISCRIMINATORY QUESTIONS ON COLLEGE APPLICATIONS IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES

By
F. Bruce Rosen
Southern Director of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Purpose.--The purpose of this study was to determine to what extent schools in the eleven state area of the "Old South" were using potentially discriminatory questions on their applications for admission. Potentially discriminatory questions were defined in operational terms as questions regarding the race or religion of the applicant and requests for photographs of the applicant.

We have chosen to use the term potentially discriminatory on the assumption that in some cases these questions are simply anachronistic reminders of an earlier and less fortunate period in American education.

It may be argued that the questions on the application forms are there in order to gain a complete picture of the candidate or for the purposes of general data, and that the answers to these questions are not considered in making a decision regarding the candidate's eligibility to enter the school. Unfortunately, the position of schools in the South regarding the admission

of Negroes to formerly all-white schools would tend to discountenance this argument. It was further discredited as far back as 1947 by the report issued by the President's Commission on Higher Education, entitled, HIGHER EDUCATION FOR AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. This report said, in part,

> Discrimination in admission of college students because of an individual's race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or ancestory is an anti-democratic practice which creates serious inequalities in the opportunity for higher education.[1]

The Commission went on record as unequivocally recommending,

> ...the removal from application forms of all questions pertaining to religion, color, and national or racial origin.[2]

In describing the function of such questions the Commission said,

> ...it can almost be said that the request for certain information on application forms constitutes an all but prima facie case that such information is likely to be used for discriminatory purposes.[3]

We share the views of this Commission and it is our position that while there may be an appropriate place (a personal data sheet) and time (after admission) for the school to request such information as is necessary for institutional bookkeeping and statistical analysis

---

[1] Higher Education for American Democracy, A Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947), II, 26.

[2] Ibid., p. 38.

[3] Ibid.

as well as the provision of certain services, the time is not at application for admission and the place is not on an application for admission. Any data requested on an application for admission should be relevant in deciding whether to admit a candidate or not. This position seems to have the support of a number of major Southern institutions as evidenced by their application forms. Among the major institutions of higher education reflecting such a policy are the University of Arkansas, University of Florida, University of Georgia, Tulane University, University of North Carolina at Raleigh, University of South Carolina, University of Houston, University of Texas, and Washington and Lee University.

which position?

?

Sample.--The sample for this study was taken from the eleven states of the "Old Confederacy," Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and consisted of 316 schools. Of these 316 schools, 78 were Junior Colleges, 207 were Colleges, and 31 were Universities. The sample was based on the total response to a mailing to all schools (except theological, business, and medical schools) in the eleven states as listed in the current College Blue Book.

How many?

sample Bias: Schools that respond are different from ones that don't... should at least be acknowledged—

Of the 316 schools in our sample, 266 were accredited by the appropriate regional accrediting agency (Southern Association of Colleges and Schools or North Central Association). One hundred and twenty-eight of the schools in the sample were public, 41 were private and 147 were denominational. Of the schools in our sample 65 were predominately Negro in enrollment and faculty and 251 were predominately white; 9 were all male, 24 were all female, and 283 were coeducational. All of the data on the schools, with the exception of that relating to the potentially discriminatory questions is from the current College Blue Book.

Definitions.--In order to simplify the processing of the data, the following definitions were imposed.

> Junior College--An institution providing two years of college level work equivalent to the freshman and sophomore years of college. Grants a certificate or an Associate of Arts degree.
>
> College--An institution granting at least a Baccalaureate degree. It may grant a Master's degree but does not grant the Doctorate. In some instances it may grant only the Master's degree.
>
> University--An institution which provides work leading to the Doctorate and grants such a degree.

There are a number of institutions included in the

study that while calling themselves Colleges are treated as Junior Colleges according to the defined criteria. The same is true of a number of schools calling themselves Universities that are treated, for statistical purposes, as Colleges since they do not offer a Doctorate.

Survey Results, General.--In general the results of the survey are disheartening. Twenty years after the report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, thirty-six percent of the schools in our sample ask for the race of the applicant; eighty percent ask about a candidate's religious preference; and fifty-eight percent require an applicant's photograph on the application form.

If the question of race and a request for a photograph are assumed to be for the purpose of eliciting an individual's race, seventy-four percent of the schools whose applications were analyzed requested either race, a photograph, or both. Nonetheless, as indicated above, the area in which potentially discriminatory questions are most commonly found is that of religion. These are generally requests for information concerning "church preference," "church membership," "church attended," "religion," or "religious preference."

A logical assumption

Survey Results, By Race.--When the same data are broken down on the basis of predominately white and predominately Negro schools, the figures for questions of religion and requests for photographs remain constant at eighty and fifty-eight percent respecitively. As might be anticipated, only six percent of the predominately Negro schools ask for the race of the applicant as compared with forty-four percent of the predominately white institutions. And while sixty percent of the predominately Negro schools sampled either asked race, required a photograph, or both, seventy-eight percent of the predominately white schools required an applicant to list his race, attach a photograph or both.

? Why say it this way?

Survey Results, Accreditation.--Differences between accredited and non-accredited institutions are slight. Thirty-seven percent of the accredited schools ask an applicant's race, while only thirty-four percent of those schools lacking accreditation request the same data. Eighty-two percent of the non-accredited schools ask about a candidate's religion as compared with eighty percent of the accredited institutions. The greatest difference between accredited and non-accredited institutions is in the request for a photograph on the application for admission. Only fifty-six

?

percent of the accredited institutions require a photograph while sixty-six percent of the non-accredited schools request one. Seventy-three percent of the applications to accredited institutions required either a photograph, information about the race of the applicant or both, as compared with seventy-eight percent of the institutions lacking accreditation.

Survey Results, Control.--On the question of race, the worst offenders were public institutions, with forty-two percent asking for this information on application forms. Only thirty-four percent of the denominational institutions and twenty-seven percent of the private institutions required this information.

As might be expected, the rank order on questions pertaining to the religious preferences of applicants were: First, denominational schools with a massive ninety-five percent of the sample requesting this information; second, private schools with seventy-three percent of the sample asking questions about the applicant's religious affiliation or preference; and third, public schools with sixty-six percent of the sample requesting such information. It is a shocking commentary on freedom of religion and the separation clause of the first amendment to the United States Constitution that two-thirds of the public schools in this sample required an applicant to

indicate religious preference on his application for admission to school.

Pictures were requested by seventy-three percent of the denominational institutions studied while sixty-three percent of the private institutions and thirty-nine percent of the public schools requested the same information.

Eighty-four percent of the denominational schools in the survey requested race, a photograph, or both as compared with sixty-eight percent of the private and sixty-six percent of the public institutions in the sample. Thus, approximately two-thirds of the public institutions in the sample were provided with a relatively accurate racial identification of the applicant at the time of his application for admission.

Survey Results, Level.--Finally, it should be pointed out that with the exception of requests for photographs, Colleges ask more potentially discriminatory questions on their applications than do either Junior Colleges or Universities. Thirty-nine percent ask for race, eighty-three percent for religion, fifty-eight percent for race, a photograph, or both.

For Junior Colleges, the equivalent figures are: Thirty-three percent ask race, eighty-five percent ask religion, sixty-two percent ask for a

photograph, and seventy-three percent ask for race, a photograph, or both.

Universities, which seem to request the least data of a potentially discriminatory nature rank, on the same questions, as follows: Race, twenty-six percent; religion, fifty-five percent; photograph, forty-five percent; race, a photograph or both, fifty-eight percent.

Conclusions.--The most immediate and evident conclusion that must be drawn from the data is that a great number of schools in the South are either unaware of the potentially discriminatory nature of the questions asked on their admissions forms or are specifically seeking to acquire data relating to the race and religion of applicants. Even a cursory glance at the history of discrimination in institutions of higher education in the South would tend to validate the latter hypothesis. Twenty years ago the President's Commission on Higher Education described such information requests as "all but prima facie evidence that such evidence is likely to be used for discriminatory purposes."[4] And this would seem to be further borne out by the inordinate difference between the percentage of Negro and white schools requesting the race of the applicant.

A second conclusion would seem to indicate

---

[4]Ibid.

that the accrediting institutions are not concerned with whether or not the schools they grant accreditation to ask questions of a potentially discriminatory nature. While the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools does not keep records as to whether the schools it accredits are predominately white or predominately Negro, they do not seem to expect the schools to follow the same pattern in regard to their admission forms. It can only be concluded that if they find these questions acceptable on the application for admission forms, they would not object to their being used as a criteria for admission.

A third major conclusion is that the public state Universities are least likely to ask potentially discriminatory questions on their applications. It is interesting to note that the best known and largest schools seem least likely to ask potentially discriminatory questions on their forms and generally these forms are short and easy to complete.

Finally, while there has been, in recent years, a concern with potentially discriminatory questions relating to race, the most common offenders are still questions about an applicant's religious beliefs. Specifically, questions of religion exceed all other categories of questions for: Junior Colleges and

Colleges; accredited and non-accredited schools; public, private and denominational schools; and both predominately Negro and predominately white schools.

TABLE 1

FIGURES RELATING TO POTENTIALLY DISCRIMINATORY QUESTIONS ASKED BY SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS: BY CATEGORY AND QUESTION

	SAMPLE		RACE		RELIG.		PHOTO		RACE OR PHOTO.	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
TOTAL.....	316	100	115	36	253	80	183	58	234	74
PREDOM. NEGRO.....	65	21	4	6	51	80	38	58	39	60
PREDOM. WHITE.....	251	79	111	44	202	80	145	58	195	78
ACCRED.....	266	84	98	37	212	80	150	56	195	73
NON ACCRED.....	50	16	17	34	41	82	33	66	39	78
PUBLIC.....	128	40	54	42	84	66	50	39	83	66
PRIVATE.....	41	13	11	27	30	73	26	63	28	68
DENOM.....	147	47	50	34	139	95	107	73	123	84
JR. COLL.....	78	25	26	33	64	85	48	62	57	73
COLLEGE.....	207	65	81	39	172	83	121	58	159	77
UNIVERSITY....	31	10	8	26	17	55	14	45	18	58

File
ADL - gen.

June 8, 1967

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Alex:

Thank you for the copy of the excellent speech, "The Prospect for Violence in American Cities." Perhaps I think it excellent because I agree with its contents. But I do have the terrible feeling that we are on a collision course, and I think you have documented that quite well.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

July 25, 1967

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Mr. Bruce Rosen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ted and Bruce:

Enclosed is Bob Anderson's rewrite of the college admissions piece. I think it adequate but feel about it as I did the first report. Namely some more substance and some more life could be added to it.

At your convenience please give me your reactions and any editorial suggestions you have.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

file ADL
atlanta

July 31, 1967

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ted:

It suddenly occurs to me that I have not formerly expressed to you how much I, and all of us here, will miss you both as a colleague in Atlanta and as a fellow do-gooder generally. Needless to say, you have my every good and sincere wish as you take off on this new career.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Free
Anti-Defamation
League

January 26, 1968

Mr. Philip Goldhagen
Southern Director of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Geoggia 30303

Dear Phil:

Thanks for the information in your note. I am happy you sent a copy to Vernon and hope you can get with him soon. In fact, while I welcome an opportunity for us to talk further at an early date, it might be more profitable for you to drop by and meet several of the people here whom you should know, and with whom I think you can develop a number of things.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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Jay Solomon, Chattanooga
Maurice Steinberg, Augusta
Morris Strauch, Memphis
Mrs. Harry Strauss, Knoxville
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Irwin Schulman
Regional Director

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. – 523-3391 – ATLANTA, GA. 30303

File

January 23, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30318

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You may recall at our luncheon conversation last week I spoke to you about Voter Education Project in Texas. The letter which I am appending arrived the next day. Please note the last paragraph.

I am looking forward to meeting with you again when your schedule permits.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Phil Goldhagen

Philip Goldhagen
Southern Director
of Education

PG/rk

cc: Vernon Jordan

VOICE

VIEWS OF INTERESTED CITIZENS OF EDUCATION

P. O. BOX 1431
GRAND PRAIRIE, TEXAS
75050

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MRS. BETTY THOMPSON
SECRETARY

January 18, 1968

Mr. Philip Goldhagen
Southern Director of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Philip:

Once again I thank you for your tremendous efforts on behalf of VOICE. Your material is very useful. At present, we are awaiting the appointment of the new superintendent. Right now it looks like several P. H. D. candidates have been rejected in favor of an administrative man who has been assistant superintendent for several years. We will continue to work, however, because we have an election coming up in April and we have a good chance of changing the structure on the school board.

The Grand Prairie schools are presently preparing for an inspection by an accrediting committee from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. I learned from several of the teachers that great efforts are being made to rehearse the teachers for this day and that all unattractive aspects of the school system will be swept under the rug, so to speak, in order to present a good, but false picture to the accredidation team. It is my understanding that the superintendent has remarked that he will know the date that the team will appear. Anything you can do to alert the Southern Association on the situation in Grand Prairie would be most appreciated.

I am enclosing a copy of an article that was published in the Texas Observer, a statewide newspaper here in Texas.

A great battle now rages in Dallas between LEAD and the Dallas Independent School District, and Dr. Norman Kaplan and Milton Tobian, the current president of LEAD are heavily engaged. You may have met Dr. Kaplan when you were here in Dallas. It seems that these gentlemen questioned the policy of Dallas School District when certain honors courses

were offered only at some Dallas high schools; and when the question was raised about the failure of having these courses at the negro schools, the trouble began. Kaplan was accused of meddling and harassment of the Dallas School Board. A good deal of coverage on radio and television has resulted and some members of the legislature are calling for investigation of the School Board policy, which is quite obviously being discrimitory.

Our current trouble will be voter registration. There will be a large number of registrants this year because of the presidential election coming up. I wish now that we could have had the help from you and the voter registration organization that you mentioned when you were here.

Very truly yours,

James S. Vecchio

James S. Vecchio

JSV:jg

Enclosure

File
Anti-Defamation League

March 19, 1968

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Ted:

It's very good to hear from you, and even better to know that you are back.

I, too, was sorry that we didnpt get to see each other at Austin.

Under separate cover we are sending you the requested 10 copies of the Orangeburg report. Glad to know you san make use of them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM March 19, 1968

To: Bernice C. Cook

From: MMJohnson

Bernice:

Please have packaged up 10 copies of ORANGEBURG and send to Theodore Freedman in Houston (label attached).

thanx, mmj

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

1513 MELROSE BLDG. • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002 • (713) 222-9803

THEODORE FREEDMAN
Southern Director

March 12, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am sorry I missed seeing you during your recent visit to Austin. I had fully intended attending the conference but found myself with a conflict and instead attending the National Executive Committee of the League in New York at the same time.

As you can note from the stationery if you haven't heard otherwise, I am back on the job as Southern Director for the League. Needless to say I am looking forward to working with you and I shall call you when I am in Atlanta next week so that we might have a chance to chat for a few minutes.

I read with considerable interest the SRC's Report on the Events At Orangeburg, and if at all possible I would appreciate your making available ten copies of the Report to me. I know a number of people in the Texas area who should see this material and equally importantly get to know SRC better.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Ted

Theodore Freedman
Southern Director

TF/nh

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

file

file

"Oscar Cohen"

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Vice-Chairman, National Executive Committee

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President, B'nai B'rith Women

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General Counsel

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National Campaign Director

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

March 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

How wonderful to see you again. I do hope we can develop cooperative projects along the lines we discussed. You will hear from us further, and Phil will be seeing you.

Please let me have reports on hunger and malnutrition as soon as they are available.

Do look me up in New York.

Warmest regards,

OC/mj

Oscar Cohen

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

File
Anti-Defamation
League, N.Y.
"Oscar Cohen"

May 3, 1968

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for the comments about New South. I shall share them with those who did the job. I agree with you it is an excellent job.

The summary booklets of the Kerner Report are proving to be very much in demand. Is there any chance for another 5,000 copies?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration
CHARLES I. SCHER
National Campaign Director
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

May 1, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am delighted that you sent me a copy of the "Poverty Issue" of the New South. I can use the extra copy. This is a superb issue and dramatizes poverty in a way which few other publications have. It is a magnificent contribution to our knowledge of one of the greatest evils in our society, and if there is any goodness in this country - it should excite the compassion of those who can remedy the situation. Strangely enough, I have confidence it will.

The publication is a credit to all concerned, and I would like to extend my congratulations and admiration to everyone who was involved in this issue.

The question is, how do we use this information most effectively? I am appalled by the extent of hunger in the United States. Surely, until the federal government takes over this problem, private organizations should step in - and they haven't, not adequately.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/mj

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

Memorandum May 28, 1968

To: Janet Smith

From: MMjohnson

Please add the following to our INTERGROUP mailing list:

Mr. ~~[illegible]~~ Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamation League
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

See Anti-Defamation League

May 28, 1968

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Executive Director
Anti-Defamation League
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Mr. Freedman:

In Mr. Anthony's absence I am having your name added to our mailing list as you have requested.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

MEMO-LETTER

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
1513 MELROSE BLDG. - HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002
Phone CA 2-9803

MESSAGE	REPLY
TO Paul Anthony	DATE
DATE 5/24/68	

Dear Paul,

Now that I'm back as Southern Director for ADL operating out of Houston, how about adding my name to SRC's mailing list.

Kindest regards.

SIGNED Ted Freedman

SIGNED

FORM AVAILABLE FROM GRAYARC CO., INC.
882 THIRD AVE., B'KLYN 32, N. Y.

THIS COPY FOR PERSON ADDRESSED

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

File Anti-Defamation League, Gen

August 16, 1968

Mr. Sidney Stahl, Chairman
Anti-Defamation League
c/o Sheraton Hotel
Dallas, Texas

(HOLD FOR DINNER SATURDAY EVENING, AUGUST 27)

PLEASE KNOW AND EXPRESS MY REGRET AT BEING UNABLE TO BE WITH YOU THIS EVENING. PLEASE EXPRESS, ALSO, THE BEST WISHES OF ALL OF US TO SENATOR AND MRS. FRED HARRIS. OUR REGION IS ENRICHED BY THEIR PRESENCE AND THEIR CONCERNS.

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

(Called in: 10:55 a.m. August 16, 1968)

2/1

Ted Freeman:

Package - 713

Salomon Suber -

m.m.l.
355-8855 / 523-1531

6 x 2 = 12
8 x 1 = 8
20

John Dean
Hor Tour

Mr. Sidney Stahl chm A.D.L
Sheraton Hotel Dallas

Sen & Mrs Harris

Bring up Sept 12, 1968

file

August 16, 1968

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Ted:

This is to follow-up our telephone conversation of yesterday in which we agreed that ADL and SRC would co-sponsor the proposal for research in Alabama to be directed by Professor Harold Nelson. This research is to be done at a cost of no more than $2,672.00 which is to be shared equally by both ADL and SRC. We are to have the further understanding with Professor Nelson that the two agencies shall have the first rights to publish the results of the study with such form and with such distribution as we see fit.

The funds, which SRC is responsible for, are to be paid from our Voter Education Project and will be transmitted to you on request.

It's a pleasure to be in trouble with ADL again, as it always is.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Oscar Cohen

Bring up
c Sept

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

1513 MELROSE BLDG. • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002 • (713) 222-9803

THEODORE FREEDMAN
Southern Director

August 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I am attaching for your consideration a proposal submitted to me by Dr. Harold Nelson of the Sociology Department of the University of Houston. You may recall Dr. Nelson from his days at the University of Alabama.

The proposed project has some exciting possibilities and I would like to inquire as to whether SRC would be willing to jointly sponsor and fund the project. You will also note that there is a proposed budget attached.

I look forward to hearing from you. Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF:1

cc: Oscar Cohen

A. TITLE OF PROPOSED RESEARCH

"Civil Rights Activists in Politics: An Analysis of the Organization and Operations of a Third Political Party in the Fifth Congressional District of Alabama"

B. OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

1. To analyze the process by which members of civil rights organizations direct their activities to a formal political party of their own creation.

2. To analyze the structure of the party and the form and content of the campaign it wages during the 1968 general elections.

3. To attempt to estimate the future of the party as based upon the results of the election and the party members' reactions to those results.

C. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The civil rights movement began as a force operating outside the institutional structure of the South. One of its avowed purposes was to force sufficient change in the region to permit Negroes to participate in the decision-making processes. A significant stage in the history of this social movement has been reached in Alabama where a challenge has been raised against the state Democratic Party not only in terms of candidates but also in terms of its official position as the legitimate representative of the national party in the state. Various local civil rights organizations have become deeply involved in a third party effort to elect congressmen and lesser officials and to demonstrate to the national party that it is the true representative of the party in the state and should be so certified. This effort represents, at the most fundamental level, an attempt by forces previously operating outside the institutional framework to move into that structure and to achieve desired reforms from within the (political) system rather than from outside it. It represents a test of the viability of the political institution in the South, whether that agency is sufficiently flexible to incorporate a social movement within its boundaries which seeks to challenge the extant distribution of power and to "open up" the decision-making process to all of that region's citizens. The dynamics of the attempt which is now under way would provide important data not only insofar as social change in the South is concerned but also in terms of understanding the "natural history" of social movements. Most importantly, it provides an opportunity to analyze the extent to which revolutionary hopes may be realized through established mechanisms and within the established order.

D. DATA GATHERING

The proposed research represents a continuation of my interest in the civil rights movement in general and civil rights organizations in the Fifth District of Alabama in particular. (This interest has resulted in the publication of various papers on these subjects.) For four years I was a resident of Tuscaloosa, Alabama and during that time developed close associations with many of the persons involved in civil rights activities in that region. These associations permitted me access to data and material not normally available to researchers. Based on my previous experience, I believe the most efficient and productive method of data gathering would involve numerous field trips to Alabama. During these trips, I would interview all persons central to the political effort and attend as many party functions as possible. Because of my prior associations with many of the persons involved, I believe that the basic and critical data could be accumulated by interview, observation and informal discussion. Much of the history of civil rights activities in the region is already in my files. Pertinent data on the history of the counties making up the Fifth District would be gathered. Finally, while the primary focus of the research would be on the Fifth District, relevant data on the state-wide party would also be gathered. The sum of this information would make it possible to fulfill the objectives as stated above.

E. PERIOD OF RESEARCH

The project would begin as soon as funds were available. It would seem imperative that it begin no later than September 1, 1968. If funds were not available by that date, it would be questionable whether the project should be undertaken. The major part of the data would be collected by the elections in November. The effects of the election results upon party participants would be gauged by field research in December.

F. FUNDS

The major costs would be incurred during the field trips to Alabama. I estimate that there would be nine such trips, involving a total of forty-three days. Additional expenses would involve renting a tape recorder (to tape political rallies and interviews), and a "Stenorette" recording device. Also included in this category (which I have called "Other Expenses" below) is an estimate of the cost of hiring a part-time secretary to transcribe notes from the Stenorette, and to do additional typing. The estimate here, of necessity, is somewhat imprecise.

AIR TRAVEL (HOUSTON-TUSCALOOSA-HOUSTON)	
Nine trips at $98.00 per trip	$ 882.00
ROOM, BOARD AND CAR RENTAL	
Forty-three days at $30.00 per day	1,290.00
OTHER EXPENSES	
Maximum estimate (see above)	500.00
Total	$2,672.00

Harold A. Nelson
Associate Professor
of Sociology
University of Houston

VITA

of

Harold Alfred Nelson
Department of Sociology
University of Houston

Personal

Date of Birth: December 10, 1932
Place of Birth: Cleveland, Ohio
Marital Status: Married (two daughters)
Military Service: U. S. Army 1954-56

Degrees

1951-54 - B.A. - Ohio Wesleyan University
1957-58 - M.A. - University of California
1958-60 - Ph.D. - University of Southern California

Employment

University of Nevada
Visiting Lecturer - Summer, 1960
Colorado State College
Assistant Professor - 1960-62
University of Alabama
Assistant Professor - 1962-63
Associate Professor - 1963-66
University of Houston
Associate Professor - 1966 ----

Professional Membership

American Sociological Association
Southern Sociological Society
Society for the Study of Social Problems
American Association of University Professors

Honors and Honorary Societies

Haynes Foundation Research Fellowship
University of Southern California - 1959-60
Bogardus Award
Department of Sociology - University of Southern California - 1960
Alpha Kappa Delta
Lambda Alpha Epsilon
Alpha Epsilon Rho
American Men of Science
Who's Who in the South and Southwest

Theses and Publications

M.A. Thesis - "Social Correlates of Delinquency"

Ph.D. Thesis - "Reference Group Theory, Selection and the Images of Professions

"Status Indices, Social Stratification and Social Class" (co-author) Sociology and Social Research - Summer, 1960

"A Tentative Foundation for Reference Group Theory" Sociology and Social Research - Spring, 1961

"Communication: The Importance of What" Journal of Human Relations - Summer, 1961

"Multi Dimensionality and the Resulting Images of Selected Professions" (co-author) Sociology and Social Research - Fall, 1961

"An Empirical Investigation of Some Widely Held Beliefs About Marital Interaction" (co-author) Marriage and Family Living - November, 1961

"Expressed and Unexpressed Prejudice Against Ethnic Groups in a College Community" Journal of Negro Education - Spring, 1961

"On Liberals and the Current Racial Situation" Phylon - Fourth Quarter (Winter) 1964

"A Note on Education and the Negro Revolt" Journal of Negro Education - Winter, 1965

"On the Interpretation of Objectivity" Teachers College Record" - May, 1965

"Whither the Civil Rights Struggle" The Crisis - November, 1965

"How Shall the Advocate Advocate?" Ethics - July, 1966

"Of Time, Communication and Ignorance" Kappa Delta Pi Record - December, 1966

"The Defenders: A Case Study of an Informal Police Organization" Social Problems - Fall, 1967

"Charity, Poverty and Race" Phylon - (forthcoming)

"The Re-education of Sociologists: A Note on the Impact of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as Educator" Journal of Human Relations - (forthcoming)

"Discrimination and the Social Order" Freedomways - (forthcoming)

file

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

1513 MELROSE BLDG. • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002 • (713) 222-9803

THEODORE FREEDMAN
Southern Director

August 23, 1968.

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta. GEORGIA 30303.

Dear Paul,

Thank you for your letter of August 16th confirming SRC's participation with ADL in the sponsorship of the research proposal to be directed by Professor Harold Nelson. I have spoken to Dr. Nelson and he is enthused with the joint sponsorship. Further, he fully understands that SRC and ADL have the first option to publication rights.

I have also asked that Nelson keep us advised with progress reports and will share these with you as they come in.

I have not worked out the details as to payment but will be meeting with Nelson on this and will advise you accordingly.

Your telegram arrived in Dallas for the Senator Harris function and was well received.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Ted

Theodore Freedman.

cc: Mr. Oscar Cohen.

November 5, 1968

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamtion League of B'nai B'rith
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Ted:

Enclosed is our check for $1,000 made out to the Southern Office - Anti-Defamation League. Since you have handled all the other arrangements, if it is agreeable with you we would prefer that you handle all of the funds for this. At a later date, or at the conclusion of the project, we will provide the remainder of our share of the funds expended.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check: $1,000)

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

1513 MELROSE BLDG. • HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002 • (713) 222-9803

THEODORE FREEDMAN
Southern Director

October 31, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

With reference to the project being undertaken by Dr. Harold A. Nelson of the University of Houston, you will be interested to know that as of this date we have dispersed $1,127.90 to defray expenses related to the research project.

I have now on hand, Paul, additional expense accounting in the amount of $741.94 and am wondering whether you would be kind enough to have a check issued from SRC to defray this portion of the expense as we both agreed to fund the project fifty-fifty at a cost not to exceed $2,672.00.

I am attaching a copy of the summary of the expenses that were submitted by Dr. Nelson. If you wish you can send a check directly to him in care of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Houston, Houston, Texas.

Thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF/nh
encl.

SUMMARY OF EXPENSES FOR OCTOBER

October 4-6	
Air Fare (Houston-Birmingham-Houston)	$93.00
Car Rental	69.57
Room and Board	36.80
Airport Transportation	8.20
	$207.57
October 11-13	
Air Fare (Houston-Birmingham-Houston)	$82.00
Car Rental	60.80
Room and Board	29.58
Airport Transportation	7.90
	$180.28
October 18-20	
Air Fare (Houston-Birmingham-Houston)	$82.00
Car Rental	48.41
Room and Board	32.29
Airport Transportation	3.95
Recording Tapes (2)	5.80
	$172.45
October 25-27	
Air Fare (Houston-Birmingham-Houston)	$82.00
Car Rental	50.84
Room and Board	34.90
Airport Transportation	8.10
Tapes (Recording) (2)	5.80
	$181.64
TOTAL	$741.94

Submitted by

Harold A. Nelson
Associate Professor of Sociology
University of Houston

November 21, 1968

Mr. Theodore Freedman
Southern Director
Anti-Defamation League
1518 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Dear Ted:

Forgive me for not giving you an earlier report on the catastrophy of our recent elections.

The state went for Wallace, of course, and our two good former congressmen, James Mackay and Charles Weltner both were defeated by substantial margins. Here in the Fifth District Humphrey carried the District substantially while the incumbent, very conservative Republican won the congressional seat. You figure that one out!

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

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THEODORE FREEDMAN
Southern Director

November 7th, 1968.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 5th with the enclosed check for $1,000 representing SRC partial commitment to the research project being undertaken by Dr. Harold A. Nelson of the University of Houston. I have no objections to our handling the disbursement of funds and at the conclusion of the project we can make the determination as to balances due and to whom.

In spite of the outcome of the election Humphrey's carrying Texas came as a pleasant surprise though Houston was carried by Nixon with Wallace getting some 19% of the vote. Incidentally I could not find anything in the paper about Charlie Weltner's race against Thompson, how did he make out?

Kindest regards.

Cordially

Ted

Theodore Freedman

TF/gr

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FIELD REPORTS

ON DESEGREGATION IN THE SOUTH

A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS IN STURGIS, KENTUCKY

August 31-Sept. 19, 1956

Roscoe Giffin, Berea College, Berea, Kentucky

General Opinions in the Community

The community involved is a consolidated school district surrounding the town of Sturgis. It is my judgment that there is a small numerical minority who would choose no education at all for their children rather than to have it occur under conditions of racial desegregation. The majority oppose desegregation but recognize the authority of the Supreme Court and the value of education for their children and will accept educational desegregation. There is a small minority, probably smaller than the extreme pro-segregationists, who believe that desegregation is right and must come. Some evidence of the majority acceptance of desegregation is indicated by the fact that by Sept. 14 attendance by white children both in the high school and grade school was approaching normal, despite the presence both of the National Guard forces and the eight Negro students in the high school.

However, the boycott by white students was rekindled by a White Citizens Council meeting in Morganfield, Ky. (Union County's county-seat town) on Sept. 15th and by a much larger meeting sponsored by the same group at the fairgrounds in Sturgis on Monday night, Sept. 17th. Attendance in the high school was down to about 50 whites and 8 Negroes on Tuesday. Undoubtedly many Sturgis people concluded that the 100 per cent boycott by whites of the Clay School in nearby Webster County was responsible for the ruling by State Attorney General Jo Ferguson which enabled the school board of that county to bar legally on Monday the 4 Negro children who had been attending school there.

Race relations in the community, historically, are described as friendly by both whites and Negroes. But one who asks a few well chosen questions and keeps his eyes open can hardly avoid the conclusion that these peaceable relations have been almost strictly those of a caste order. Acquiescence of Negroes to the dominant position of the whites was the condition of the peace. With the exception of some coal mines in which Negroes and whites work without apparent discrimination against the former, race relations have been ordered strictly according to caste principle. Long-time residents indicate there has been no history of any interracial contacts in the area of sports, churches or social affairs. Negroes have "stayed in their place" and whites in theirs.

Sentiments in the community appear to be solidly opposed to any resort to violence. When the National Guard arrived with all of its implements of violence, some members of the crowds attempted to express their anger in ways involving more than words. Generally throughout the community one encounters such statements as "the last thing we want is violence." Clearest testimony for this conclusion seems to me to reside in the simple but dramatic fact that at no time during these two weeks of tension were any Negroes molested physically. There was not even a cross-burning either in Sturgis or nearby Clay. Personally, I do not believe that the presence of the National Guard is the explanation for the absence of such violence, for it would not have been difficult for some angry whites to have burned or dynamited a home. The Guard was not everywhere. News stories and my own experience indicate, however, that there was much verbalization of hostility directed towards both the Negro students and the Guard forces.

The immediate future for desegregation is not clear. I suspect that this crisis will retard voluntary acceptance. However, that some plans will be made by the Union County School Board is almost certain. Dunbar High School for Negroes in Morganfield is scheduled to be closed in 1957 because of an enrollment under 100. But this county is not significantly different from the rest of Western Kentucky, so far as I can judge. In numerous school districts in this part of the state, desegregation is already in process. I, therefore, see no reason why it should not be accomplished in Union County, though perhaps

more slowly than elsewhere. This, of course, assumes that no federal court order will be forthcoming in the near future requiring the readmittance of Negro students both in Sturgis and Clay.

Should such a court order be issued applicable to this school year, I would expect much further difficulty. The growth of a White Citizens Council in this area, with effective leadership and successful experience with the boycott, is ground for expecting considerable resistance to any further immediate attempts at desegregation. Such resistance can be countered undoubtedly by injunctions against further meetings of such an organization and the enforcement of the school attendance law plus an expanded police force or presence of National Guard units. But acceptance on these terms is not what we are hoping for.

Opinions Among Negroes

My opinion sampling among the Negro population cannot be described as "representative." But several lengthy conversations with an "elder" of the community, plus freely expressed opinions of a number of Negro mothers, none of whom had children attempting to enter the Sturgis School, indicated a firm conviction that they believe educational segregation must come to an end. Expressions such as "What's the matter with those white-folk?" and "I simply don't understand the way they're acting" typify their reactions to conflict. I talked with none who thought that continued segregation should order the educational experiences of their children.

In discussing community opinions generally I indicated that relations had been peaceful between the two racial groups within the caste system. During the early part of the week of Sept. 16th I observed Negroes making purchases in stores and being treated courteously. At the railroad station a group of white and Negro track workers were assembling for a meeting on track safety and I noted all were listening to the sales-talk of an itinerant jewelry salesman trying to convince them that Christmas was just around the corner and they should buy now on easy, no money down terms. But the old easiness of their relations within the rigid lines of separation that has been controlling in the past is undoubtedly gone. A new tenseness must be expected until such times as accommodation to a new pattern of relations can be achieved. I am of the opinion that the whites in general are not aware that the Negroes are dissatisfied with their status and bent upon change. And likewise it is probable that Negroes are not aware of how deeply imbedded in some of their white friends is the belief in the "rightness of segregation" and the emotional support to maintain the historic "place" relations of the races.

I have not learned of any plans to provide extra protection for the Negro community once the Guard is withdrawn. Prevention of physical retaliation may thus depend upon the extent to which the pro-segregation leaders desire to prevent violence and exert discipline over their followers. But as I've indicated previously, opposition to use of violence is wide-spread among the whites and I am, therefore, of the opinion that this will operate as an internal control to maintain order. However, there have been so many surprise developments in this conflict that the next newscast may provide unpleasant evidence of the error of my forecast.

During the first week of this crisis word got out that economic sanctions were going to fall upon the fathers of some of the Negro children involved. These were men employed in the coal mines and as a result several of the students did not show up for school that day. I was informed by a Negro couple that this threat apparently was made by some mine employee who lacked power either to hire or fire. When word of this reached the level of higher authority in the mine, the responsible official immediately let it be known that the person making such a threat was out of order and the Negroes need not fear loss of their jobs. The next day the absent Negro children returned to school. This occurred in a mine which is interracial in its employment policies. On several occasions I heard it said that this conflict must not grow between the two racial groups in the mines for reasons of their responsibility for their mutual safety on the job.

The point at which the non-violence of the whites would have been tested to its fullest was on Tuesday, Sept. 4 when the Negro students who had enrolled on the previous Friday, August 31, approached the Sturgis High School. News reports state that their advance toward the school was blocked by a crowd of perhaps 300 persons, mostly women. As they approached the school some spokesman for the crowd called out that they should turn around and go back to their own school in Morganfield. The students halted their advance, talked it over, and returned home. What would have happened had they continued their walk toward the school in which they were legally enrolled? That's the $64 question. My own guess is that they would not have been molested at that time for all local accounts indicate it was not an angry crowd, and certainly not a "mob." But who knows.

Had the issue of the National Guard not gotten into the picture I believe a sizable proportion of the whites would have stood for law and order. It was apparently after the Guard came to town that tempers began to boil and hostility spread throughout the populace. However, my judgment here is obviously in contradiction to that of Adj. General Williams and several other state officials. The crucial question is what would have happened had the Negro students attempted to enter school on the 4th of September or had they returned on the 5th? The fact that Supt. of Schools Carlos Oakley did not call for city police to be on hand on the 5th presents two possible interpretations: One, he was convinced that the Negroes had been duly forced back into "their place" by the presence of the crowd on the 4th and would not dare return. The other possibility is that he believed the crowd was composed basically of law-abiding persons who accepted the ultimate authority of the Supreme Court and would therefore not try to take the law into their own hands. The editor of a paper in a nearby county informed me after I left Sturgis that Union County school officials had not anticipated any difficulties in Sturgis. The very fact that Supt. Oakley had given approval to the entrance of Negroes in Sturgis and that it had been announced earlier that Dunbar H.S. was to be closed in 1957 indicates to me that the Superintendent was convinced the Sturgis crowd would choose law and order though they disliked intensely the idea of integration. Newspaper accounts indicate that the crowd on the 4th offered no verbal objections to Oakley's statements that the Board of Education was willing to permit the attendance of Negroes at any time in the Sturgis school and that "Kentucky would abide by the Supreme Court."

Anyone who has seen this little band of eight Negro students surrounded by a hostile crowd of several hundred whites, or has seen them in their own homes as I did must conclude that if they were fearful of physical assault they had their fears under control. When it was learned among the reporters and other observers with whom I was associated in Sturgis that these students were to be officially banned from school on Wednesday morning there was more than one who paid humble tribute to the courage of these kids and wondered if they personally would have the courage to face such a crowd.

That Negro parents will press for desegregation has been made evident already by the willingness of several to be involved in the legal procedures that are necessary if there is to be any final victory for their cause.

Attitudes of Local Press.

The only local paper is a weekly of which I've seen so far only the issue of Sept. 13. One-half of the front page was given to a commentary entitled "Sturgis, Ky. -- Population 2,222 -- Guinea Pig or Goat?" This was devoted mainly to stating facts in the case as reported elsewhere by writers judged to be reliable by the editor. In view of the various rumors and distortions of fact floating about the town this was advisable.

Although I had not the opportunity to talk directly with him while I was in Sturgis, some of the editor's attitudes and judgments about the people of his community can be indicated by the following quotes from the issue of the 13th.

Regarding integration: "We all know integration must take place in the future, it has been so decreed by the Supreme Court of the nation. But as so many have said here in recent days, 'we must be allowed to do it in OUR OWN way'". Regarding Negroes: "There is no great resentment here against the Negro. In fact the Sturgis Negro has access anywhere in the city at any time, even as this is being written." Peaceableness of the crowds: "They (local citizens) were not prepared for it (integration), so some gathered - and we say again, peacefully - to protest it. Their acts were inflamed by newspaper headlines and stories, and when the governor sent in troops, reason went out, as resentment and anger came in." "There were no acts of violence (on Sept. 4), no inciting speeches, no one with weapons, not even as much as a stick in their hand."

On the ability of local officials to handle the situation, Editor Calman, Sr., said: "So you - and we - ask what local authorities had not been able to deal with the disturbances? The local police had not asked for help. The county sheriff's office had not asked for any help. The county judge had not asked for any help. The local mayor did not ask for help and told General Williams that we did NOT NEED troops, and if we were left alone would work out the problem."

Regarding the White Citizens Council: "We don't agree with the meetings such as were held at the city park and at Morganfield. They were not sponsored by local parents who are most concerned with what is going to happen here. They were sponsored by a man from Louisville, a man from Tennessee, a man from Morganfield."

Civic Officials.

The only official of the city whose position was publicly expressed was that of Mayor J. B. Holeman. I was unable to talk with him personally but did hear him speak most courageously at the White Citizens Council meeting at the Sturgis Fairgrounds on Monday, Sept. 17. Without committing himself for or against integration he let it be known without hesitation that he believed the Supreme Court ruling must be followed and would come eventually, regardless of such meetings, boycotts, etc. He was opposed to starting desegregation at the high school level, preferring to begin with the first grade and proceeding gradually from that point. His own son who was a high school student continued to attend school throughout the entire crisis. I write with feeling for his courage in publicly taking this position in the presence of a crowd which was overwhelmingly opposed to his position. But he was with the crowd in opposing the entrance of the National Guard and State Police.

Law Enforcement Agencies.

The principal agents of law enforcement involved were those of the National Guard. Local officials apparently played no role at all although several had been on hand on Sept. 4th when the Negro students were advised to go to their Morganfield school by a spokesman for a large crowd at the Sturgis High School.

The principal officer of the Guard was Adj. Gen. of Kentucky, Maj. Gen. J. J. B. Williams. Apparently it was Gen. Williams' judgment that local authorities were not able to deal with the disturbance which led to the entrance of the National Guard and the State Police. At a meeting with local and county officials on Sept. 5th, after the Negro students and their parents had agreed to return to Dunbar H. S. for this year, Gen. Williams was told by each official that there was no need to bring in the National Guard. The General is reported as having told them that the decision was his alone to make. And on that night the troops moved in.

Gen. Williams lives in Somerset, a town in Eastern Kentucky which has planned and implemented desegregation quite successfully. I am sure that desegregation would have met with considerable difficulty in that area had Gen. Williams opposed it. Thus it was not only his role as Adjutant General but also

his personal values which caused him to describe the Sturgis integration incident as, "A showdown as far as the State of Kentucky is concerned." And to say further, "It's a matter of principle whether the Supreme Court is the law of the land or not." (C-J, 9/7/56)

Another important person representing state law enforcement agencies was Ben Sturgill, Deputy Safety Commissioner. Before going to Frankfort for conferences on the 6th with Governor Chandler, Mr. Sturgill said: "If we can stop this here we feel we can stop it (disturbances) anywhere else in the state." (N.Y. Times, 9/7/56)

There is considerable evidence to conclude that state authorities from the Governor on down are committed to bringing about compliance with the Supreme Court decision. That they support law and order is revealed by the use of 600 National Guardsmen and all their paraphernalia of violence.

Previously I have indicated that the entrance of the Guard was not at the request of local or county officials. Although such an action is productive of anything but harmony in the relations of local and state officialdom, it is nevertheless entirely legal within Kentucky State Law. To read the newspaper accounts and to be an eye witness during the latter stages of these disturbances, forces one to the conclusion that this action by state officials created tremendous resentment and hostility. It is possible that much of the verbal hostility directed towards the Negro students is but a transference of the hostility created by the entrance of the Guard and not directly expressible.

There is, thus, a serious question of the diplomacy of the state officials. They, of course, were confronted by the fact that local white citizens were defying the intentions of the state government to go ahead with desegregation. Further, it seemed apparent that local authorities were not going to guarantee to the Negroes the previous agreement permitting them to attend Sturgis High. Faced with the first, open opposition in the state to desegregation, these officials undoubtedly believed they had to quell resistance immediately or face the possibility of it spreading elsewhere in the state.

But in the light of later events, notably the interpretation of the Supreme Court ruling given by Attorney General Ferguson, the questionable diplomacy of the Governor and Gen. Williams has been most unfortunate, and the opportunity of the Negroes to attend the Sturgis High has been forfeited, at least for the time being. It is now apparent that state officials have passed the brunt of the issue to the Federal Courts and it will now fall to some Federal Judge to decide whether the students should be admitted immediately or to require that more adequate plans be developed. If the decision is for immediate enrollment, I can only wonder how the decision will be enforced and by whom.

School Officials.

The events of the days I was in Sturgis were too crowded for me to have an opportunity to determine whether the school officials personally hold attitudes favorable to desegregation. Their public utterances have all been in line with the fact that they are a part of a state system of public education which is committed to accepting the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land.

Though apparently not widely known, the School Board of the county expected that in 1957 Dunbar High School would be closed and all Negro students integrated into Sturgis or Morganfield High School. Further, Supt. Oakley, speaking apparently with School Board approval, had indicated that Negroes were entitled to attend Sturgis High if they wished to do so. The principal of the Sturgis School had stated at the time of enrollment of the eight Negro students that they would be treated like anyone else. We thus have a background of an intent to implement the desegregation decision, though no evidence on personal attitudes of responsible school officials is at hand.

That they expected desegregation to work is indicated by the apparent casualness with which the application to admit Negroes to the Sturgis School was granted. Back of this is no history of consultations, planning, discussions, etc., which have been the accompaniment of so many successful desegregation ventures. One informant told me that in the fall of 1955 some local Sturgis Negro boys accepted an invitation to engage in football scrimmage with the Sturgis High team in anticipation that they would be attending the high school soon. Eventual acceptance of desegregation by the students is indicated by the fact that by Sept. 14th a large proportion of the high school students had returned to classes. Reporters noted frequently, as did this observer, that staying away from school was for many an unexpected vacation, for many others it was a matter of not wanting to be in a minority, and for still others the presence of the troops was certainly an obstacle.

The public school teachers of Kentucky, in general, have already indicated their desire and willingness to accept desegregation by such acts as the various moves involved in merging the Kentucky Education Association with the Kentucky Teachers Association, the Negro organization of teachers. Many of these teachers have attended summer classes at the University of Kentucky which has had many Negro teachers registered during the last five years or so. To my knowledge no Sturgis teacher indicated a preference to resigning rather than teaching in an integrated school as was the case of several teachers at Clay.

Group Identification of Pro-Segregationists.

I have little direct information with which to attempt an answer to the questions in this section. The leaders of the segregationists are easily identified in socio-economic terms from available public information. But conclusions concerning the followers is, at best, a "guesstimate".

The president of the White Citizens Council at Union City is W. W. "Jerry" Waller of Morganfield, the county seat town. He is a partner in a farm implement business, 33 years old, War II veteran, old line stock in a county where everyone seems to be such, and potentially a powerful leader of segregation forces. He is, at least, upper middle class.

The vice-president is the owner of a furniture and applicance store in Sturgis. I believe his name is Bell, although he did not figure prominently in the crisis so far as I can judge. He is probably upper middle class.

An important personage is a mine union official of the area by name of Gordon Urten who I suspect is one of the most important figures in the whole development. He was called on by the crowd on Sept. 4th to tell Supt. Oakley their position. I heard him speak for CBS-TV filming on Sept. 19th, and he did it most creditably without any advance preparation. Someone did some organizing in Sturgis between Aug. 31 and Sept. 4th, and I strongly suspect he was involved in a leadership role though I have no proof. (In fact I could learn very little about that period; one informant indicated there was considerable telephoning and pressuring to keep children out of school and to be on hand.) Perhaps one reason why this person did not figure more prominently was because the U.M.W. from Washington headquarters let it be known in strong terms it wanted no union functionnaire mixing his union status with pro-segregation.

The crowd of followers appeared to me as distinctly lower class or working class. Such events always attract the unemployed, the retired, and rural people whose farming tasks are not too pressing. Women apparently made up at least half the crowds during the early days in Sturgis though they were not so apparent during the period I was on hand, except for the 19th when they were out in force. One reporter indicated that they were more hostile and threatening at Clay than any of the men. If the one woman I heard speak for the CBS-TV reporters is typical, they were certainly less restrained in their hostility and more open in expressing their prejudice than were the men. I noted that at the big Citizens Council meeting on the 17th, women were the most vocal in their cheering. (Incidentally, this meeting produced less cheering, hoofing, noise, boisterousness, etc. than I had anticipated. It was surprisingly sober in my judgment.)

As one index of class composition of the segregationists, I noted that in the crowd present the day the Negro students were officially refused entrance, Sept. 19th, only two males in business suits were identifiable as members of the segregation supporters.

One informant who supported desegregation told me that "none of the good Christian people of the community would be caught at such an affair." He also stated his belief that a large portion of the people present had no children in the school, and in a number of cases, were from outside the community.

One person who undoubtedly played an important role in organizing the opposition was Millard Grubbs who came by plane from Louisville to address one of the first, if not the first, mass meeting of the segregation advocates. He is state chairman of the Kentucky White Citizens Council and will undoubtedly be no little source of difficulty for us in the months ahead. I know nothing of his socio-economic status in Louisville, though he is certainly not prominent there in the way in which W. W. Waller is in Morganfield.

Mob Process.

I was not present when the mobs were alleged to be on hand. There is some question whether this term should be used, for the National Guard forces were too well in control of the situation when it might have developed into mob behavior beginning on Sept. 6th. One factor which may have prevented strong mob formation was that Gordon Urten, whom I identified previously as having had mine union organization background and connection, was singled out early by National Guard officials, so much so that he later complained of being used by Gen. Williams as someone to pin blame on and make an example of. On Sept. 6th, some seven men were arrested on breach of peace charges by State Highway Police.

Interesting Hypothesis.

My interviewing experience would certainly lend support to the hypothesis that those opposing segregation do so on grounds that it is necessary to prevent intermarriage. And, those who accept it think in terms of widening educational opportunities for all, and of what benefits the Negro students may bring to the school in terms of such activities as athletics and music.

Some Miscellaneous Questions.

I have not learned of any recent incidents in the town which may have been related to this disturbance. All seems to have been peaceful in the caste pattern.

I do not believe those who participated in the action were in any way sorry. Perhaps had open violence with a death or two occurred, feelings of sorrow might have been present. The main feeling which I sensed was one of continuing anxiety due to general awareness that this was but one chapter in the struggle, and likely only a temporary victory. I think there are very few among those opposed to desegregation who see this as a final and lasting victory for their cause. They are cognizant that all around them, and throughout the state, desegregation is moving forward and that compliance with the court ruling is accepted generally in the state.

Regarding the firmness of officials, it can be said that the school officials apparently did not say much ahead of time, but appeared to be firm about the right of Negroes to enter Sturgis High School with School Board approval as late as Sept. 4.

Community Ecology and Demography

Sturgis, Ky. has a population of about 2500 and is located in a fairly prosperous agricultural section and draws additional economic support from several large scale coal mining operations. Contrary to most of the other mining sections

of Kentucky, some long-range expansion seems in sight with the opening of one new major mine. Within the town of Sturgis are several small industries, mainly employing women. One is a branch of the Richmond Clothing Co., and another is manufacturing television tubes.

Within Union County there are 1,386 Negroes (U.S. Census, 1950) and within the town of Sturgis, about 350. I spent a good deal of time in the Negro section known as Boxtown. I am of the opinion that their level of living is somewhat above the average of that of most Kentucky Negroes. This is probably due to the fact that a large proportion of the men work in the mines where pay scales are reputed to be about $20 per day as a minimum -- even in the unorganized mines.

To one who has lived a number of years in Iowa and Illinois, Sturgis appears to be similar to a small town in one of those states. Streets are wide and well kept; lined with lovely trees and neat small homes. The town boasts some nine churches, though I do not know how well they are attended.

Long time residents of the area regard it as a growing and progressive town.

Some Conclusions and Questions Derived From the Sturgis Analysis

The major questions for those concerned to implement integration, are those relating to the lessons to be learned from this conflict situation. Each analyst may draw somewhat differing statements of the lessons, for they are not implicit in the data; but for what they are worth, here are some conclusions which I draw from my field work experience.

One: It is of greatest importance to keep on gathering and disseminating information descriptive of successful experiences with integration. Many of the segregationists do not realize the extent to which this is occurring. Their strength will be lessened as they see themselves more of a minority, though their resistance may temporarily increase.

Two: The interaction of (1) inadequate planning; (2) little experience with interracial contact and communication; (3) eagerness of Negroes to break the segregation barriers; and (4) the hostility of caste oriented whites, particularly those of lower socio-economic status, offers a high probability of open conflict over integration.

Three: Those whose responsibility it is to promote integration, namely school officials, must act with firmness and forthrightness. In Kentucky, the opportunity is great because local authorities do not have to go counter to the position of state officials. Failure to exert leadership offers the segregationists a wide-open opportunity.

Four: It seems advisable to me that no effort should be made to enroll Negro children where no plans have been made. The first steps should be in terms of discussion, pressure on the school board, and court procedure. Open conflict such as took place at Clay and Sturgis will release far more hostility than when issues are channelled through the courts.

Five: I believe it would be unwise to push legal action rapidly in some cases. I premise this conclusion on the assumption that the opposition will soften with time, but may greatly harden with a reason for further immediate action.

Six: In view of the fact that integration has gone forward without difficulty elsewhere in Kentucky where the school boards and officials have done no more planning, etc. than at Clay and Sturgis, it is apparent that we cannot place the entire responsibility for these conflicts upon the lack of planning. Other variables are certainly involved.

Seven: In the light of the previous statement it is probable that we ought to study the cases of successful integration and lack of planning in a

further effort to isolate controlling variables.

One goes into such developments as that at Sturgis to answer some questions, but of course, experiencing the situation is productive of further questions. Here are a few that have developed in my thinking:

One: Have we any clear evidence to show that integration goes forward more smoothly where there is present in the community some history of interracial contacts other than those involved in employment and buying and selling? Are contacts through sports, church visitations, joint committees, etc. productive of attitudes and personal relations which will expedite desegregation?

Two: Why did no violence break out in either of these communities? Was it due to the presence of the Guard? Are these communities really as peaceable as some of their members claim? Has there developed a socio-economic situation which is basically satisfying to the whites and thereby frustration and aggression are minimized?

Three: Why have the White Citizens Councils not flourished as yet in Kentucky as they have elsewhere south of us? Is it a lack of leadership? Are the attitudes of the populace on the average accepting of desegregation?

My final conclusion and question focuses on the necessity of preventing further growth of White Citizens Councils in Kentucky. They are awful to behold and obviously powerful. Integration procedures must operate so as to advance the cause without creating such vicious opposition.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS IN STURGIS, KY.
August 31 to September 19, 1956

1. August 31: Eight Negro students enrolled at the previously all-white Sturgis High School. One of these students stated that approval had been given her on the previous day by Supt. Oakley in Morganfield in the presence of a grandparent. School Board approval had been given previously, though I cannot date this.

2. Sept. 4: The Negro enrollees returned home when their entrance to the High School was blocked by a crowd estimated at from 250 to 500 and described by some reporters as "peaceful" and by others as "a mob." Crowd later addressed by Supt. Oakley who informed them of School Board decision to admit Negroes at any time in compliance with the Supreme Court ruling, and requested them to let the matter be worked out by authorities of the school, city and county. There was no objection by the crowd when dispersed.

3. Sept. 5: Governor A. B. Chandler ordered State Police to Sturgis without conferring with local or county authorities. The Governor also ordered Adjutant General Williams to fly to Sturgis and survey the situation. The 240th Tank Battalion of the Kentucky National Guard was alerted for immediate duty.

4. Sept. 5: None of the Negro students attempted to enter the school. Union County school authorities and Sturgis City officials conferred with the parents of the Negro students, explained their plan to eliminate the Dunbar School next year, and obtained from these parents an agreement to send their children to this Negro school in Morganfield for this year.

5. Sept. 5: At a meeting with City and County officials and school authorities, Gen. Williams was told they did not believe the Guard was necessary to maintain law and order, in view of the agreement with the Negro parents.

6. Sept. 5: During the evening the Negro families were informed by radio and television that the troops were moving in, so that any eligible children who wished to attend could do so. The parents involved informed city officials of Sturgis that they intended to send their children to the local school.

7. Sept. 6: The Negro students entered the school under heavy armed guard. 200 Guardsmen with full battle equipment including two M-47 tanks were on hand along with 20 State Police. A crowd of 800 was on hand; angry tempers flared and a number of arrests were made (seven).

8. Sept. 6: Audience of at least 500 addressed by W. W. Waller of Morganfield and Millard Grubbs of Louisville, an official of the Kentucky White Citizens Council. Integration in the local high school was protested.

9. Sept. 7: None of the Negro students appeared at the school, allegedly because threats of loss of jobs had been directed at the fathers who worked in a nearby coal mine. Attendance at the school was but 50 per cent of normal.

10. Sept. 10: Seven of the Negro students returned to school under escort of the militia; about 50 white students attended.

11. Sept. 11: Seven Negroes again attended the Sturgis High under military protection.

12. Sept. 12, 13, 14: The Negro students continued to attend school under military protection; attendance of white students increased until it was up to nearly 90 per cent by the 14th. Crowds around the school diminished and tension lessened.

13. Sept. 15: At Morganfield, the county seat of Union County, a crowd of more

than 200 persons assembled on short notice to hear W. W. Waller, Jr. and others advocate a white boycott of the Sturgis High School. Waller is president of the Union County chapter of the Kentucky White Citizens Council.

14. Sept. 17: Four Negro children barred from entering Clay school as result of interpretation by Attorney General Ferguson that such attendance was not legal since the School Board of Webster County had made no definite plans for integration. Boycott at Clay which had been total among white students came to an end and students began to return.

15. Sept. 17: Negro students in attendance at Sturgis, but attendance of whites down sharply from Friday, apparently in response to the success (seemingly) of the Clay boycott and the pressures created in the community by the WCC meeting on Saturday night, Sept. 15.

16. Sept. 17: Crowd of perhaps 2500 attended meeting at Sturgis Fairgrounds called by the White Citizens Council of Union County. W. W. Waller of Morganfield in charge; Mayor Clark of Clay principal speaker who urged them to use same methods as they had used in Clay. Other speakers included Supt. Oakley and Principal Evans. Only speaker in support of compliance with the Supreme Court ruling was Mayor J. B. Holeman of Sturgis.

17. Sept. 18: Negro students again present, but white attendance down to about 50.

18. Sept. 18: Union County School Board requested opinion of Attorney General as to application in Sturgis case of the ruling applied to Clay. (see 13 above) Reply was favorable.

19. Sept. 18: School Board at a special meeting voted to bar Negro students from Sturgis on grounds of being illegally enrolled. Integration committee requested to meet on Oct. 6 and to continue until satisfactory plan formed.

20. Sept. 19: Negro students appeared at school; Principal Evans read them the School Board action. Crowd of several hundred present cheered their leaving. White students began returning to school. Negroes did not return to Dunbar and indicated they were not sure they would do so.

A TENTATIVE DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION CRISIS IN CLINTON, TENNESSEE

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Community Background

Clinton is a small town (3,712 - 1950 census) in the Cumberland Mountains of East Tennessee, located fifteen miles northwest of Knoxville. As county seat of Anderson County and largest town in the county for many years, Clinton has served as a governmental, shopping and service center for the whole county, and has been particularly close to developments in the eastern part of the county.

Clinton and the surrounding rural communities in the eastern section of Anderson County are more prosperous and not as "rough" as the coal mining districts in the northern and western parts of the county. Average (median) family income in Clinton was $2,833 a year in 1949, $850 above the average for the state of Tennessee. Clinton is clean, well-kept and club-minded, and civic pride runs high in the descendants of its older families.

In addition to its shops and service establishments, Clinton is the home of Magnet Mills, a hosiery plant employing some one thousand workers. Magnet Mills is the only sizeable industry in Clinton -- there is another small plant employing fifty to seventy-five workers that cans dogfood -- and was the only large-scale manufacturing enterprise in the county before about 1945. Magnet Mills draws employees from the rural areas of Anderson County and four other contiguous counties: Knox, Campbell, Union and Roane.

The high school in Clinton, one of three in the county (Norris and Lake City also have high schools) serves the eastern part of Anderson County, with about fifty per cent of its population coming from outside the city limits of Clinton. It is directly under the operation of the Anderson County Board of Education, though there is a city board of education that governs the elementary schools in Clinton.

People in Clinton think of their community as "quiet" and "substantial" and will invariably tell you there was never any "trouble" in its history before the school desegregation crisis. As a matter of fact, Clinton has experienced two other disturbances involving mob action in the past fifteen years. Both these occurred in connection with labor disputes, one in September, 1941, when the CIO-affiliated American Federation of Hosiery Workers local, which mill management refused to recognize as a bargaining agent, went out on strike, and the other in the spring of 1955, when workers in the manually operated Clinton Bell Telephone exchange joined in the southwide CIO Communications Workers of America strike. In 1941 the state Highway Patrol came in very quickly to quiet warfare on the picket line between striking and non-striking workers (both the local police and Highway Patrol aiding management in weakening the strike by treatment of strikers, from newspaper accounts.) In 1955, a mob of strikers and sympathizers, angered by the use of out-of-town workers to keep the exchange going, attempted to break in the exchange and marched on the Mayor's house, threatening to dynamite it. Local police and county deputies, apparently reluctant to intervene with the mob as it built up, finally cracked down when the phone company secured a four-county injunction reducing the number of pickets and considerably limiting their activities.

Clinton and the school desegregation crisis are understood only when Clinton is viewed in its relationship to the rest of Anderson County. Both Clinton and the county as a whole grew slowly until 1933, with population enlargement coming from natural increase and migrations from the surrounding area. Their economic life was based primarily on the county's natural resources of lumber and coal, supplemented by production of hosiery at Magnet Mills. After 1933 two federal developments in the eastern part of the county made fundamental changes in both the population base and the county's economic life.

In 1933 construction on Norris, first of the Tennessee Valley Authority dams, began at the junction of the Clinch and Powell Rivers, nine miles north of Clinton. Construction, which lasted until 1936, and the various TVA projects centered at Norris, brought a large number of new people into the county. Most of the construction workers left, but some stayed, settling in the rural areas of the county; some professional workers stayed on in Clinton, and about two thousand people, directly connected with the dam, remained in the government-built town of Norris, seven miles north of Clinton.

In 1942 work on the Oak Ridge atomic energy center, six miles southwest of Clinton, began. This development brought thousands upon thousands of workers into the county, and during the period of construction, population turnover was terrific. The city of Oak Ridge, built and controlled by the federal government, reached a peak population of 75,000 during 1945. After construction was completed and production of atomic materials began, many of the people who had come to build Oak Ridge -- the bulk of them from other parts of Tennessee and the nearby states of Alabama and Mississippi, but some from all forty-eight states -- stayed on to work at Oak Ridge. Oak Ridge's population leveled off to about 30,000, giving Anderson County a total population of 59,407 in 1950. Some Oak Ridge workers settled in the rural parts of the county surrounding Oak Ridge and Clinton and some have settled in Clinton. Clinton and other Anderson County people involved in construction of Oak Ridge also got jobs in the plants as production began.

Four changes brought by Oak Ridge and to some extent by Norris are important to the school desegregation situation in Clinton: (1) the increase in the Negro population (from 484 in 1940 to 1,813 in 1950), important not for its size, but for the fact that Negroes were moving in the county for the first time in recent history; (2) an increase in people from the "deep South" who take a much more inflammatory position on the "race question"; (3) the introduction of a small minority of non-Southerners who accept and favor desegregation; and (4) the "creeping integration" situation at Oak Ridge, which began with the employment of a few Negroes as professional and scientific workers, and was followed by the election of Negroes to the city council, desegregation of the junior and senior high schools (operated by Anderson County) and desegregation of the swimming pool in the summer of 1956.

Clinton has the largest Negro population in the county, excluding Oak Ridge. The 220 non-whites in Clinton live, for the most part, concentrated in one section. A few Negro families live mixed in with lower income whites in one other part of town. There are at least two Negro churches and an elementary school operated by the city in the Negro community.

Most of the Negro men and some of the Negro women in Clinton work at Oak Ridge in unskilled capacities -- as maids, janitors and other service workers and in construction work. The few men who work in the town of Clinton also hold jobs as service workers and the women work as domestics in Clinton homes.

Clinton's Negro high school students have always attended schools outside the county, first commuting by bus to LaFollette, twenty-four miles north, and then to Knoxville, fifteen miles away. Colored students in the western part of the county have travelled to Rockwood in Roane County. The county has never furnished high school facilities within the county, though in 1950 the Atomic Energy Commission, plus a group of volunteer teachers from the Oak Ridge community began operating a separate high school for Negroes in Oak Ridge.

Chronology of School Desegregation

The Orderly Phase, 1940-August 23, 1956

1940-1949: Negro parents, particularly the McSwains, attempt to "equalize" separate facilities for Negro high school students through pressure on county school board. Parents demand and get assistance from county to send their children to accredited schools outside county. Negro students ultimately enrolled in Austin High School in Knoxville.

September, 1950: Several Negro high school students attempt to enroll in Clinton High School. County Board of Education refuses enrollment, makes usual arrangements for Negro students to attend Austin High in Knoxville.

December, 1950: Five Negro high school students, with the backing of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, file suit against the Anderson County School Board. Plaintiffs claim the out-of-county arrangements do not meet the county's obligation to furnish equal facilities.

April, 1952: District Court rules the out-of-county arrangements meet the county's obligation to furnish equal facilities.

1952-1954: Clinton's case, appealed to the U. S. Sixth Circuit Court in Cincinnati, is held in abeyance, pending the U. S. Supreme Court's action in the five school segregation cases jointly under consideration.

June 30, 1954: Sixth Circuit Court reverses the District Court's decision and sends the case back to the District Court with instructions "for further proceedings upon the authority and in accordance with the decision of the [U. S.] Supreme Court...."

July 29, 1954: District Judge Taylor announces the final decree in the Anderson County case will await the U. S. Supreme Court's forthcoming decree on implementation of the five cases ruled on May 17, 1954.

August, 1955: Plaintiffs in the Anderson County school case ask the District Court for a final judgment requiring complete and immediate desegregation in all schools in the county. County officials ask for a decree limiting desegregation to the high schools and giving the county time to accomplish desegregation. County Board appoints a committee to study and make plans for desegregation.

September 16, 1955: Judge Taylor rules "no final decree is presently in order" and instructs County School Board to proceed "with reasonable expedition" to comply with the order to desegregate.

October, 1955: County School Board adopts a resolution affirming its policy of obeying court orders. Members of the school board and the Integration Committee, made up of P-TA and school principals, began meeting with P-TA's over the county to tell them of coming desegregation and get their reactions.

December 6, 1955: Plaintiffs ask for a specific deadline for desegregation at hearings before Judge Taylor. County school board asks for time to prepare for desegregation and that desegregation be limited to Clinton High School.

January 4, 1956: District Judge Taylor orders desegregation of all three high schools in Anderson County at a date no later than fall, 1956.

Spring, 1956: Principal D. J. Brittain of Clinton High School intensifies program of preparation of faculty and students.

May, 1956: Twelve Negro students eligible to attend Clinton High School in the fall of 1956 are preregistered. Full details of their registration reported in the Clinton Courier-News.

August 9, 1956: "All the facts" related to school desegregation in Clinton repeated in the Clinton Courier-News including details about students, school policy on athletics and social events and Judge Taylor's January order.

August 20, 1956: Approximately seven hundred students, including twelve Negro students attend Clinton High for final registration. School dismissed for a week of in-service training for teachers. Petition protesting desegregation circulated by the Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government.

August 22, 1956: Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government files an injunction suit demanding that the state cut off funds to Clinton High School and restrain Anderson County officials from desegregating the school. Five of the fifteen Anderson County residents listed as complainants say they signed the Federation's petition, not understanding their names would be used in the suit; four institute legal action to have their names removed.

August 23, 1956: Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government publishes ad in Clinton Courier-News inviting people of the county who do not "want mixed schools" to join them in working toward "an orderly solution to this problem."

Community Crisis, August 25-September 11, 1956

Saturday, August 25*: Frederick John Kasper, 26 year old executive secretary of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, arrives in Clinton and begins gathering support for a picket line protesting school desegregation the following Monday. Kasper gets in touch with the Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government, gets a working list from them, makes additional contacts in house-to-house visits, distributes inflammatory literature.

Saturday, August 25, 1:30 p.m.: Meeting of Mayor, Police Commissioner, County Sheriff, acting Police Chief and local highway patrol officer to plan for police protection of school Monday. Editor of Clinton Courier-News also present. Kasper talks to a group of 25 on court house steps.

3:00 p.m.: Meeting of Courier-News editor, Mayor, Police Commissioner and patrol officer, who has children in school, with Kasper and followers to try to persuade him to leave town, since they have already tried to prevent desegregation in the courts. County Sheriff and state Assistant Attorney General interrupt meeting to warn Kasper he will be arrested if he goes through with his plans.

4:00 p.m.: Kasper arrested by Sheriff on charges of inciting to riot and vagrancy, put in jail to await trial Tuesday morning.

Monday, August 27: Twelve Negro and 715 white students begin attending classes together at Clinton High School. The day proceeds without major incident though there are a few flareups outside the school. A handful of pickets carry anti-desegregation signs outside the school and a crowd of from 25 to 30 teen-agers and 25 to 30 adults gather outside the school. The crowd is orderly in the morning, but during the afternoon an elderly woman and a Negro girl enrolled at Clinton are attacked by members of the protesting crowd. No arrests made, though a city policeman took a knife from a Negro student fighting with a white student.

Tuesday, August 28, 9:00 a.m.: Kasper tried and released on the grounds of insufficient evidence. Picketing at school continues, crowd a little larger. School attendance 803.

Noon: Kasper meets with students and adults outside school, sends for Principal Brittain, demands that he kick the Negro students out or resign. Brittain talks with the 25 to 30 adults in the crowd, explains he is acting under court order, wants their children in the school, will resign any time 51% of the parents and students don't want him. Kasper leaves, attempts to organize a parade to greet and talk to people.

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*All dates hereafter in 1956.

Police more active on the school grounds, no incidents reported. Ruling on Tennessee Federation case denies injunction stopping desegregation.

7:30 p.m.: Kasper speaks to crowd of 200-600 on courthouse square, says local authorities have no guts, people are a higher court than the Supreme Court, he will intensify pickets and fight "however long it takes."

Wednesday, August 29, Morning: A heckling crowd of about 125 (50 stay-away students and teen-agers, 75 adults) demonstrates as 750 students, including the twelve Negro students, enter school. Kasper arrives and begins organizing protest signs and cars for parades through town. Crowd, which increases as day wears on, ordered off school ground by police, but gather across from school. Inside the school students vote 614 to 0 to keep Brittain principal.

Noon: A mob of 50-75 people chase Negro students through town, one attacked by teen-age member of mob. Several other Negroes chased during the noon hour and later in the day. Police arrest several involved in attacks, put one Negro in jail for protective custody. Crowd begins to form outside jail. County Sheriff slips Negro students out back door of school to protect them from the mob.

Clinton residents go to Judge Taylor in Knoxville, file a petition for an injunction restraining Kasper's and others' activities interfering with school desegregation.

7:30 p.m.: Kasper speaks to crowd of 800 in square. His speech interrupted as federal marshalls serve papers temporarily restraining his activities and notifying him of a hearing the next day at 1 p.m. regarding a permanent injunction. Kasper tells people to go ahead with their work.

Thursday, August 30, Morning: Picketing continues outside the school and the crowd swells to 300 to 400. Kasper stays away from immediate vicinity of the school but stations himself down the street. Inside, where 600 students are attending, Brittain announces a 447 to 6 vote of confidence from parents on the basis of unsigned ballots brought in by students. School dismissed at noon for a routine teachers meeting.

1:00 p.m.: Clinton residents present testimony in support of an injunction forbidding interference with desegregation; Kasper testifies he has not advocated violence or mob rule, is only using constitutional rights of free speech and freedom of assembly. Hearing not completed, Kasper held in jail pending bond.

Afternoon: Crowds outside school getting out of hand again, several arrests made in connection with throwing tomatoes at Negroes and at the jail. One picket arrested for violating restraining order.

7:30 p.m.: With Kasper in jail, twenty impromptu speakers take over at courthouse square, speaking against desegregation, mongrelization and local, state, and national leaders who advocate mixing of the races.

Friday, August 31, morning: Attendance at school drops sharply, mostly through fear of violence; only 446 students, including ten Negro students, report. A crowd, primarily students, watches cars bringing Negro students arrive. Kasper's hearings continue in Knoxville, and Judge Taylor finds him guilty of contempt and sentences him to one year in prison.

7:30 p.m.: Two local speakers take over on square until Asa (Ace) Carter, Birmingham White Citizens Council leader, arrives to substitute for Kasper. Addressing crowd of 1,000, Carter attacks the Supreme Court, the NAACP and the "carpet bagging judge" who put Kasper in jail. He urges citizens to join the White Citizens Council and leaves while local segregationists are signing up members. The courthouse square crowd, fired by Carter's address, begins attacking cars of Negro tourists passing through. They march through streets shouting, "We want Kasper." Part of the mob breaks loose, marches to Mayor's house and threatens to dynamite it. Police make no arrests. Demonstrating continues late into the night. At midnight, the newly elected sheriff and his new deputies take office. Mayor Lewallen again attempts to

get in touch with state authorities concerning outside help, unable to reach Governor.

Saturday, September 1, Morning: Board of Aldermenmeets to declare Clinton in a state of emergency and issue a formal request to the Governor and citizens to assist in restoring law and order. Sheriff also sends Governor and citizens telegram campaign organized to give support to request. Auxiliary police force organized to handle crowds in case state aid does not materialize. No crowds around school.

Afternoon: Auxiliary police (35) meet for training session. Segregation rally begins on courthouse square at 4 p.m. with speech from W. B. Rand of Shelby County, Ark. Only two dozen present.

Night: Crowd begins gathering on square at 6:15 p.m. Auxiliary police, headed by Leo Grant of Oak Ridge, keep people moving. Just before 8:00 report reaches auxiliary police that crowd will storm courthouse to have scheduled meeting inside. Auxiliary police and crowd line up facing each other, police repelling crowd with tear gas. As crowd begins to reform, state Highway Patrol arrives. Scheduled rally is permitted by Highway Patrol and an estimated 2,000 persons jam square to hear pro-segregation speeches from representatives of three Tennessee organizations. Crowd orderly. Three arrests made before Patrol arrived.

Sunday, September 2, Noon: Six hundred National Guardsmen arrive in Clinton and assemble for briefing and immediate duty. Guardsmen walk posts and patrol during afternoon.

Afternoon: Photographers and newsmen attempting to cover pro-segregation meeting at Blowing Springs community near Clinton run off with rocks and threats. Labor Day weekend travellers and curiosity seekers jam up traffic on Highway 25-W through Clinton all during day and detours are finally set up.

Night: Crowd begins forming on square, reaches a total strength of 3,000. Guardsmen absent from square during first part of evening but arrive later. At 8 p.m. Guardsmen rescue Negro sailor who becomes target of mob as he gets off bus on square. Later members of crowd hurl firecrackers and torpedoes at passing cars, threaten to "get" Negroes. One man, identified as from a nearby county, speaks against integration several times. A cross is burned on the school grounds. Teen-agers, who compose large part of mob, hang around downtown until 1 a.m., though the crowd decreases in size as Guardsmen take action to control them.

Monday, September 3: Activity in Clinton declines as National Guard Commander Henry bans congregations on square, use of public address systems, outdoor speaking, parking on the square and individuals remaining on the courthouse lawn after 6 p.m. Tourists and curiosity seekers continue to descend on Clinton and Guardsmen detour all except those having business in Clinton. Some 30,000 cars turned away from Clinton Monday (Labor Day) and at one point cars attempting to enter Clinton line up for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles on the highway. Guardsmen stationed in square at 6 p.m. break up group of about 50 gathering in the downtown area. Clinton otherwise quiet and orderly but mob of 250 at Oliver Springs (20 miles away) acting on rumors that schools will desegregate Tuesday, attack Negro cars; five blasts of dynamite set off in the Negro community. Mob fired on by frightened Negroes in one car who are later searched for by armed mob of 600. Guardsmen break up search, arrest 15 who refuse to go home. Photographers on scene attacked by mob.

Tuesday, September 4: Attendance drops to 266, including nine Negro students, apparently as result of intensive telephone campaign over Labor Day weekend. Only small clusters of students and townspeople catcall as Negroes enter school. Hearings on Kasper's bond and permanent injunction postponed.

Afternoon and night: Negro students leave school peacefully with only a small group of students and reporters on sidewalk after school dismissed. Roadblocks and Guard patrols continue and about 8 p.m. Guardsmen break up a group of white teenagers surrounding a Negro adult and three children in the downtown area.

Wednesday, September 5: School attendance increases to 324 and all Negro students back in school. Brittain announces results of a survey that indicates 83 children are absent because of desegregation, 58 because of fear of violence, 27 for "normal" reasons. Says 12 have transferred. P-TA executive committee issues statement urging parents to send their children back to school. More rural than town students are away from school. Friends of Oliver Springs prisoners attack newsmen as the men are released at 8 p.m.

Thursday, September 6: School attendance up to 394. Judge Taylor grants Kasper right to bail, and after further hearings, issues permanent injunction against interference with desegregation. National Guard has training session with auxiliary police, Guard forces in Clinton reduced.

Friday, September 7: School attendance climbs to 416 and Guard forces reduced again, leaving only 250 troopers in Clinton. Clinton's Board of Aldermen meets to pass restrictive measures to control city, including a curfew on all persons under 21 and a ban on outdoor assemblies of 10 or more persons. They announce six additional, experienced policemen will be hired. Kasper released on bond when two Clinton residents put up their property to meet his bond.

Saturday, September 8: Clement lets some Guardsmen stay, refuses to leave patrol cars on loan. Sheriff Woodward declares a state of emergency and deputizes all former sheriffs and deputies and puts all police in county on stand-by. Sheriff also requests 10 marshalls from the U. S. Department of Justice and deputizes 50 auxiliary police.

Sunday, September 9: National Guard forces in Clinton reduced to 50. Kasper and Asa Carter ask permission to hold rally in Clinton, are refused and move on to Oliver Springs, where they hold an orderly meeting of about 250 in the Roane County section of Oliver Springs.

Monday, September 10: School attendance reaches 529 and the names of 257 students are turned over to county officials for absenteeism. No crowds around the school and none around the square, where no-parking ban continues.

Tuesday, September 11: School attendance up to 590 and Brittain announces a total of 36 students have withdrawn from Clinton High School. National Guard withdraws, leaving police protection in the hands of local law enforcement agencies. Sheriff Woodward says he has deputized a total of about 150 men in the county and Clinton can now handle "any situation" by itself.

Opinions and Attitudes in the Community

General Opinions

Negroes and Race Relations: Many of the native East Tennessee people in Clinton and the Clinton area will tell you they have "a high type of colored people" or "a pretty good bunch of niggers" living in their town. They think that race relations have always been good, saying, typically, "they haven't caused any problems" or "they've never caused any trouble." Whites mention the fact that Negroes confine themselves pretty generally to their own community, and some think this is the basis for the "good" race relations; others believe that Negroes and whites have gotten along so well because "the niggers know their place." One man, who lived next to a Negro family in Clinton before he moved to a farm outside town, stated: "The niggers h'ar know their place. If they didn't, they'd 'a run them out." Community leaders tell you the things white people do for Negroes and point to the annual exchange of choirs in churches on Race Relations Sunday as an example of the fine spirit of understanding and cooperation existing in their city.

What the "good" relations seem to amount to is absence of trouble and submissive acceptance on the part of Negroes of a social system that excludes them from everything except menial job opportunities in the community, occasional friendly exchanges on the streets, access to the downtown stores and the annual exchange of church choirs. There are not enough Negroes living in Clinton to support their own businesses and professional services, so that, traditionally, Negroes have not been in any position to sustain aggressive leadership. The concept of "Negro representation," which enters into the thinking of whites in parts of the South with large Negro populations, does not come into the picture in Clinton -- there are too few Negroes. White people run and control everything and Negroes are there, but not involved to any extent in the community process. Many white people believe that Negroes want to stay to themselves and that any efforts to change this pattern come from "outside influence" -- the "new" Negroes who have come in with Oak Ridge, the NAACP, the Communists.

People from Clinton and the eastern part of the county do not seem as hostile to Negroes as those from the northern and western coal-mining sections of the county. In the eastern part of the county, whites and the few Negroes have lived in the same area under a sort of gentlemen's agreement that each goes his own way and both ignore each other. In the western part of the county, where there are even fewer Negroes, prejudice against Negroes is much stronger. There is one section in the western part of the county, for example, the Devonia-New River section, where Negroes are not permitted to come in, even to work. Once about a year ago, a contractor working on the road brought in a crew of Negroes. He was told to get those "niggers" out of the area by nightfall and not to bring them back. After the disturbances over school desegregation took place in Clinton, a dedicated White Citizens Council member from the Clinton area decided to hold a rally in this section. The meeting was well advertised and conveniently located, but when the time to start the rally came, nobody showed up. The WCC worker was puzzled and told a local citizen he thought this would be the very place they would get active support. "Listen," the man told him, "we don't need you. There's not been a nigger spend the night in this part of the county in over thirty years and there's not going to ever be one to do it again. We know how to handle this."

Desegregation: Community leaders in Clinton tell you that nobody -- or very few people -- want desegregation, but most people in the town want law and order and will accept desegregation under court order until such time as the law is changed. Several leaders stated that if a poll were made, it would show that at least 90% of the people would prefer segregation over integration, but it would also show that 98% would be in favor of obeying the law, if the law called for desegregation.

Interviewing in the white community indicated there is a general passive acceptance of desegregation by court order among middle and upper class people, and probably a less wide acceptance among lower class families. People say they would prefer segregation if they had the choice, but that now that they no longer have the choice, they will "go along" with the law. One man said, "People would much rather it hadn't come up, but since it did, there is nothing else to do." A mother with

two children in Clinton High stated, "It is the law now and we might as well take it with good grace." One frequently hears, "There is nothing you can do about it." Clinton's experience with the mob, has, of course, crystallized the "law and order" aspects of desegregation.

Clinton leadership knew they had lost the school case as soon as the May 17, 1954, decision came down, and while nobody pushed desegregation, when their own order was final, there was no attempt to resist or defy it on the part of business men, civic leaders and people of influence. When they said anything, they said, "It is the law." As facts about desegregation were published in the local press, there were no expressions of disturbance or wide-spread resistance. The editor of the newspaper, the principal of the school and members of the board did not even get so much as one telephone call or one visit from irate citizens before Kasper came to town. The only vocal resistance came at the P-TA meetings held in the fall of 1955, when school officials discussed coming desegregation with parents. R. G. Crossno of Norris, now chairman of the school board, was active in efforts to educate P-TA members and spoke at a number of meetings throughout the county. He said, first of all, that people were always "flabbergasted" when informed about the decision. Over 90% at nearly all of the meetings did not like the idea, probably 99%, but at the same time, at least 98% would say if it were a question of obeying the law, and there was no legal way out, they would "go along with it." There would be two or three at every meeting who said they would never accept integration, and, according to Crossno, these are the same people that became active when Kasper arrived. They are currently active in fighting desegregation.

Active resistance to desegregation seems to come from people in the lower income groups and from two geographic sources: the native mountaineers from sections very hostile to Negroes and the in-migrants from deeper South who came to the area with Oak Ridge. No business men or civic leaders were seen at any of the pro-segregation rallies, nor have any given support to the organized resistance shaping up under WCC, KKK and other auspices. Several people noted there was not a college graduate in any of Kasper's crowds, though there are many college graduates in the community who do not favor desegregation and would like to prevent it, if it could be done through legal channels. Community leaders have placed a great deal of emphasis on the "outsiders" who came in and caused the disturbances and they mention the fact that they did not recognize more than a half dozen faces in the crowd scenes they observed from a distance, on TV or in magazine pictures. There were, apparently, many people from the far reaches of the county, as well as outside the county, who flocked in, but there were also Clinton people that the community leaders would not know, unless they happened to work for them or to have gotten into some kind of trouble that brought them to the attention of the community. One woman in the Sourwood neighborhood, for example, where low to middle income families live, said everyone in that section went down to the meetings on the square and that most of them were sympathetic with Kasper. The present county sheriff, Glad Woodward, stated there were "plenty of inside people," from "Oak Ridge, Oliver Springs and right around here."

Two additional points should be made about community attitudes toward desegregation. One, people who were hostile to desegregation, did not, in some cases at least, believe that the school would actually go through with it and therefore made no effort to fight it ahead of time. They simply did not believe it would happen in Anderson County. Two, there were many county people from outside Clinton who apparently had no knowledge of the court order, or if they had such knowledge, no understanding of the process by which court orders are arrived at and enforced. School board members, Principal Brittain and local officials have been visited and button-holed everywhere they go since the advent of Kasper, by people who want to know why they desegregated the schools and why they didn't do something to stop it. Many think it was a personal decision on the part of the principal or the Mayor. Others, benefitting no doubt from Kasper's "education" believe that if the school and public officials had any "guts," they could stand up to the court decision without any punishment, or that, if they would quit, the new officials would not be responsible to the federal court as they were not named in the suit. They are people with meager educational backgrounds and no involvement in community decisions, and some of them are surprised to learn that the Mayor and the city council do not operate the schools. They say that "the crowd" that runs Clinton does what it pleases about everything else and could "put the niggers out of the school if they wanted to."

There are a few people who favor desegregation and see it as a moral rather than a legal issue, but nobody says this publicly, including the ministers. One young professional said he had been waiting for someone to say that desegregation was right as well as legal and was very surprised that not one person had taken that stand. He said he had also been waiting for the ministers to refute some of the material being circulated using the Bible to support segregation, but that not one had opened his mouth. A woman, prominent in local civic work, sees integration as the "only Christian solution" and criticized the churches "for trying to be neutral on a moral issue." She stated, "Our churches have let us down. I don't mean just here, but all over the nation."

Violence and Mob Rule: Practically everyone professes to be in favor of law and order and opposed to violence and mob rule -- the differences come in the interpretation of what violence and mob rule consist of. In the eyes of community leaders and those who did not participate in Kasper's and Carter's gatherings, some instances of violence were taking place down at the school and on the courthouse square, and the mob was taking over the town. Top leadership saw Kasper as a "dangerous man" and feared the ultimate consequences of a situation which local law enforcement agencies were not controlling. The disturbances at the school and the "nigger chasing" all week frightened them and Friday night's demonstrations convinced them that things were definitely getting out of hand and something drastic must be done to "restore law and order." Average citizens who were not participating in the demonstrations were also afraid and welcomed the Highway Patrol and the National Guard for the quiet and the peace of mind they brought. One woman said during the demonstrations she was really afraid for the first time in her life and burst into tears when she heard the sirens heralding the Highway Patrol's entrance into town. She said she knew that some of the auxiliary policemen would be killed if help did not come. A restaurant operator said it was "terrible" to have to have the National Guard come in, but that she guessed "someone would have gotten hurt" if they hadn't come in. Principal Brittain said he had hundreds of telephone calls from people who were afraid to send their children to school during the week of the mob demonstrations and that these calls subsided when the Guard came in; attendance went steadily upward after the Guard occupied Clinton.

As to the people who participated in the meetings and the demonstrations many do not seem to see any mob action or violence in what they did. Kasper himself stated under oath that he had not advocated violence or mob rule and that he and the other people were only exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and freedom of assembly. He and his sympathizers in Clinton, maintain that the Mayor and his "crowd" violated their rights and provoked the crowd into whatever was done. They resent the fact that newspapers, including the Clinton Courier-News, labelled them a "mob" and they say that the Mayor and his "crowd" got excited because things weren't going their way. They also say that the Mayor, the principal and others who participated in efforts to control the crowds are "publicity seekers" and "made fools of themselves" over the Negroes. W. H. Till, local head of the White Citizens Council and one of the instigators of the Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government, attributes Friday night's demonstrations to "teenagers who got out of hand" and says Saturday night's crowd action was a direct result of the Home Guard's police work and use of tear gas. One old mountaineer who participated in many of the crowd scenes said everything was all right until the auxiliary police threw the tear gas and that made people mad. He and others insist that the crowd would have been orderly if they had been permitted to have their talk on time as it was scheduled.

There is another factor involved in insistence that nothing disorderly was happening. When the interviewer pressed questions about attacks on Negroes during the week and the damage done to Negroes' cars, several members of one family who had been very much involved snickered, and one member, a high school girl who has transferred to Lake City to finish her senior year, replied, "That? Oh, it was just niggers." Their code apparently does not hold them responsible for the same standards in their treatment of whites and Negroes. The old mountaineer at the head of this family did admit that the tomato throwing on Thursday was wrong and that it wouldn't "do no good." One of his sons, photographed chasing a Negro student and yelling, said he was yelling at the police officer to take a knife away from the Negro student. The old man observed that "none of them white people they picked up had no fighting tools" while "all the niggers had knives." He offered this as evidence that the white people were not promoting violence.

Several white students who attended the mass meetings and were outside of school in the midst of the demonstrations were willing to call them "mobs" and stated the mob could never get you anywhere. One boy arrested for fighting with a Negro student agreed with two fellow students that Kasper had gone about things in the wrong way. They said he should have had meetings in an auditorium or gotten up a petition, that the mob could not accomplish anything good.

The Press

There is one newspaper in Clinton, the Clinton Courier-News, which has a circulation of 3,500 in the county and prints news from all over the county. The owner, Horace V. Wells is editor, and he and his wife both work on the paper and are very active in community affairs. They came to Clinton to establish their paper in 1933 when Norris Dam was being built and have won several awards for the paper in competition with other county newspapers. Mr. Wells is a native of Columbia, S. C., but lived in Nashville from the age of twelve until he moved to Clinton. He is a graduate of Vanderbilt University and worked on the Nashville Tennessean staff as state news editor. The Wells have a daughter in Clinton High School.

When the school suit first came up, Mr. Wells urged the County Courts to carry on the legal fight against desegregation and appeared before the Board of Education to make the same plea there. Others said it was a waste of money, but he felt "no legal step should be left untried." Once the decision came down, however, he accepted it and urged others to. In September of 1955, when the Anderson County Federation for Constitutional Government tried to stop desegregation at Oak Ridge, he sympathized editorially with the position of the County Board of Education but said to his readers, "No matter what you or the Board would like to do -- it is now up to the Federal Court Judge." He continued: "We are sure the problem can be worked out if everyone is reasonable, but all of us must keep in mind that the ruling of the United States Supreme Court is the law of the land...and must be observed by all of us if our government is to stand." (9-29-55) The Courier-News gave good coverage to developments as desegregation approached, printing the story about Negro registration in May and rehearsing all the facts, including reprinting Judge Taylor's order on August 9, 1956. On August 30, in the midst of the mob demonstrations he deplored Kasper as a "born troublemaker" who "will only serve two purposes -- to line his pockets with membership fees he will collect and turn this community upside down...." He congratulated the police and the sheriff's deputies on their efforts to maintain law and order and reminded people, "This country of ours was founded upon the Constitution -- and Kasper would have you throw away the Constitution."

Almost the entire September 6 issue of the Courier-News was devoted to reporting the school segregation crisis, and Wells again dealt with the problem editorially in his column. He stated:

> It is not a question of whether we favor segregation or oppose it. The Supreme Court has decided that question for us....
>
> You have a right to believe in segregation and so do we. But neither you nor I have a right to violate the law, nor do we have a right to take the law into our own hands. We must stand together in Clinton, obey all laws (whether we like them or not) so long as they are laws, and see that others do the same thing.

Again, on September 13 and September 20, Editor Wells wrote on the school situation in Clinton, reminding people of the basic necessity of upholding law and order. In a news feature story entitled "Facts on How Integration Came to Clinton," September 6, and in his column, September 20, Wells went over the facts of the situation, attempting to clear up points of common confusion.

In addition to his work through the newspaper, Editor Wells was very active in efforts to get Kasper removed from the scene and get the situation in the town under control. He was one of the group that met with Kasper when he first came to town and he went to Knoxville to testify on Kasper's activities when the injunction was being sought. Wells' news editor, James Loggan, also testified in Kasper's hearings though this put both of them in the "integrationist" camp and cut off Loggan's rapport with

resistant element in the community. Mrs. Wells, a member of the P-TA executive committee, participated in the back-to-school movement spearheaded by the P-TA.

Civic Officials

The Mayor, the City Recorder (secretary of the Board of Aldermen) and two members of the Board of Aldermen were interviewed. All four stated individually that most of the people in the community did not want desegregation, but that they were law-abiding people and would abide by the decision until the federal court changed it or some other legal means of avoiding desegregation were found. They indicated they personally fell in this group of people who opposed desegregation but would abide by the law. One Alderman expressed sympathy for those that were fighting it, but said it should be fought in an orderly way. He believed that desegregation could not work and that the Supreme Court would ultimately realize it couldn't and eventually alter its decision. The Mayor and the City Recorder seemed to feel it would work out all right if Clinton were left alone and the fourth Alderman said he didn't know what would happen.

The Mayor met with law enforcement officers of the community on Sunday, the day after Kasper came to town, and had "huddles" with other public officials throughout the week. The first official meeting of the Board of Aldermen was held Saturday, September 1, when the group unanimously approved an appeal to the Governor for help and requested citizens of the community to assist in maintaining law and order. They saw the disturbances as a matter of maintaining law and order and this was why, the Mayor said, the Board of Aldermen was 100% on sending for the Guard and commissioning the auxiliary police. When the National Guard came in, the Board began the process of adopting a number of regulations designed to control mob action: banning use of public address systems, outdoor meetings, congregations on the square, parking on the square, individuals remaining on the square after 6 p.m. They passed on these regulations for the first time on Monday, September 3, when General Henry issued them to the community as emergency measures, and completed adoption at a third reading the following Friday.

The Mayor stated in his interview: "I would enforce the law whether it was the school question or some other thing. I had no choice. If you let a mob get away with it one time, then there is no telling what will happen the next time, when it might be something that matters to you. That was the way Hitler worked, by using the mob to get power." He added he would have tried to enforce the law, but would not have taken as strong a stand as he did if he hadn't felt the Governor was behind him." He thought before Kasper came in that the people were reconciled to desegregation and that they had done a good job of preparation. "Everybody seemed to understand what it was all about." Then when Kasper came, they "forgot everything else." He wanted to avoid calling in the State Patrol and the Guard if Clinton could handle the problem alone, but began making inquiries about the possibility of assistance on Sunday, August 26. He thinks that active resistance to desegregation will die down as the group gets tired of "getting nowhere with it."

City Judge Paul Horton (City Recorder) was active in organization of the auxiliary police and has been very concerned that people who violate the injunction against desegregation be reported to the Federal Court. He came by the Police Department one morning when the interviewer was talking to the Acting Chief to ask about a Citizens Council "parade" through town the night before. The Chief mentioned a white man going up on "nigger hill" later on in the evening to try to persuade the Negroes to take their children out of the school, and Horton immediately began asking questions as to the identification of the man and whether his name had been turned over to the federal authorities. "That's violating the injunction," Horton stated right away. "His name should be turned in."

The Alderman who thought the Supreme Court would ultimately alter its decision stated: "Ninety-nine per cent of the people of Clinton are opposed to integration, but you can't find a business man or a person of any influence who is so much against it that he will violate the law to oppose it." He has noticed that Kasper has not "gone over" in Alabama and doesn't think he will be acceptable as a leader anywhere after his publicity in Clinton. "You can't have mob rule," he stated. "The mob is no good whether it is at a picnic or over a school issue. The mob isn't the way to get things. It only creates disorder and can't accomplish anything."

The fourth public official contacted was noncommittal about the situation, stating that as a business man he has friends on both sides and cannot afford to say much. He did say, however, "There was nothing to do but enforce the law. The crowd was beginning to get out of hand and something had to be done." He saw the whole affair as a "mighty bad situation," and had no idea what would happen as far as school desegregation working out.

Law Enforcement Agencies

At the time Kasper came to Clinton the Clinton Police Department consisted of six men. The Chief of Police was in the hospital having an operation (leaving five), and the department was headed by Joe Wilson, appointed Acting Chief until the regular Chief's recovery was complete. All the men in the department were elderly men, probably not one was under 60 and all were untrained. As one citizen of Clinton put it, "All they are good for is to put parking tickets on the cars and help school children across the street -- which is all they are called upon to do under ordinary circumstances." The department is located in the next block from the courthouse square, between the courthouse and Clinton High School.

The county sheriff's office consisted of eight men, headed by Sheriff Joe Owen. Anderson County elected new officials during the first week in August and Sheriff Owen was defeated by Glad Woodward, a former Oak Ridge policeman. The Sheriff's office changed hands at midnight, August 31, the night the mob began rocking cars and attacking Negro tourists coming through town.

During the first week of the crisis, both the city police and the county sheriff's office added men to help take care of the law enforcement situation. The police department added three men, all former members of the fire department, Tuesday, August 28, and the sheriff increased his force by three September 1, employing three former Knox County deputies who went out with the change in county officers in that county. The entire Sheriff's force, in fact, changed at midnight on the night of the 31st. On September 7, the Board of Aldermen made provisions to hire six additional, experienced policemen, and made the auxiliary police force of 37 volunteers organized during the crisis, a permanent body. As the National Guard pulled out Sheriff Woodward deputized all the former sheriffs and deputies in the county and the auxiliary police and put all police in the area (89) on stand-by, to be called in case of further disturbances.

As soon as the Mayor became aware that Kasper was in town he called a meeting of law enforcement officers in the area, including the local state Highway Patrolman. Police were all put on active duty and stationed at the school, and the county sheriff agreed to supplement the police force if they could not handle the situation. The Highway Patrol officer agreed to get in touch with his superiors about the possibility of further help, if the local officers could not handle the situation. No plans in the law enforcement area were made ahead of time, as civic officials had not felt it would be necessary.

Plans were made right away to deal with the possibility of disturbances outside the school, but as each day went by, local law enforcement officers were less and less able to cope with the situation and the mob got increasingly larger and more active. None of the persons interviewed in Clinton criticized the police department or Sheriff Owen's forces as to their intent to control the mob. All persons who discussed the matter stated that they did not think the city police, whose main responsibility it was to handle the disturbances, were in any way prepared. Several said they thought the police were completely bewildered and confused. They were not trained in dealing with crowds and, as the week wore on, the extra duty began to take its toll in physical fatigue. In order to cover the situation, officers were working 20 to 30 hours on a stretch; when the Friday night disturbances took place, some police had been on continuous duty as many as 56 and 60 hours. The county sheriff's office was in the process of changing hands and some of the deputies did not even report for duty on Friday night. The matter of numbers was, of course, a great limitation. If two police were used to take persons arrested off to jail, it would only be a matter of two or three arrests before the whole force was away from the mob. Traffic was also a big problem as there is only one, narrow, main street through Clinton and this street is on the route of U.S. Highway 25-W,

a main thoroughfare from Cincinnati, south. The courthouse is on this street. Rerouting traffic was impossible as there were not enough police to handle it.

Acting Chief Wilson said they "started after Kasper right away," but they couldn't do much in the daytime except "keep the streets clear." At nighttime, when people crowded in the square, there were so many, they "couldn't tell who was doing anything." He felt the fact that so many women and children were involved complicated the law enforcement problem. "You can handle a man," he said, "but you can't treat women with babies in their arms the same way. You can't hurt children." Sheriff Owen indicated his office was trying to control things, but was outnumbered. "I don't know what we're going to do if the outbreaks continue," he stated to the press Wednesday, August 29, "I don't know what we're going to do unless we get some outside help. What can you do with 500 people?"

Whatever the reason, no arrests were made Monday and Tuesday and by Wednesday it was clear that local police action would not control the situation. A group of citizens, led by Attorneys Lewallen and Davis, who had represented Anderson County in fighting the school segregation cases, sought and got an injunction from Judge Taylor restraining Kasper and others from interfering with school desegregation. When Kasper's hearings closed Friday and Judge Taylor put him in jail, Clinton felt it had its problem "under control." Then Ace Carter appeared Friday night and things went from bad to worse.

Attorneys Lewallen and Davis, supported by City Recorder Paul Horton, went about organizing and mobilizing the auxiliary police. "Maybe we didn't do the right thing," Lewallen stated, "but the police were sitting around wringing their hands and not doing anything and the time comes when somebody has to get up and do something." Help from the state was an unknown factor at that point and a report that the Highway Patrol who work in the Clinton area had instructions to stay away from the city indicated that Clinton might be left to handle its own problems indefinitely. Auxiliary police worked under Leo Grant in cooperation with regular, uniformed police.

Both Police Chief Wilson and Sheriff Glad Woodward say they are personally opposed to desegregation, but recognize the fact their personal opinions no longer matter. Both claim to reject mob action as a method of opposing school desegregation. Mr. Wilson stated:

> I personally don't like mixing in the schools. I don't think anybody else does, but we are under a court order. This is the first town in Tennessee to do it in a public school and it's because of the suit we are doing it. When the biggest court in the world tells you to do something you have to do it. It's the law and most people don't like it but they are not going to break the law.

Mr. Woodward said:

> People don't want to do it. They don't want to mix with the colored. It's serious business. It's growed up in them not to want any mixing. I feel that way, too.

Both felt the federal injunction issued by Judge Taylor was very effective in calming people down and restoring law and order to the community and both welcomed the state Highway Patrol and National Guard. Mr. Woodward said the people who were affected by the injunction resented it, but "he hadn't heard of a one disobeying it." Mr. Wilson stated the injunction "seemed to calm everybody down." "People are afraid of a government order," he said. "It is not like a city or a county order. They know they will get in trouble if they mess with a government order. They might go to the penitentiary for a year or two like Kasper is supposed to."

School Officials

Mr. D. J. Brittain, principal of Clinton High School, was the main school

official involved in desegregation of the high school. A native of the area, Mr. Brittain and his family have long been involved in educational work in the Clinton vicinity. His father is now principal of the Oliver Springs High School and his mother taught until her death six years ago. Mr. Brittain has been employed by the Anderson County school system for a number of years, first as a teacher at Clinton, then as principal of the Lake City school and finally as principal of Clinton High. He is a dedicated educator and is well-liked by both parents and students in the community. The fact that Kasper wanted to throw Brittain out turned many Clinton people against him.

After the January 4 order, the school board issued no further statement on school desegregation and gave no public instructions to Brittain to proceed with desegregation. Brittain went ahead with his preparations. He had a choice, he has stated of (1) resigning from his job; (2) defying the court order and suffering the consequences or (3) going ahead with desegregation. He did not want to quit his job, nor did he want to run the risk of spending the next five years in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta. So he began desegregation. He based his stand on the law and order aspects of the issue, maintaining "It's clear cut. You either obey the law or you don't. You're a law-abiding citizen or you're not."

Mr. Brittain recognizes the fact that there will be academic problems in the school, due to the inadequate preparation of some of the Negro students, and at the time he was interviewed, thought Clinton's community problem was still not solved. "I am very determined," he stated, however, "and I will stick it out whatever happens." He believes that the key to successful desegregation is preparation of the children in the school and that Clinton was able to pull out of its crisis because the students stuck with the school. Certain student leadership groups, such as the football team, "stayed with it everyday, all the way" and some students returned to school against the wishes of their parents. There have been no problems <u>inside</u> the school resulting from conflict between Negro and white students and he does not expect any. At the height of the disturbances there were only 50 students who transferred to other schools and these began coming back, reducing the total number of transfers to considerably less. On October 1 he had a daily attendance of 650, one less student than he had October 1, 1955.

R. G. Crossno, chairman of the Anderson County Board of Education as of September, 1956, described the Board's position in this way:

> As the board saw it, we had no choice in the matter. We were given a definite order to integrate all the schools of the county as of September, 1956, and as we understood the order from the District Court there was no alternative. We had fought the case in court for six years and had done everything in a legal way we could to prevent it. There was no way to sidestep the issue. The order was clear and definite. Members of the board did not like it but it was not our decision. (Interview, September 29.)

Mr. Crossno, Mayor of Norris and owner-manager of the Norris Creamery in Norris, has been on the school board since October, 1951. He and J. M. Burkhart, Clinton hardware dealer, were the two board members active in meeting with PTA groups to prepare the parents in the fall of 1955, and he stated that on the basis of those meetings and knowledge of the county, they had not expected trouble from Clinton. They felt that trouble might come from Lake City and that part of the county in which Lake City was located when desegregation was put into effect there. "Sentiment is much stronger in that section," he said, "and we expected our trouble to come from that area." Lake City's one Negro student of high school age continued commuting to LaFollette this year and the four living in Oliver Springs continued to commute to Rockwood. Norris, which also has a high school, has no Negroes in residence, but the people there are in favor of desegregation and would accept it, according to Crossno.

Crossno stated that the school board had hoped to present the court with a permissive type of plan for desegregation and had confidence that Judge Taylor would give them the opportunity to prepare their own plan and time to implement it. When his order of January 4 came down, "The Board felt like the rug had been

jerked out from under them." They had planned to do a great deal more preparation in working out their plan, Crossno said, but "the order changed all that." After the order, all the work with the P-TA's was "cut off." The Board wanted time, but Mr. Crossno says they now realize "if we had asked for five or ten years and gotten it, this would not have pleased the people."

"Our problems are not solved by any means," Mr. Crossno said, "and we don't know what the solution is." Clinton is the only high school to desegregate this year, but next year Lake City will have eight Negro students eligible for high school and the board expects some of them to apply for Lake City's "white" school. He feels the resistant elements are prepared to fight by "other means than legal means" and that thereare a great many people in the county who have no basic understanding of what is involved. This is evident in the demands that they make on the school board and the statements that they make.

School Board member J. M. Burkhart of Clinton is owner of a hardware store in town and influential in community affairs in Clinton. He is on the Clinton Power Commission and the board of directors of one of the local banks and has been on the school board since 1942. He is a native of Anderson County and a graduate of Clinton High School. Mr. Burkhart has served as chairman of the county school board.

Mr. Burkhart says he is not a philosopher, but he has done some thinking about our form of government and he has fared well under the democratic system. "This is a serious business," he remarked, referring to the school disturbances. "It is a question of whether you are going to follow the law and abide by our form of government or throw it aside for the rabble-rousers." The people of Clinton would much rather desegregation hadn't come up, but since it did, there was nothing else to do, but go through with it. "It is a question," he said, "of being law abiding." He continued: "It has gotten so you can't be against integration and for the law. It has been in the Constitution a long time, but we have gotten by with it [segregation], and now we have to abide by the Constitution." He feels that Clinton is setting a precedent for other towns in Tennessee and, for that reason, it was important to see that law and order were maintained. Mr. Burkhart was the only member of the school board who joined in the petition to Judge Taylor to have a restraining order placed on Kasper and others interfering with school desegregation. "The time comes," he said, "when you have to stand up for right. If you don't believe enough in what you're doing to stick by it when the pressure is on, it's not worth much." He says he has been on the spot before and weathered it and he is not afraid of the White Citizens Councils and their boycotts. He sees school desegregation and other civil rights issues in terms of the world-wide implications of U. S. policies. "We are dealing with colored people all over the world -- not just niggers, but Indians, Chinese, Spaniards and all the rest. They think if we treat the niggers like we do here we will treat them that way, and we want their trade." The other members of the board were not interviewed, but they are, according to common consensus, much less forthright in their stands than Crossno or Burkhart. One Clinton citizen said at times it is "hard to tell whether they are with the law or John Kasper." They have not made any public statements in defiance of the court order, however, though the members from the area of strongest hostility to integration (New River) spoke in favor of going to Judge Taylor and talking over the possibility of halting desegregation when the suggestion came from the resistant leadership.

Frank Irwin, Anderson County School Superintendent, is personally very much opposed to desegregation and does not think it will work over a long range period. He thinks a situation, such as the one depicted in the Washington school hearings, will develop and that the arrangement will work a hardship on both races. The County went ahead with desegregation because "they had no choice." "We were under court order and we did not want to go to jail," he stated. He does not feel the people of the county were ready or that "a lot of people" will ever be ready. He thinks that school desegregation and the disturbances have destroyed all the good feeling that existed between whites and Negroes in the county before desegregation. He feels like he is sitting on a powder keg and something may happen at any time.

Opinions of Negroes

The Negroes of Clinton would appear to be on the basis of their objective qualifications the most unlikely participants imaginable for the type of fight which has been waged there in the school desegregation battle. First of all, they are greatly outnumbered with approximately 200 Negroes in a town of 4,000. Secondly, there is an almost complete absence of any indigenous, trained leadership. The teachers in the Negro elementary school live in Knoxville, some 17 miles away. There is no Negro physician, dentist, attorney or other professional person in the town. Thirdly, many of the Negro parents are economically dependent upon the white community for employment as maids, cooks, or on odd jobs. Several work at unskilled jobs at nearby Oak Ridge. Fourthly, few if any of the parents have had the benefit of a high school education. Yet, in that strange way in which democracy's principles often affect people, they have a burning desire for their children to obtain more education than they have, and they have the courage of their convictions even in the face of physical harm and possible economic stress.

Mrs. Wynona McSwain is the mother of 12 children and the grandmother of six. She and her husband, Mr. Allen McSwain, live in a rambling crowded house at the top of a steep hill and in the center of a curve. They are both natives of Clinton. One could not help but be impressed with the determination of this woman as she sat in the center of a huge room near a red-hot stove and gave periodic instructions to the children as they flowed through the house in what appeared to be an unending stream of traffic. She began by deploring the tendency to look upon the Clinton situation as one which originated with the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954, pointing out that in the early 1940's she had begun to press the Anderson County School Board to make some provisions for the high school education of her children. Since the county had no high school for Negroes and the segregation laws prohibited their attendance at the local high school for whites, the only provision which appeared possible at that time was some financial assistance from the County Board of Education for the children to attend a Negro high school in another county. This was the beginning of a continous fight to obtain transportation and tuition costs for the Negro children who had to leave the county to attend high school. At various times the Board paid transportation and at other times it paid tuition, but it refused to pay both. Finally, in 1949 Mrs. McSwain sought the aid of the NAACP and a suit was instituted in the name of her daughter, Joeathrea, and five other children. The suit was based upon a request for equal facilities and not for desegregation, but even this was denied by the Federal District Court in 1952 and the suit was appealed to the U. S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati where it remained until May 17, 1954, when it was sent back to Federal Judge Robert L. Taylor for action consistent with the May, 1954, decision. In January, 1956, he ruled that the Anderson County School Board should admit the students not later than the beginning of the fall term of 1956. Joeathrea McSwain was no longer in school but Aluah Joy McSwain, her sister, had taken her place. To Mr. and Mrs. McSwain the economics of the situation was the chief issue. They estimated that it cost from $40 to $100 a year to send a child out of the county to school, and her job as a cook at the Anderson County Jail and her husband's job at Oak Ridge made this intolerable in the face of their large family. She says that she is in the fight to the end because it is not a short-term proposition for her family. Seven children and at least six grandchildren are still to go through high school and they are a constant reminder of the necessity to continue the fight.

While Mr. and Mrs. McSwain demonstrate courage and perserverance, Mr. and Mrs. Oscar Jarnagin furnish examples of fearlessness and the planning of strategy. Helen Ann Jarnagin, their daughter, was one of the original plaintiffs who was graduated before the court case was settled. Mr. Jarnigan has assumed primary responsibility for taking measures to protect the physcial security of the Negro community. He was reluctant to talk about the nature of the plans he had made, but he stated that an invasion of the Negro community would not find its residents unprepared. At church on the Sunday we were there he made a fervent appeal for funds for the "protective force" and received a very good response in the way of contributions. Mrs. Jarnagin related how her son who is in the armed services in Japan had received the news of the Clinton mob action there and had written to her and to the Anderson County Red Cross to ascertain if his parents were unharmed. The white Red Cross representative came out to talk with Mrs. Jarnagin after

receiving the letter and in the beginning was disinclined to state the reason for the letter, saying that the Jarnagin's son had expressed concern over not hearing from his parents and wondered if they were ill. Finally, the Red Cross representative broke down and stated that it was the Clinton mob action which had been widely reported in Japan which had caused the son to write the Red Cross. The Red Cross representative was quite impressed, apparently, with the speed with which Clinton's troubles had been communicated overseas.

Jo Ann Allen, the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Allen, is a very attractive and alert girl of 14 who has been used by the Clinton school as a symbol of the positive Negro potential. She speaks well, is well poised, and dresses well and appropriately for her age. Her mother is a household servant and her father works at Oak Ridge in the cafeteria. Both are highly intelligent and concerned for the welfare of their three children, of whom Jo Ann is the eldest. Jo Ann has been elected vice-president of her home room, and has gone to Washington with one of the white girl students of Clinton to participate in a television panel. Her parents were concerned at the time of our visit that her activities did not give her a false sense of her own importance and did not make her a target for the rabid segregationists. Jo Ann reported that once they were inside the school life proceeded rather normally. The teachers were fair and pleasant and the students have either been friendly or indifferent. The lessons were not more difficult than at Austin (Negro) High School in Knoxville and the only difficulty they were having was in mathematics which all the students attributed to the weak background acquired in the Clinton elementary school. Mrs. Allen reported that there were two things which she felt badly about. One was the fact that the newspaper pictures showed one of the active mob participants to be a young white boy who is no longer in school but who lived near them and had been close playmate of the Allen children. The Allen children have reacted with an almost complete loss of faith in the possibility of sincere friendship across racial lines. The other incident was the participation in the mob action of a white woman who lives across the street from the Allens and to whom the Allens had been very helpful as neighbors. Mrs. Allen stated that she could not resist the temptation to speak to the white neighbor about it, and when she did she began to cry and said, "You and your people have been nicer to me than my own relatives, but I just don't believe in mixing of the races in school."

"Bobby Cain is our hero. He leads us up the school steps and into the school, and he waits in the afternoon until the last one of us is ready to leave." This was the general comment made about this sixteen year old boy by the other Negro students attending Clinton High School. The poignant aspect of this is that Bobby himself did not want to go to Clinton High School. Bobby was in his senior year at Austin High in Knoxville and he wanted to graduate with his class. He told us, "I especially didn't want any trouble." So when "trouble" threatened at Clinton High, Bobby could not see the logic of leaving Austin High which he liked to go to Clinton High (which he did not like at first) and having "trouble" in the process. But Mrs. Cain is determined that her children shall have an education and she has three younger than Bobby. She made it a matter of "family" loyalty and responsibility. "Now see here, Bobby," she told him. "Sure, you've got just one year at Austin and you could go back and finish. That would be fine for you. But what about your brother and sisters (Leonard, Hattie and Diane)? We can't afford to send you back to Austin, but you could work to make it yourself. But where would that leave your sisters and Leonard when they are ready to start high school? Boy, this is our big chance and if we don't make it now we may never make it." Bobby saw the point and when the Negro students had to run the gauntlet of adults and students to mount the steps to Clinton Hall ("the longest journey in our lives" the Negro students called the trip from the bottom of the steps to the top), it was Bobby Cain who was the leader. It was Bobby Cain who "voluntarily" stayed after school if one of the other Negro students was detained for any reason. He was the first each day to encounter the racial epithets from the white segregationists: "coon", "nigger", "black ape", but Bobby said, "I could take the names. That didn't hurt me." But on Thursday of the first week of school, as Bobby was walking to buy his lunch at a drive-in stand, a crowd of 200 people started to push him around from one side to the other. Bobby says he kept walking while the police occupied the role of spectators. Finally, the pushing became so violent that he said, "I made up my mind that this was it. They were going to mob me anyway, so I might as well try to protect myself." He drew out a little pocketknife of the kind boys often carry. The police arrested him, "protective custody" it was called,

and Mrs. McSwain who is the cook at the jail contacted an older brother who came for him. Somehow that incident crystallized his determination instead of intimidating him and when we talked with him he was a shy, calm boy, meticulously clean with highly shined shoes. He said, "I have got to settle down to do this homework. This trigonometry is awfully rough." Bobby's story has since been written up in Collier's magazine, November 13, 1956, under the title of "The Ordeal of Bobby Cain."

The Negroes of Clinton are strongly in favor of desegregation. The Reverend Orville Willis, a Negro Baptist minister, tried to get some of the parents to withdraw their children after trouble developed, but they held firm. He stated that his pleas were not based upon any support for segregation but upon his concern for the physical safety of the children. Some of the parents did give evidence of wavering at times, but the stronger parents buoyed them up and some parents reported that some of the white citizens encouraged them to continue to send their children because they did not want Clinton to have the reputation of having surrendered to the mob. The parents were especially laudative of the efforts of Leo Grant, an Oak Ridge attorney, who organized the auxiliary police, W. Buford Lewallen, the Mayor's son, and school Principal D. J. Brittain, Jr. Many expressed the same feeling that Principal Brittain had undergone a worse ordeal than the Negro parents and that he had demonstrated both courage and the conviction of his belief in law and order.

There had been very little evidence of retaliation against those Negroes involved in the desegregation process. Some Negro domestics were reported to have quit their jobs after hearing remarks made by their employers which they did not like.

The Negro parents almost without exception reported that race relations were good in Clinton before the violence. Everyone mentioned the exchange of church choirs which had been practiced, and it was mentioned that on some occasions when the Negro churches had sponsored dinners or suppers to raise funds, white persons frequently came to partake of the meals. There was the feeling that the trouble did not stem from the white people of Clinton but from outside agitators and from persons who lived outside of the town in the rural sections of the county. The Negroes would not hazard a guess as to the status of race relations after the violence, but many said that it would be difficult for them to have the trust and confidence in the friendship of white persons which they had had before the violence.

One of the most interesting observations to come out of the interviews with the Negro parents was the long range view which many took with respect to the desegregation of the schools. They were generally looking beyond the mere education of those of their children who were currently involved in the desegregation process to what this would mean to the brothers and sisters of these children who were yet to reach high school. This perspective was probably one of the important factors which gave strength to their determination to press for desegregation at this time regardless of the consequences.

Lessons from Clinton's Experience

1. Preparation should take in the functional community or the total area affected by desegregation. Clinton's school population is 50% town, with 50% of the students coming in from the outlying sections around Clinton. Preparation was town-focused. More important, perhaps, the order applied to the whole county and people all over the county came in to listen to Kasper and do something to stop it, including the disgruntled Oak Ridge people who had been unsuccessful in preventing desegregation in their own schools the year before.

2. Community preparation should in some way reach groups at all economic and social levels. The lower income group were left out in the type of preparation that Clinton did, working through P-TA's and civic luncheon groups. The local labor union was not utilized, nor were the churches, to any extent.

3. Preparation of students and faculty seems very important in Clinton's situation. Students were given a sense of responsibility in the matter and were trained for and given the opportunity to exercise leadership. While some swelled Kasper's crowds on the square and some participated in the car-rocking, etc., they maintained decorum in the school building and kept on going to school. A strong effort should be made to prevent them from adding their presence to the crowds.

4. Inconsistencies in the total desegregation picture tend to confuse people and make the process more difficult. Clinton, for example, continues to operate segregated grade schools and people cannot understand why part of the school system can continue to remain segregated and part must be desegregated. This applies on a wider basis, too. At the time Clinton was desegregating and leaders were saying, "We must, the Courts order us to," Mansfield, Texas, also under court order, was seemingly getting by with defying the court order.

5. Partial desegregation is a hard way to do it. Next year, Lake City, which received Clinton's recalcitrant students, will probably be under pressure to desegregate their high school. This year, Clinton had migrants from Oak Ridge, which desegregated last year. The piecemeal approach not only drags out the process, but sets up one school at a time as a target for the agitators.

6. As long as Southern communities are in the "test tube" stage of desegregation, Kaspers and Carters will probably come in. This fact should be recognized and some preparation made on the part of state officials to supplement and support local law enforcement agencies. Small towns in particular are not equipped to deal with the professional agitator and the crowds that flock to him, and the state should feel some obligation to assist.

7. Local preparation should include the law enforcement agencies as well as civic clubs and parents, so that they will be aware of existing laws that can be used to curb disturbances and will be psychologically prepared to take firm steps in enforcing the law.

8. Citizens should not expect the police and public officials to deal with the problem alone. Public officials and police need support and reassurance from their community, and in many cases, pressure. Citizens in Clinton, the top leadership, particularly, took leadership and cooperated in trying to handle a difficult law enforcement problem that probably could have been nipped in the bud with more efficient police action at the outset.

9. There is a need for someone or some group to say "Desegregation is right," as well as "It is the law." Apparently no one in Clinton said desegregation was morally right, as well as the legal thing to do, and there were people there in need of reassurance on that level. The opposition, on the other hand, was dealing with desegregation as a moral and social issue, telling people they had no obligation to obey a law which violated their sense of right and prevailing customs.

10. Many white people are still living in a "separate but equal" dream world that makes it very difficult or impossible for them to accept desegregation as the "solution" to the South's educational and social problems. Somehow or other white leadership, particularly, must be brought around to accepting the fact that "separate but equal" is no longer a legally acceptable pattern in the field of public education.

11. Negroes at the local level have a responsibility for putting across their desire for and basic right to desegregated facilities. Negroes in Clinton have, by both their actions and public statements to the press, demonstrated their preference for and determination to attain desegregated education. Despite this, many whites, in leadership positions, too, still cling to the idea that it is not the local Negroes, but "outside" forces that have sought the change.

12. Strong law enforcement action is needed to convince some people that federal court orders are enforceable and have "teeth" in them. Resistance forces have sold the idea that the Supreme Court has no power to enforce its decisions and therefore cannot "make" the people of the South do something that is not in accordance with their customs. Punishment of violators throws a new light on the situation and people who thought there was no penalty for defiance find that they do indeed have to pay.

13. People are very slow to grasp the meaning of drastic social change and this "lag" tends to slow down their activities in organizing resistance. In Clinton, for example, many people who were opposed to desegregation did nothing about it because they did not really believe it would happen. Had not someone come in to "help" them, they probably would not have gotten around to trying to do something before desegregation was already succeeding.

14. The Clinton situation suggests that people who accept the idea of desegregation are concerned about problems confined to the immediate situation, while those who do not accept the idea are concerned about problems of a larger scope outside the immediate situation. The principal and faculty in Clinton, for example, seem to be concerned about academic shortcomings to be dealt with and techniques for putting students at ease in a new situation. The opposition, on the other hand, is bothered by the "problem" of preventing mongrelization of the races, "Communists" on the Supreme Court bench, national trends toward degeneration and corruption, and the protection of "states' rights."

15. Favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward desegregation do not seem to be the most important factor in the situation when people are faced with desegregation by court order. Many other attitudes and values are involved -- regard for law and order, respect for local leaders, loyalty to individuals, desire for public services. Their attitude toward desegregation does not operate in a vacuum, but finds its place in a hierarchy of other attitudes and values.

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rit
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

Al Capp tells an amazing story of square-eyed people in Dogpatch, said Herman Wouk, author of the Caine Mutiny and Marjorie Morningstar, in a postscript to Mr. Capp's Great Dogpatch Mystery, published today by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C. 22.

If everybody were exactly alike, wrote Mr. Wouk in praise of Mr. Capp's book, this would be a very dull world indeed. Moreover, we would probably all still be living in caves.

The Great Dogpatch Mystery is a twenty-page comic book reprinted from Mr. Capp's weekly serial. When the story appeared serially in the press, teachers and parents throughout the country requested reprints, for Mr. Capp had written a hard-hitting, yet hilarious, attack on a serious social problem -- intergroup tensions.

"The li'l diff'runces between folks shouldn't hide the big things thass th' same 'bout all of us!", Mr. Capp has Mammy Yokum say. The book is sure to prove popular with educators and parents.

Copies can be obtained at 10¢ each from the ADL, 515 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C. 22. Quantity discount prices are:

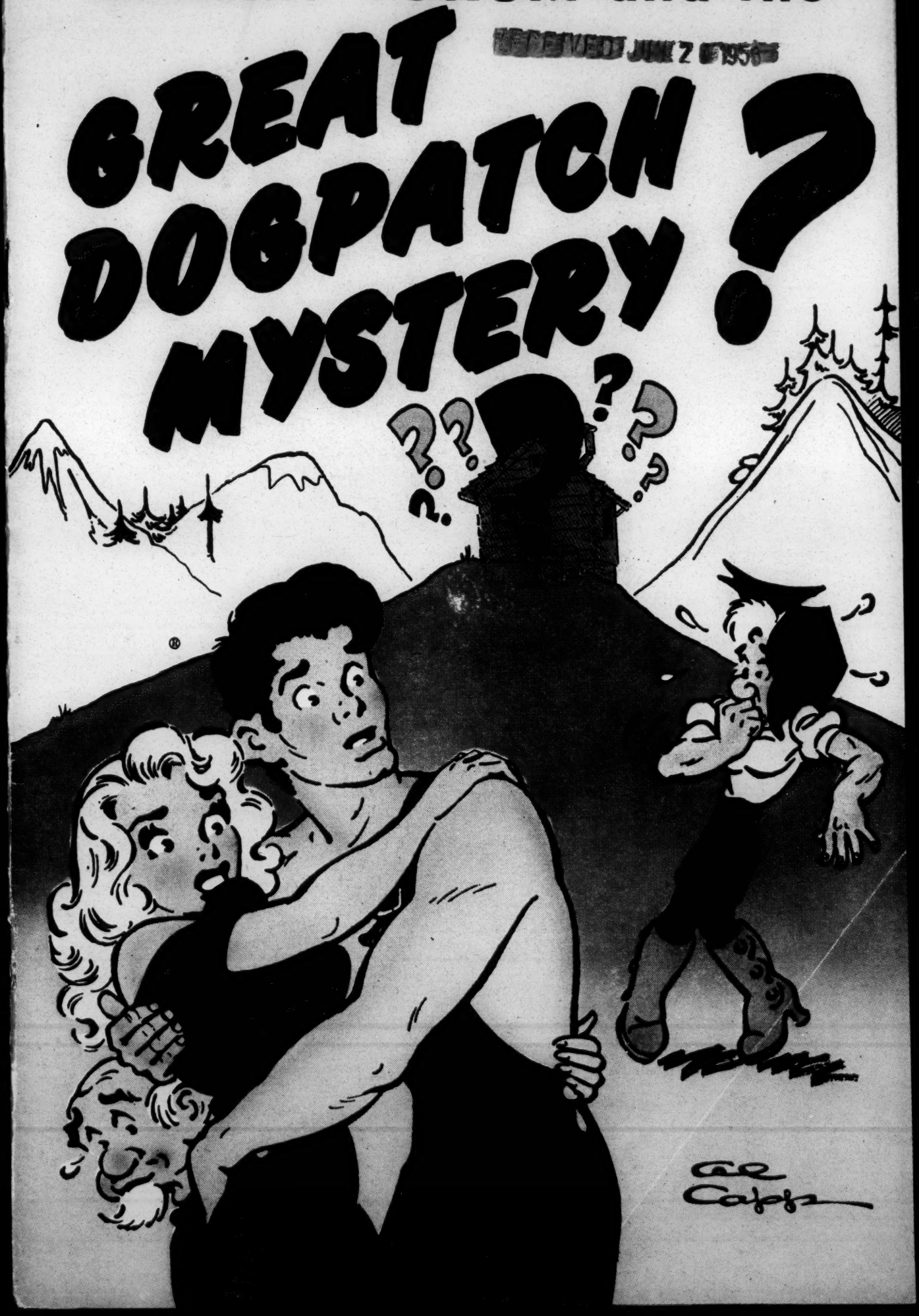
1 - 99	10¢ each
100 - 999	8¢ each
1000 & Up	6¢ each

6/56

RECEIVED JUN 20 1956

MAMMY YOKUM and the GREAT DOGPATCH MYSTERY!

RECEIVED JUN 7 1956



FOREWORD

Each age develops its own art forms and its own literary figures. The novel and the caricature, for instance, reached a high degree of development in 19th Century England. In the meantime, in this country the humorous short story and essay —sometimes biting, sometimes folksy—made literary history. But on both sides of the Atlantic, the literary figures of the day —Dickens and Mark Twain to name just two—were concerned with the evils of society and the need for reform.

Al Capp is a direct lineal descendant of these two traditions, speaking to us in the idiom of the mid-Twentieth Century in a mid-Twentieth Century form—the cartoon novel, better known in the colloquialism of the day as the "comic strip". His business is to amuse and to entertain and this he does supremely well. But like all great writers and artists—and he is both—Al Capp adds a third dimension to his work which gives it the quality of greatness. He, too, is concerned with the evils of society. Like Dickens and Mark Twain, he too seeks to improve our manners and morals with his skillful literary scalpel and the acid of his clever drawing pen.

But above all he is a story-teller and one of his best is to be found on the succeeding pages.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Copr. 1956 by United Feature Syndicate, Inc.

IT'S FO' OUR NEW NEIGHBORS, WHICH MOVED INTO TH' FORMER CORNPONE MANSION, WHICH, IN ITS BETTER DAYS, WAS TH' OLE McGOON STABLE—

HOWDY, MR. AN' MRS. GOODPANTS. JEDGIN' FUM THET BASKET, YO' IS ON YORE WAY T'SEE OUR NEW NEIGHBORS.
WE **SEEN** 'EM, THANK YO'—

AN' WE IS ON OUR WAY **BACK**—AS FAST AS OUR CREAKY OLE LAIGS KIN **CARRY** US!!
DID THEY **REFOOZE** TH' VITTLES?

WE DIDN'T GIVE 'EM NO **CHANCE** TO!!—
WHUT'S WRONG WIF 'EM?
YO'LL SEE!!

MOONBEAM McSWINE!! IS THET LI'L HAWG A GIFT FO' TH' NEW NEIGHBORS, AS EITHER A MEAL OR COMPANION?
IT WERE **S'POSED** T'BE—

BUT AH WOULDN'T FORCE EVEN A HAWG TO ASSOCIATE WIF THEM!!
WHUT'S WRONG WIF TH' PORE SOULS?

YO'LL SEE!!
?

KNOCK!! KNOCK!!
COME IN, PLEASE—

??— WHY, THAR'S NOTHIN' WRONG — WIF — 'EM ---?-?--
GASP!!

GASP!!
(—"THEY GOT SQUARE EYES!!"—)

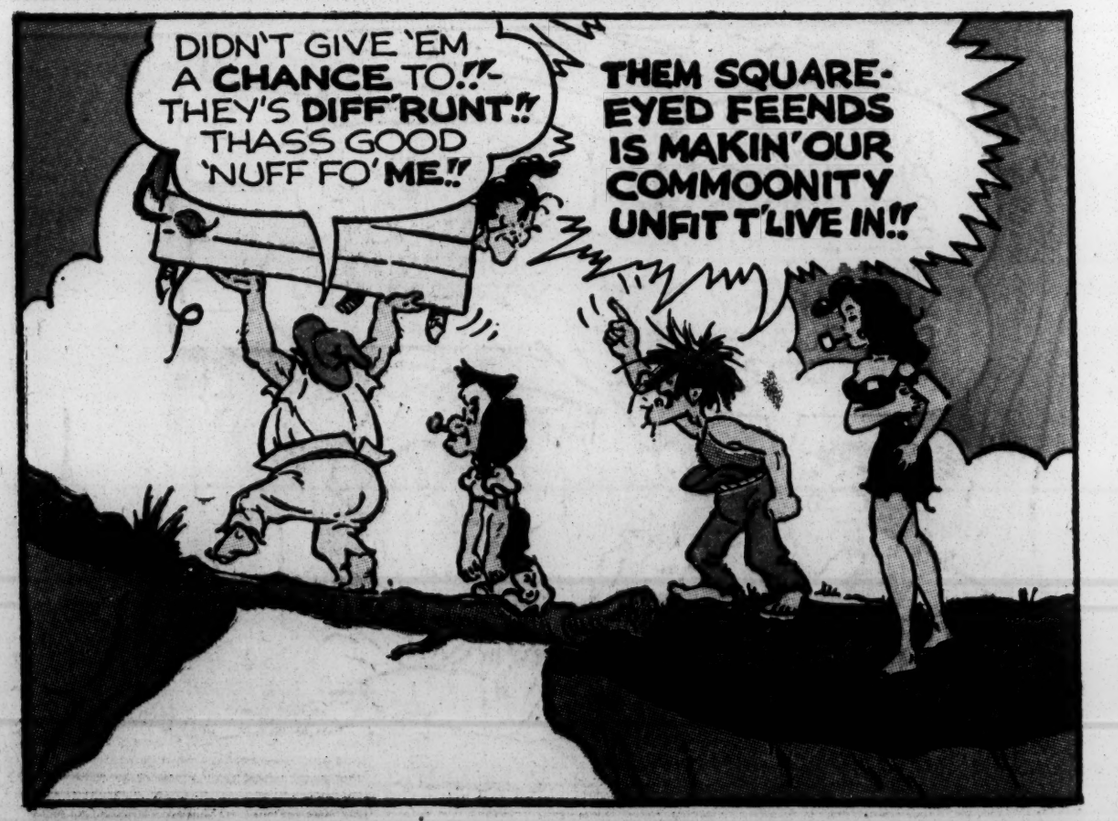
CHUCKLE!!—SO YO' SEEN OUR NEW NEIGHBORS!!—ER—DIFFERENT, HAIN'T THEY?-
THEY IS A LI'L DIFF'RUNT!!

WON'T YO' STAY FO' A SQUARE MEAL?
N-NO, THANKS. AH'LL BE SEEIN' YO' AROUND!!

EV'RYBODY AH KNOWS GOT ROUND EYES!!—BUT—HMM—STILL, WHAT HARM DO SQUARE EYES DO?-
??-DAN'L DAWGMEAT—WHAR YO' GOIN, WIF YORE HOUSE?

AWAY FUM THEM CRITTERS WIF SQUARE EYES, THASS WHAR!!
D-DID THEY DO YO' ANY HARM?

LE'S GIT A MOB TOGETHER !!


DIDN'T GIVE 'EM A CHANCE TO!!- THEY'S DIFF'RUNT!! THASS GOOD 'NUFF FO' ME!!
THEM SQUARE-EYED FEENDS IS MAKIN' OUR COMMOONITY UNFIT T'LIVE IN!!

AN' RUN 'EM OUTA TOWN!!-

(-"AH'LL TAKE TH' SHORT CUT, UP ONNECESSARY MOUNT'IN, AN' WARN 'EM!!"-)

HALP!!

IT'S TH' SQUARE-EYED BOY!! HE'S CAUGHT IN TH' OLE WOLF-TRAP!!

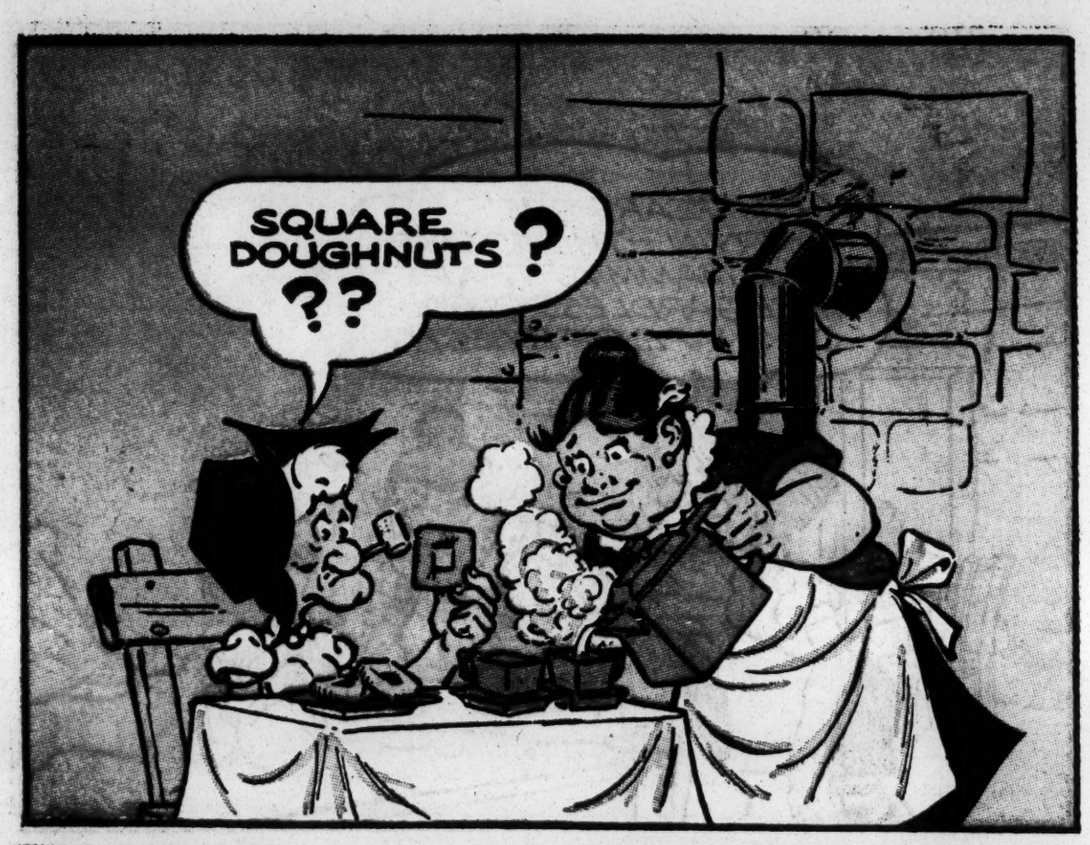
(-"THIS CHILE!!"-IT GOT SQUARE EYES-BUT IT YOWLS LIKE ANY **OTHER** CHILE!!"-)

(-"AN' TH' PORE LI'L THING BLEEDS LIKE ANY OTHER CHILE—")

(-"AN' HIS **MAMMY**!!- **SHE'S** JEST AS SHOCKED AS A **ROUND**-EYED MAMMY!!—")

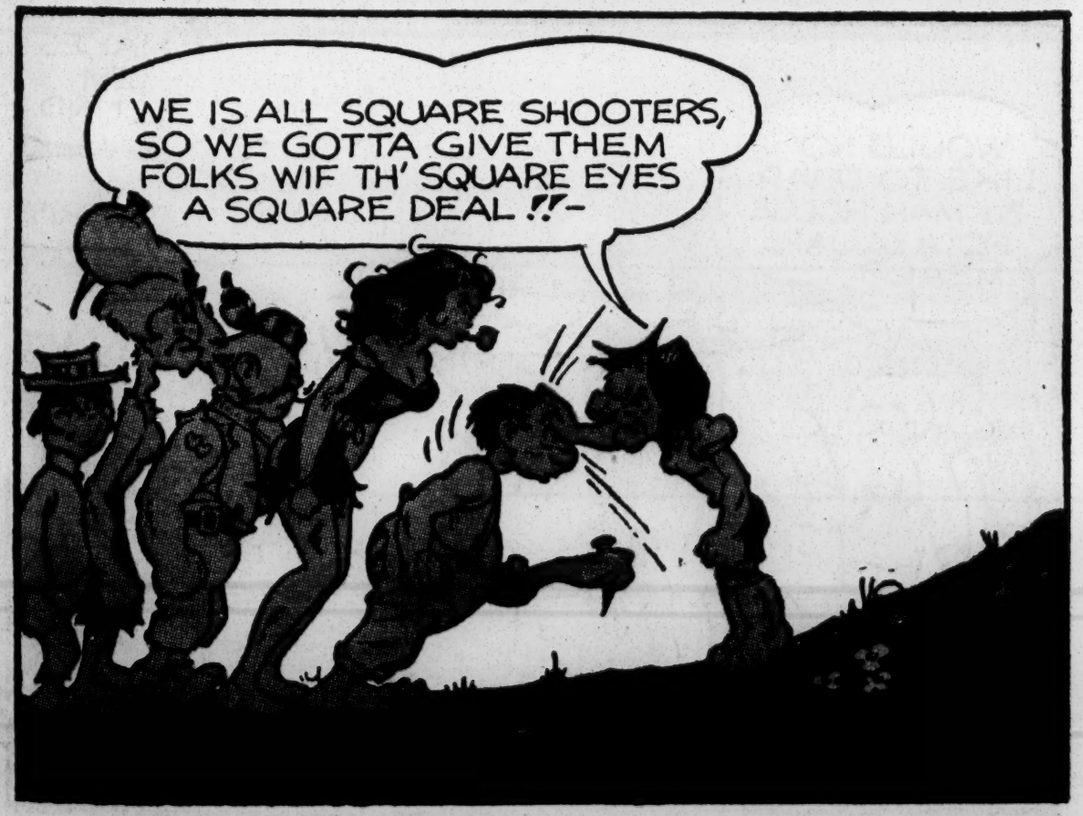
(-"TH' TEARS SHE'S A-CRYIN'—THEY'S LIKE **ALL** MAMMYS' TEARS, IRREGARDLESS O' COLOR OR SHAPE OF EYES!!—")

HE'LL BE ALL RIGHT, THANK HEWINS!!- ER-COULD YO' STAY FO' TEA? T'OTHER NEIGHBORS BIN TOO BUSY, AH RECKON, T' COME HERE!!-
(-"GULP!!- THEY'LL BE HERE, ANY MINUTE- WIF **CLUBS**!!—")


SQUARE DOUGHNUTS ? ??

MY!!-HERE COME A WHOLE MESS O' NEIGHBORS -T' WELCOME US, NO DOUBT-
WAL, EF THAR IS ANY DOUBT, AH'LL STRAIGHTEN 'EM OUT. EXCOOZE ME —

BUT-CHOMP!!-THEY'S JEST AS TASTY AS ANY OTHER KIND-EVEN THOUGH THEY LOOKS A LI'L DIFF'RUNT—


WE IS ALL SQUARE SHOOTERS, SO WE GOTTA GIVE THEM FOLKS WIF TH' SQUARE EYES A SQUARE DEAL !!-

POSTSCRIPT...

by Herman Wouk

Al Capp has only told half of the amazing story of the square-eyed family of Dogpatch.

It turned out a few weeks later that the square eyes gave them a remarkable ability to see inside melons, eggs, coconuts, and in fact any kind of food with a shell on it! They could even see inside a can of salmon and see whether the salmon had gone bad.

Naturally this made them in great demand, especially at the supermarkets when people went shopping. If a square-eye was along, nobody ever bought an unripe watermelon or a spoiled coconut.

The last I heard, the baby (who had the sharpest square eyes of all) had gotten a job looking for pearls in oysters without opening the oysters; and he was doing so well that he was supporting the whole big family.

That is the wonderful thing about differences between people. It generally turns out that with differences you get special abilities that enables people to help each other.

If everybody were exactly alike this would be a very dull world indeed. Moreover, we would all still be living in caves, probably.

The first caveman who thought of using fire to cook food and warm his family was probably as different from his neighbors as the Square-eyes were from the other Dogpatch people. He must have had a very big head to hold his exceptional brains, and he must have had the dreamy look of a genius. No doubt there were stupid cavemen who wanted to kill him for having a big head and a different look. But the smart cavemen realized that this difference had brought a great blessing to them, and so they protected him.

In America, from the day the country was born, every man has had a right to be himself: to think as he pleases, to work as he pleases, to worship God as he pleases. To us, the right to be different has always been precious. And so we have here a great number of diverse people living and working happily side by side; and in less than two centuries we have become the greatest and richest nation on earth.

AND YOU CAN SEE 'EM TOO! JUST TURN TO THE FIRST PAGE AND START READING!!

Additional Copies Can Be Purchased From:

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Printed in U.S.A.

January 2, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your letter of December 27 and I heartily second the motion that it was good to be together when you were in Atlanta. Both Harold and I felt that we got a good deal from our discussions. We also felt you had unusually keen insight into the problems we face. With you, we look forward to further collaboration.

Warmest personal regards, and the best of everything in the New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBRmm

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December 27, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was good to be with you last week. I enjoyed our discussions immensely and they were extremely important for me. Thanks so much for your words of wisdom. I look forward to further collaboration.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

January 9, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Art called me and asked that I send you a list of names and addresses of people in Miami who would be interested in a human relations workshop or work session.

Here follows the list:

(1) Booker T. Washington High School:

Mrs. Mayme Williams
Miss Marie Roberts
Mrs. Ethel Graham

(2) Rev. Edward T. Graham
Mt. Zion Baptist Church

(3) University of Miami, Coral Gables:

Malcom Ross, University Editor
(Director of FEPC under FDR)
Don Sprague and Dean Eppley, Department of Human Relations
Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Vice President

(4) Mr. Daniel Lang
Greater Miami Urban League

(5) Mr. Hollis Rinehart
Atty. - Ingraham Building

(6) Seamore Samet
American Jewish Committee

(7) Father Theodore Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
Coconut Grove
(NAACP)

(8) Dr. Hawkins, Dentist
(Reachable through Rev. Graham)

(9) Rev. Caxton Doggett
Rader Memorial Methodist Church
(President, Florida Council on Human Relations)

Hope this will be of some help to you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

January 17, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I have read with considerable interest the ADL field report on Beaumont by Warren Breed. I think the report well done. It is, as he says, a "quickie," but still contains valuable information for a person interested in the process of desegregation.

To my amazement, I note in the parenthetical comment on the cover page that the Intergroup Relations Committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems is referred to as "invidious." Pray tell, dear sir, why this adjective?

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

PA → HCF → JC + FI Let me see on my return Mel

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

North Carolina-Virginia Regional Office | **403 E. Franklin Street** | **Richmond 19, Virginia**

PHONE 3-9143

JC
FI

February 18, 1957

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Houston, Tex.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your recent note requesting a fact sheet on THE VIRGINIAN and information on its influence and circulation outside the state.

I am enclosing a copy of a fact sheet we drew up recently. THE VIRGINIAN claims to be circulated in every state of the Union and outside the country. We believe that its circulation is about 4,000 copies a month. As to influence, incendiary material is bound to receive greater attention during troubled times but there is no indication that any power structure people have identified themselves with the publication. It is of interest, however, that the publication appears regularly which would indicate that some person or persons are supporting the publication.

If you have any additional questions, please don't hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely,

Murray Friedman

Murray Friedman
Director

MF:bh
encl.

February 11, 1957

Mr. Murray Friedman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
403 East Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Friedman:

We are interested in having a copy of your fact sheet on The Virginian. It is one of the hate publications about which we know little - very obviously a mistake. Unless the fact sheet covers the matter can you also indicate what influence and circulation the paper seems to have outside the state?

Regards,

Paul Anthony

PA:mm

From HCF to -

FBR
PA
JC
FI
MET
EY
EAB (file)

MEMO

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10, N.Y. MUrray Hill 6-8010

Mr. Harold Fleming:

I thought you might be interested in the attached.

Oscar Cohen

For your information

Arnold Forster

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

OC

MEMORANDUM

To: Benjamin R. Epstein

From: Arnold Forster

Date: March 13, 1957

Subject:

You will recall that at our November 1956 meeting we approved a resolution urging the Department of Justice to institute action against white citizens councils which are engaging in illegal and subversive activities. This memorandum is intended to bring you up to date on developments which followed upon that resolution.

On November 29, 1956 a letter was sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell apprising him of this resolution. A copy of the text of that letter is attached hereto. On December 13 we received a reply to our letter from Warren Olney, III, Assistant Attorney General in Charge of the Criminal Division. The text of that letter is attached hereto for your information. On January 4, 1957 a reply was sent to Assistant Attorney General Olney's letter, advising him that in accordance with his suggestion we were submitting to the FBI the material in our possession dealing with the activities of the white citizens councils which we believed were indicative of possible violations of the laws of the United States. In our letter we went on to suggest that the widespread instances of violence and intimidation on the part of certain white citizens councils warranted a public announcement that the Department of Justice is vitally concerned with the problem and would take appropriate actions to secure observance of the law. At the same time we arranged for the delivery to J. Edgar Hoover, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, of the information in our possession concerning the activities of certain white citizens councils which we believed indicated possible violations of federal laws.

On January 24 we received an acknowledgment from Mr. Hoover, expressing his appreciation for the interest and courtesy which prompted the submission of information on our part to the Bureau. At the same time Mr. Hoover stated that the investigation of whether or not the violation of federal law within the investigative jurisdiction of the Bureau was involved was one to be decided by the appropriate legal division of the Department of Justice and that therefore copies of our letter and the information forwarded with it were being furnished by the Bureau to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, head of the Criminal Division, and Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, head of the Internal Security Division.

Thereafter, toward the end of February Assistant Attorney General Olney telephoned Herman Edelsberg to say that Attorney General Brownell

and Bill Rogers, the Deputy Attorney General, had suggested to him that he talk with Mr. Edelsberg instead of undertaking to answer our letter concerning the white citizens councils. Thereafter on March 1 Herman Edelsberg conferred with Mr. Olney in his office at the Department of Justice.

Mr. Olney told Edelsberg that the councils had been -- and would continue to be -- an object of concern to and surveillance by the Department which had a very extensive file on them. But he read to Herman Edelsberg from a long memorandum prepared by the Office of Legal Counsel, the section of the Department of Justice which writes opinions for the White House and other Federal agencies, indicating the difficulties in the way of listing white citizens councils as subversive. This opinion acknowledged that the Attorney General's list has a category of organizations which advocate the use of force to deprive Americans of their constitutional rights and that certain councils seem to fit this specification precisely. But the opinion went on to point out that the federal courts are unhappy with the list in general and that the courts are particularly unhappy with any definition of subversive which does not carry with it the implication of giving aid and comfort to a foreign enemy.

Mr. Olney went on to point out in a very friendly way that he was sure that the ADL did not wish to push the Department into making a public statement based upon the findings of this memorandum of law that any listing of the white citizens councils as subversive would probably not be upheld in the courts and that under present law there is no basis for prosecution of the white citizens councils. Mr. Edelsberg then told Mr. Olney that he should regard our letters as an expression of concern that the councils seem to be "getting away with murder", and that the lawyers in the ADL were not unmindful of the Department's dilemma. Mr. Olney was reassured by this statement.

When Mr. Edelsberg suggested that the actions of the white citizens councils, headed by Kasper and Ace Carter, represented a pattern of illegal conduct designed to nullify the sovereignty of our government in certain sections of our country - something that smacked of secession - Mr. Olney indicated the suggestion would be part of the Department's considerations during its continued surveillance of the councils.

Finally, Mr. Edelsberg discussed with Mr. Olney the question of dismissing federal employees who were knowing and intentional participants in the white citizens council movement, indicating that such action would achieve virtually the same result as including the councils on the subversive list. Mr. Olney readily agreed that such persons were violating federal policy and should be dismissed for bringing the government into disrepute. He added, however, that the investigations by the Department of Justice of the white citizens councils did not reveal any member of the council who was a federal employee. He promised to keep an eye open for such a case.

AF:gh

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November 29, 1956

Hon. Herbert Brownell
Attorney General of the United States
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Attorney General:

May I respectfully call your attention to a resolution on the White Citizens Councils unanimously adopted by the National Commission of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at its forty-third annual meeting in Washington, D. C. on November 24-25, 1956.

The text of that resolution reads as follows:

"Evidence in the possession of the Anti-Defamation League indicates a clear pattern of illegal and subversive activities on the part of certain White Citizens Councils. Coupled with their anti-Negro, anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic programs is the illegal purpose to deprive American citizens by force and violence of their constitutional rights to equal protection of the law.

"In view of these facts, the Anti-Defamation League is hereby authorized with the cooperation of other like-minded groups, or alone, if necessary to expose this pattern of illegality and subversion.

"The Anti-Defamation League earnestly urges the Justice Department to institute action at the earliest moment against these offenders in accordance with the recent policy decision of the Department to prosecute those who interfere with the right of all American citizens to equality of treatment affirmed in the recent Supreme Court decisions."

I need hardly add that the Anti-Defamation League is ready to cooperate to the utmost with the Justice Department in this matter and to make available to the Department such evidence it has bearing on the illegal activities of the White Citizens Councils.

Respectfully submitted,

HES:gh

Henry Edward Schultz

C O P Y

Department of Justice
Washington

C O P Y

December 13, 1956

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
Chairman, Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Schultz:

This is in reply to your letter to the Attorney General of November 29, 1956, concerning a resolution adopted by the National Commission of the Anti-Defamation League at its forty-third annual meeting in Washington, D. C. last November on the subject of the White Citizens Councils.

The White Citizens Councils are not a matter of official concern to the Department of Justice unless their activities result in violation of the laws of the United States. In such case the Councils would be a matter of official concern to that extent only. The resolution as quoted in your letter states in part:

> "Evidence in the possession of the Anti-Defamation League indicates a clear pattern of illegal and subversive activities on the part of certain White Citizens Councils."

If the evidence referred to is indicative of possible violation of the laws of the United States, the appropriate course is to report it in detail to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for appropriate inquiry and action by the Department of Justice.

Sincerely,

WARREN OLNEY III
Assistant Attorney General

March 22, 1957

Mr. H. William Frey, President,
Baha'i International Club
Delaware State College
Dover, Delaware

Dear Mr. Frey:

Thank you very much for your letter of March 19, 1957 concerning INTEGRATION, NORTH AND SOUTH.

However, we have less than one-hundred copies of this booklet now available. As you will notice from the enclosed folder, this booklet is published by the Meridian Publishing Company and they do offer quanitity rates.

Also enclosed, is an informational sheet concerning some of our recent publications which might interest you.

Sincerely yours,

John Constable,
Director of Information

JC:cj

enclosures:

BAHA'I INTERNATIONAL CLUB
CAMPUS
DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE
DOVER, DELAWARE

Inquiry

March 19, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 21 1957

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Ours is a newly integrated school. We feel it would be of value at this point to be able to bring to the attention of student leaders your booklet, INTEGRATION NORTH AND SOUTH--as concrete evidence of positive action toward desegregation.

Our organization has a very small budget-but we would like to order 175 copies of this booklet-if the quantity price is not too great.

We shall appreciate whatever consideration you can give this request and thank you for your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

H. William Frey

H. William Frey
President

Cont. delegates
Jacque

April 10, 1957

Mrs. Louis L. Perlman, President,
B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council
203 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Perlman:

Since the hour I have been away from Washington, the significance of the Conference at the Shoreham Hotel, becomes more and more vivid to me. Surely, it will bring living results. God must have been directing you when the dream came to you.

I am deeply grateful to you for giving me the privilege of sharing in it for it was indeed a soul stirring experience.

Deeply grateful, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:cj

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 3 - 5, 1957

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN
203 NORTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

March 19, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

The B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council would very much like to have you deliver the invocation at the luncheon on Thursday, April 4th to the delegates and participants in the National Woman's Conference on Intergroup Relations.

You may recall that this is the luncheon at which the Honorable Florence P. Dwyer, Congresswoman from New Jersey, and the Honorable Edith Green, Congresswoman from Oregon, will speak. We feel that to have you present the opening prayer would truly be the touch to make this function a most outstanding one.

We sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to be the deliverer of the invocation on this date and we are looking forward to hearing from you in this connection.

With kindest regards,

Most sincerely,

Anita M. Perlman

Mrs. Louis L. Perlman, President
B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council

AMP:sr
cc: Mrs. Michael Shapiro
Mr. Israel Moss

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 3 - 5, 1957

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN
203 NORTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

April 15, 1957

Miss M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Tilly:

In behalf of the B'nai B'rith Women please accept my personal thanks for the wonderful cooperation and significant contribution you made to the National Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations.

As our own biennial convention came to a close, we heard laudatory comments repeatedly from those B'nai B'rith women who were present at the conference. They were inspired by the leadership participants. They were encouraged by the free exchange of thought among those with whom they met for the first time to discuss the compelling problems of intergroup understanding.

The B'nai B'rith Women and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith will do all in their power to help carry out the recommendations of the conference participants. I should also be appreciative of your sending me your comments on and evaluation of the conference so that we may be guided in our future planning.

I look forward to our paths crossing often as we move ahead in the direction of deeper understanding of the forces that tend to bring us together into closer bonds of harmony and friendship.

Sincerely yours,

Anita M. Perlman

Mrs. Louis L. Perlman,
President

167

Mrs. Tilly –
Wouldn't it be desirable for a copy of this or something similar to go to Alex Miller + Oscar Cohen at ADL in N.Y.?
Harold

April 10, 1957

Mrs. Louis L. Perlman, President,
B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council
203 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 2, Illinois

Dear Mrs. Perlman:

Since the hour I have been away from Washington, the significance of the Conference at the Shoreham Hotel, becomes more and more vivid to me. Surely, it will bring living results. God must have been directing you when the dream came to you.

I am deeply grateful to you for giving me the privilege of sharing in it for it was indeed a soul stirring experience.

Deeply grateful, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:cj

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE ON INTERGROUP RELATIONS

SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 3 - 5, 1957

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN
203 NORTH WABASH AVENUE
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS

February 14, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

On behalf of the B 'nai B'rith Women I wish to thank you for accepting our invitation to participate as a resource consultant, in the National Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations, sponsored by us, which will take place at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 3, 4 and 5, 1957.

We feel that we are most fortunate in having you take a leadership role. Your presence will lend much to the success of the Conference.

Shortly we shall forward you a fact sheet pointing up the salient elements of the Conference program, and an outline of the leadership role you have so graciously accepted.

Thank you again for accepting our invitation.

Sincerely,

Anita Perlman

Mrs. Louis L. Perlman
President

AP/ov
cc: Arthur J. Levin

April 29, 1957

Mr. Israel Moss, Director,
Department of National Organizations,
Anti-Defamation League,
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Moss:

Your letter was such a pleasant surprise because I had been so much the recipient in that great Conference on Intergroup Relations, I didn't think anybody would thank me for the little part I had in it.

I understand that it was Mrs. Perlman's dream that such a National Women's Conference would be held but she also had to have the backing of you, Mr. Cohen and all of the rest of the members of the National Commission.

It was one of the most deeply searching Workshops and I suspect the most far-reaching one that I have ever had the privilege of being in. I wish I knew how to express my appreciation to all who had a part it in.

Deeply grateful and most appreciative of the fact that you wrote to me, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:cj

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Executive Assistant

April 12, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Please accept my personal thanks for the brilliant job you did at the National Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations.

Since I returned to the office, the phone has rung incessantly. We have had a number of letters, too, from participants. All were pleased. Many were enthusiastic.

I am sure that the success of the Conference is due largely to what you, Mrs. Tilly, and the other members of the leadership team brought to the meeting. The ADL, and I personally, are grateful to you for your part in this Conference.

With kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Israel

Israel Moss
Director
Dept. of National Organizations

IM:la

April 30, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Director,
Program Division,
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

How nice it was to get a letter like yours, even though the little part I contributed was far outweighed by the uplift that I received.

It was most significant as you will know by the fact that so many organizations dropped their particular jobs for the time being to come and participate in this great Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations. It was so worthwhile that the effects of it will be far-reaching over the nation. Speeches and workshop reports will be referred to for years to come.

I am very grateful that I was asked to be a part of this Conference.

Your friendship through the years has meant much to me, please continue it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M. E. Tilly,
Director of Women's Work

MET:cj

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of B'nai B'rith

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

April 9, 1957

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

I am happy to have had the opportunity of meeting with you at the National Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations. We are deeply grateful for your participation in our "leadership team". Your wonderful contribution had much to do with its success.

Throughout the Conference, I heard many fine remarks concerning your contribution and the serious consideration which participants gave to the various suggestions you made.

I do hope we shall be able to continue our collaboration.

With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen, Director
Program Division

OC/jls

Anti-Defamation League

May 21, 1957

Mrs. B. Wild
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Wild:

I have finally run down a copy of the Florida "Gleanings." I am so sorry that these did not get to you sooner but I think the delay may have been caused by the fact that the stencils were cut in one office and run off and mailed from another. I thought you had received them weeks ago. Now they are finally on the way to you.

Very truly yours,

Carmencita P. Jones,
Secretary to Mrs. Tilly

enclosure: 1 set
of gleanings,
Fla. Meeting

May 24, 1957

Mr. Irwin Schulman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Irv:

Thanks very much for your letter of May 23rd. I am looking forward to receiving the complimentary copy of "Regional Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education," containing a summary of the proceedings of the Southwide Conference in Human Relations Education.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Not yet received but look forward to receiving -

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

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WILLIAM SACHS, New York
BENJAMIN SAMUELS, Chicago
MELVIN H. SCHLESINGER, Denver
JESSE STEINHART, San Francisco

May 23, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
63 Auburn St. N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

The proceedings of our Southwide Conference in Human Relations Education at the University of Oklahoma have finally been published. The delay in the issuance of these proceedings has been due to the inclusion of summaries of other ADL sponsored conferences in other areas of the country.

Under separate cover I am sending you a complimentary copy of "Regional Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education". This booklet contains not only the Oklahoma conference which you attended, but also summaries of similar conferences held on campuses of New Jersey State Teachers College, the University of Southern California, Pennsylvania State University and in the city of Chicago.

If you or your friends would be interested in receiving additional copies, they are available from this office at $1.50 each, with a 20% discount on orders of five or more.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

Irwin Schulman

is:db

May 31, 1957

Miss Gertrude Noar
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Gertrude:

Many thanks for the copy of the A.D.L.'s report: Regional Problems and Issues in Human Relations Education. I believe you have done a real service for the field by pulling together the reports of the various conferences held. I was pleased to find so many of my old friends in the index.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Inc.

NYC Clerk

Confidential

TO: Irwin Shulman

FROM: Harvey B. Schechter

DATE: February 10, 1958

Attached is a photostat of a news release issued by the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born. Note that the proceeds of the announced event will be sent to the nine children of Little Rock. In view of the character of this Committee, offers of funds by them to these nine children may cause public relations problems in Little Rock and throughout the South if such contributions are accepted.

HBS:cm
enc.
cc: Milton Ellerin
Alex Miller
Art Levin

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

RELEASE.

LOS ANGELES COMMITTEE FOR PROTECTION OF FOREIGN BORN
326 W. 3rd ST. • LOS ANGELES 13, CALIF.
ROSE CHERNIN, Executive Director • MAdison 9-[illegible]

JANUARY 4, 1958

Honorary Chairman: Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell

Co-Chairmen: Charlotta Bass, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Robert W. Kenny, Mrs. Dorothy N. Manis, Judge Stanley Moffatt

FUND RAISING AFFAIR FOR LITTLE ROCK STUDENTS

LOS ANGELES Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold their 4th Annual Negro History Week Celebration. This year it will be dedicated to the nine courageous Negro Students of Little Rock, Ark. Their heroic fight and victory against the most reactionary supremist elements in the South, has advanced the cause of freedom for all of us.

The proceeds of this cultural event will go to these youths, who are in the front line for American Democracy.

The Celebration will take place FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1958 at 8 p.m. at the Park Manor, 607 S. Western Ave., L.A. Guest speaker will be Dr. Price C. Cobbs, Sr., leader in the West Indian Community. Artistic entertainment will be provided by Frank Greenwood's Touring Artist Group Sergio Perez, Mexican Folk Singer, and others.

The affair will be a demonstration of the multi-National Unity with which the L.A.C.P.F.B. has become identified.

The L.A. Committee welcomes all friends to attend this outstanding occasion, and support the struggle for First Class Citizenship.

-30-

March 7, 1958

Mr. Irwin Schulman, Area Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
606 Common Street, Room 401
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Irv:

Thanks for your letter of March 5th noting the places within your territory where integrated meetings are possible. When the list is completed we will send you a copy and you will find to your pleasure and amazement that there are more such places than we dreamed possible.

By the by, my good secretary, Faith Lawson, is going to visit New Orleans on a tour around the United States prior to her return to merry old England. She will be in the Crescent City on May 3rd and 4th and you might take a bit of time to show her the French quarter. I know of no guide who knows the nooks and crannies as well as you.

Vive le Vieux Carre!

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith
606 Common Street, Room 401, New Orleans, La., CAnal 5241

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March 5, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Ass't. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.-Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred,

Sorry not to have been able to answer your request for information on interracial facilities in my area earlier, but as you can imagine the pressure of work here is tremendous. Even now I can only give you a sketchy idea of what is available in my area.

Integrated meetings on public property are prohibited by law in Louisiana and Mississippi. As you know there are no integrated schools in Mississippi, and the one college in Louisiana that is integrated would not be able to hold any integrated meetings even if they were so interested at the present time.

Arkansas would be my only state where you would have any opportunity or chance for a meeting on public or private grounds of any size. If I am not mistaken the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville is an integrated college, although I do not know whether they would allow interracial groups to hold meetings and/or find over-night accomodations. Then again there is Hot Springs National Park which presumably should be open to all people. Whether it is or not, I can not say.

I wish I could be of more help to you, but just getting to know my area as little as I have so far makes it difficult to give you any worth-while information. If I can help you on specifics, let me know.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

IS/phe

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-1800

TO

Mr. Harold Fleming
c/o Southern Regional Council
Rm. 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

INVOICE № 48103

DATE 3/7/58

RETURN UPPER PORTION OF THIS INVOICE WITH YOUR REMITTANCE TO 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

QUAN.	TITLES—DESCRIPTION	@	AMOUNT
	UNDER SEPARATE COVER WE ARE SENDING YOU THE FOLLOWING:		
500	Wall St. Reprint - Religion & Race		N/C
	from Oscar Cohen		

"The Alert Def. Southern Negro" N.Y. Times Reprint "Segregation Costs" W. Street Journal

April 24, 1958

Mr. Oscar Tarcov, Director
Publications Department
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

We did indeed reprint the two newspaper articles in which you are interested. I am sending you separately 250 copies of each, with our compliments. If you would like more, we can supply them at $1.50 per hundred. (This was our actual cost.)

I am glad that our distribution of these pieces has created some interest in them.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

April 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I have received a number of requests for the following two pieces:

1. The Southern Negro: Change and Paradox
   (reprinted N. Y. Times)

2. Segregation Costs
   (reprinted Wall Street Journal)

Harry Fleishman tells me that he thinks that your group has reprinted these two articles. If so, are they available in quantity and at what price?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar T.

Oscar Tarcov, Director
Publications Department

OT:zb

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

606 Common St., Room 401
New Orleans 12, La.

Alex Miller

Irwin Schulman

May 16, 1958

Last week Gov. Faubus made a speech in Hot Springs, Ark., in which he discussed the Supreme Court decision on desegregation and stated: "I am tired of the phrase 'Law of the Land'. Only Congress can make laws and the people didn't vote to change the Constitution. So it (racial integration) is not the law of the land".

This statement is quite different from the written statement issued by him last September 14th in which he said: "I have never expressed any personal opinion regarding the Supreme Court decision of 1954, which voted integration. That is not relevant. That decision is the law of the land and must be obeyed".

Another momser has joined the ranks!

Regards.

Jewish for S.O.B.

IS:mlh
cc...Milton Ellerin
Arthur Levin
Ted Freedman
Nate Perlmutter
Murray Friedman

May 29, 1958

Mr. Arnold Forster
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Arnold:

I have just received your letter, with enclosures, concerning the dispute that arose in Congress over one of the items in your list of bombings.

I am at a lost to account for the error in this listing - for an error there is. I have before me the draft, prepared for us by Margaret Price, which summarizes the incidents of violence and intimidation listed by the press since January 1, 1955. The disputed item is not shown as having occurred in Charlotte, but in Chattanooga, Tennessee. This is how it appears in the text:

> Chattanooga, Tenn.: Police investigated the third dynamite incident in Negro sections in less than two weeks. In the latest explosion, a vacant house was practically destroyed and several hundred dollars damage done to another. The houses are in a new subdivision designed exclusively for Negroes. None of the 65 houses is occupied. On October 27 an explosion ripped a hole in a field

near a Negro area and the following night a house rented by a Negro couple was damaged by a dynamite blast in the front yard. Officers had no theories. (Nov. 5, 1957--Associated Press)

Evidently in the telephone conversation between you and Mrs. Price, there was some mix-up on the name of the city involved. These slips are awkward and embarrassing, I know, and I am sorry that this one occurred. There is a good argument for our exchanging such documentation in written form, but then we are so often rushing to get it done yesterday.

If we can do anything further to help in the retrieving of this situation, let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

May 27th,
1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You may be aware that there has been a repercussion from the list of 45 bombings which we released at the time we made our appeal to the Justice Department to initiate an investigation of the series of dynamitings in the South. Included in our list (enclosed herewith) was one numbered 25. Your associate gave us this as one of 7 items that we did not have in our records. The item described a police investigation of three dynamiting incidents in a Negro section of Charlotte, N. C. since October 27th -- it referred to the latest explosion in a vacant house which practically destroyed the building.

Thereafter, a staff writer for the Charlotte Observer interviewed the local police who denied any knowledge whatsoever of these incidents or any police records. The end result was the insertion in the Congressional Record of May 13th by Congressman Charles R. Jonas of North Carolina of the Observer article and the Police Chief letter. I am enclosing a photostat of these items.

Congressman Celler of course arbitrarily defended our list in the ensuing discussion before the House.

Would you please have your records checked again and give us all the data about this particular item so that we can take an appropriate position. If the item is inaccurate, please let us know. If it is accurate, please give us the necessary corroborative detail.

With warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Arnold Forster

af/sgf

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 1-1800

Press Representatives
N. C. Belth
Morton Puner

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today placed before U. S. Attorney General William P. Rogers a record of 45 bombing outrages that have occurred in the South since January 1, 1957 showing "that the Federal authorities do have jurisdiction in the matter and that Federal action is evidently needed."

Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the League, appealed for Federal intervention "to prevent further bombing outrages" in a letter and memorandum to the Attorney General after a meeting with Assistant Attorney General W. Wilson White on Monday (April 28) immediately after the Jacksonville synagogue bombing. Mr. Schultz stressed that although local authorities have basic responsibility for prosecuting the criminals, the situation involves numerous Federal violations and calls for action by the Department of Justice to avoid "loss of life in addition to the considerable losses of property that have been sustained up to this date."

He pointed out that of the 45 bombing incidents against religious institutions, public schools, community centers and other property, "six were upon places of Jewish worship, all occurring since November 1957. An examination of the facts in all of these instances, we believe, bears out our contention that the Federal authorities do have jurisdiction in the matter and that Federal action is evidently needed."

Mr. Schultz emphasized that "the number to which these incidents has grown indicates the probability that they are not unrelated events. Indeed, in our view, there is clear evidence that there is a virtual Southwide conspiracy of lawless elements. For example, after some of the explosions, persons who knew of them befor they became matters of public knowledge telephoned to say that the bombings were

perpetrated by an organization described variously as the Confederate Union or the Confederate Underground.

"In other instances, before the bombings occurred, telephone calls were received by newspapers and others stating that the attacks were part of a concerted plan to warn against the continued use of religious institutions for the promotion of equal rights. Those involved were threatened with violence and death."

The operations of this terrorist conspiracy, the League added, "have crossed state lines, in itself a Federal violation. In the most recent bombing in Jacksonville, Florida, on April 28, an automobile observed at the scene of the crime bore a Tennessee license plate. In the March 16 Nashville and Miami bombings, the similarity of the dynamiting tecnhiques justify the inference that they stemmed from the same source."

The League told Attorney General Rogers that "the 45 incidents -- their elements of similarity coupled with the threatening statements -- demonstrate a plot to overthrow established constitutional order by force and violence. This is a violation of the Smith Act."

Further, the League said, "the purpose of this conspiracy is to intimidate its victims into abandoning their federally-secured rights to vote, to freedom of assembly and to freedom of religion. This, in our considered opinion, violates the Federal Civil Rights Law."

Mr. Schultz declared that "these bombings in different areas of the South may well involve interstate transportation of explosives in common carriers. If this is so, the United States Criminal Code was violated. This, too, would seem to call for careful investigation of the entire matter by Federal law enforcement authorities."

The League also pointed out that "a number of the telephone calls made in connection with the Nashville bombing of March 16 included threats of violence against

a Federal judge. This is a Federal crime in and of itself. If any of the telephoned threats made to private persons were effected through any medium of interstate commerce, this would also be a violation of Federal law."

The foregoing facts, the League concluded, make out a clear case for Federal investigation and for Federal intervention to bring the criminals to judgment. "We urgently submit," it said, "that the cause of law and order in the South will be served by such action on the part of the United States Department of Justice."

# # #

4/30/58

O = on SRC list
+ = Not on SRC List

BOMBINGS OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS, SCHOOLS AND OTHER PROPERTY
1957 To Date

O 1. 1/7/57 -- Beaumont, Texas -- Bomb went off outside home of Dr. Ed Sprott, a Negro physician and former NAACP official.

\+ 2. 1/7/57 -- Mobile, Alabama -- Bomb did little damage to the home of Walter Johnson, a Negro.

O 3. 1/9/57 -- Montgomery, Ala. -- Bombs caused damages at 4 locations:
O 4. a) Home of Rev. Robert Graetz, a Negro Minister (white of a Negro church)
O 5. b) Home of Rev. Ralph D. Abernethy, a Negro Minister
O 6. c) Rev. Abernethy's First Baptist Church
d) Hutchinson Street Baptist Church

O 7. 1/9/57 -- Beaumont, Texas -- Bomb was set off under the home of Mr. and Mrs. Grover Lee Myles, a Negro couple residing in a mixed neighborhood.

O 8. 1/57 -- Americus, Ga. -- Koinonia Farm's roadside market was blasted by dynamite.

O 9. 1/27/57 -- Montgomery, Ala. -- Attempt to blow up the home of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Negro Minister, misfired.

O 10. 1/27/57 -- Montgomery, Ala. -- A bomb was tossed between a Negro home and a filling station, caused damage to both buildings.

O 11. 1/28/57 -- Beaumont, Texas -- A bomb blew up the body of a truck parked near the county courthouse and owned by State Rep. Rufus Kilpatrick.

O 12. 1/28/57 -- Beaumont, Texas -- A blast damaged the entrance to St. Michael's Orthodox Church.

O 13. 1/28/57 -- Beaumont, Texas -- Windows in a home near the First Christian Church were damaged by a blast.

O 14. 2/14/57 -- Clinton, Tenn. -- A suitcase of dynamite exploded in the heart of the Negro section, injuring a woman, an 11 month old baby and wrecking property over a wide area including a nearby restaurant.

O 15. 2/18/57 -- Mobile, Alabama -- The home of Walter Johnson, a Negro, was again damaged by a bomb.

O 16. 2/19/57 -- Knoxville, Tenn. -- Dynamite explosion reverberated through Municipal Building where Negro Louis Armstrong's band played to a segregated audience.

(?) + 17. 2/57 -- Americus, Ga. -- Second bombing of Koinonia Farm's roadside market.
(check chronology)

O 18. 4/29/57 -- Bessemer, Ala. -- Blast at Allen Temple A.M.E., a Negro church.

19. 4/29/57 -- Bessemer, Ala. -- Explosion at the home of Asbury Howard, a Negro and international vice-president of the United Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

20. 5/25/57 -- Chattanooga, Tenn.-- House of R.H. Craig, Negro attorney, dynamited.

21. 9/9-10/57- Nashville, Tenn. -- The new Hattie Cotton Elementary School was virtually destroyed by dynamite.

22. 10/2/57 -- Greensboro, N.C. -- Explosion at Negro man's home two blocks from white school his children now attend - Elijah Herring.

23. 11/1/57 -- Bessemer, Ala. -- A dynamite blast damaged the home of a Negro attorney, David Hood, Jr., who is attempting to open Bessmer's two public parks to Negroes.

24. 11/11/57 -- Charlotte, N.C. -- Bombing attempt at Temple Beth-El failed.

25. 11/5/57 -- ~~Charlotte, N.C.~~ Chatt. Tenn. -- Police investigating three dynamiting incidents in Negro section since Oct. 27; latest explosion in vacant house practically destroyed.

26. 11/16/57 -- Gaffney, S.C. -- Bomb failed to go off at the home of a white woman, wife of Dr. James H. Sanders, who had written an article advocating a moderate approach in racial relations.

27. 11/19/57 -- Gaffney, S.C. -- Another attempt to bomb the home of Mrs. Sanders failed.

28. 11/20/57 -- Gaffney, S.C. -- This time a blast went off at the home of Mrs. Sanders, causing some damage.

29. 11/20/57 -- Cherokee County, S.C. -- Blast rocked the home of a Negro tenant farmer, Lewis Ford.

30. 11/26/57 -- Ringgold, Ga. -- Attempt to dynamite the home of Philip Higgins, a Negro, failed.

31. 12/7/57 -- Birmingham, Ala. -- Two dynamite blasts shattered a home into which a Negro family (Robert Greer) was preparing to move.

32. 12/31/57 -- Birmingham, Ala. -- Home of Negro family which moved into white neighborhood - damaged by bomb explosion - home owned by Otis Flowers.

33. 12/31/57 -- Little Rock, Ark. -- Mrs. L.C. Bates, Ark. President NAACP reported an attempt to bomb her home.

34. 1/1/58 -- Charlotte, N.C. -- The marquee at a drive-in theatre that admits both Negro and white patrons, was dynamited.

35. 1/19/58 -- Chattanooga, Tenn.-- An explosion damaged Howard School for Negroes.

omit 36. 1/19/58 -- Tulsa, Oklahoma -- A crude bomb did little damage to a home occupied by a Negro family (that of Johnny Gamble) who had moved in two months before.

37. 2/9/58 -- Gastonia, N.C. -- Bombing attempt at Temple Emanuel also failed.

omit 38. 2/15/58 -- Charlotte, N.C. -- Five men arrested for attempting to dynamite a county Negro elementary school.

+ 39. 2/17/58 -- Atlanta, Georgia -- A dynamite blast damaged a Negro's home in a white section.

40. 3/16/58 -- Miami, Florida -- Dynamite blast did at least $30,000 worth of damage to Temple Beth El's school-recreation annex.

41. 3/16/58 -- Nashville, Tenn. -- Dynamite blast ripped the front of the Jewish Community Center building.

+ 42. 3/17/58 -- Atlanta, Georgia -- Dynamite damaged an unoccupied house recently sold to a Negro in a predominantly white neighborhood.

43. 4/27/58 -- Jacksonville, Fla.-- Dynamite blast at Jewish Center.

44. 4/27/58 -- Jacksonville, Fla.-- Bombing damaged the entrance way of a Negro school, the James Weldon Johnson Jr. High School.

45. 4/28/58 -- Birmingham, Ala. -- Dynamiting of Temple Beth-El misfired.

Constitution Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 6, 1958

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, by Presidential proclamation dated August 30, 1956, the week beginning September 17 of each year was set aside as Constitution Week, a time for the contemplation and commemoration of the historic acts which resulted in the formation of our Constitution. This proclamation urges the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in their schools and churches and in other appropriate places.

The entire text of the proclamation is as follows:

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—A PROCLAMATION

Whereas on September 17, 1787, after 4 months of debate, highlighted by sharp differences of view and by wise compromises, the outstanding leaders of our Republic, who were meeting in Convention at Philadelphia, signed the Constitution of the United States of America; and

Whereas the story of the framing, signing, and adoption of that epochal document constitutes one of the most significant chapters in the history of our country; and

Whereas it is fitting that every American should reflect upon the vision and fortitude of our forebears in creating a charter designed "to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and for the posterity" of this Nation; and

Whereas a joint congressional resolution approved August 2, 1956, has requested the President to set aside the week beginning September 17 of each year as Constitution Week, a time for the contemplation and commemoration of the historic acts which resulted in the formation of our Constitution:

Now, therefore, I, Dwight D. Eisenhower, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate the period beginning September 17 and ending September 23, 1956, as Constitution Week, and I urge the people of the United States to observe that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities in their schools and churches and in other suitable places. I also urge that at this time to give solemn and grateful thought to that eventful week in September 1787 when our Constitution was signed, delivered to the Continental Congress, and made known to the people of the country, thus laying the foundation for the birth of a new Nation.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Seal of the United States of America to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this 30th day of August in the year of our Lord 1956, and of the independence of the United States of America the 181.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

By the President:

JOHN FOSTER DULLES,
Secretary of State.

My purpose at this time is to remind the Nation and particularly our schools and colleges of this significant and patriotic event. Since it occurs shortly after the fall term commences in September, such institutions may find it expedient to begin preparation before summer vacation begins.

No Bombings in Charlotte

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 13, 1958

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, on May 5, 1958, the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], in an extension of remarks at page A4106 in the Appendix of the RECORD, included a statement issued by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith which contained a compilation of alleged bombings of religious institutions, schools and other property. Incidents numbered 24 and 25 were listed in that statement as follows:

24. November 11, 1957, Charlotte, N. C.: Bombing attempt at Temple Beth-El failed.

25. November 5, 1957, Charlotte, N. C.: Police investigating three dynamiting incidents in Negro section since October 27; latest explosion in vacant house practically destroyed.

These statements were called to the attention of the Police Department of Charlotte by a staff writer of the Charlotte Observer who interviewed police officials and prepared the following article which appeared in the May 7 issue of the Charlotte Observer:

Local police Tuesday challenged a statement by the B'nai B'rith that three race-inspired dynamite explosions occurred in Charlotte during October and November of 1957.

The controversy arose Monday when Representative EMANUEL CELLER, Democrat, of New York, introduced into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a list of bombings as compiled by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish fraternal organization. Included was this statement:

"November 5, 1957, Charlotte, N. C.: Police investigating three dynamiting incidents in Negro section since October 27; latest explosion in vacant house practically destroyed."

City and county police said flatly that this was not true.

"No bombs have gone off in the city of Charlotte," said Assistant Chief John S. Hord of the police department. He was backed up by Detective Capt. W. A. Mayes.

"If these bombings had happened, I would have been there," Mayes said.

County Police Chief A. Stephens said he had no knowledge of any bombings in the county at that time.

[illegible] the attempted bombing of Temple Beth-El in Charlotte November 11, 1957, [illegible] at Temple Emanuel [illegible] 1958 and one at [illegible] in the county February [illegible]

Police officials did not [illegible] of dynamite [illegible] in an [illegible] of the building. The fuse had [illegible] but burned out.

The [illegible] the same at Temple Emanuel [illegible] an overnight bag sitting beside the church at 4 a. m. This fuse also had gone out.

At the Woodland School incident, county police had been tipped off about the try and were waiting when the men arrived. Five were arrested and three were later convicted. All admitted being Ku Klux Klansmen.

I have received a letter from the Police Department of Charlotte requesting that the RECORD be corrected. The gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER] was informed of my intention to insert the foregoing newspaper article and the following letter in the RECORD and he assured me that he would be glad to have me do so. I am sure the gentleman from New York desires to have the RECORD factually correct. Following is the letter I received from the police department:

CITY OF CHARLOTTE, N. C.,
OFFICE OF POLICE DEPARTMENT,
May 9, 1958.

Hon. CHARLES RAPER JONAS,
Member of Congress, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. JONAS: Monday, May 5, 1958, the Honorable EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, had the following statement inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, page A4106 under the heading of "Bombings" as follows:

"November 11, 1957, Charlotte, N. C.: Bombing attempt at Temple Beth-El failed.

"November 5, 1957, Charlotte, N. C.: Police investigating three dynamiting incidents in Negro section since October 27; latest explosion in vacant house practically destroyed."

The attempt bombing at Temple Beth-El is correct. However, Congressman CELLER has evidently been misinformed as to the three dynamiting incidents having been investigated by the police in this city on November 5, 1957, as this is incorrect. We had no bombings in the city of Charlotte in a number of years.

I hope the statement made in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will be corrected and we would appreciate it very much if you will see that this is done as we feel it is doing the city of Charlotte and its citizens a grave injustice.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

F. N. LITTLEJOHN,
Chief of Police.

JOHN S. HORD,
Assistant Chief of Police.

The good people of Charlotte do not condone bombings or other acts of terrorism or violence. The police department of that city is alert and efficient in its efforts to maintain law and order, and in these efforts it has the support of the overwhelming majority of the people in the city.

Vital Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. J. VAUGHAN GARY

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 13, 1958

Mr. GARY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the United States Tobacco Journal of May 5, 1958:

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

NATIONAL COMMISSION

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
Chairman

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BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
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•

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
President, B'nai B'rith

MAURICE BISGYER
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ROBERT L. ARONSON
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EDWARD GOLDBERGER
FRANK GOLDMAN
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LOUIS MATUSOFF
EDWARD MILLER
PHILIP MITCHEL
ALAN R. MORSE
STANLEY MOSK
NORMAN NEWHOUSE
DAVID A. ROSE
EDWARD ROSENBLUM
MRS. ARTHUR G. ROSENBLUTH
NELSON STAMLER
MORRIS L. STRAUCH
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Civil Rights

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Community Service

J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

June 3rd,
1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your May 29th letter reporting that our list of 45 bombings contained an error respecting item #25 which should have been Chattanooga instead of Charlotte.

I suppose in the rush of things mistakes are inevitable. I don't know where in the line the inaccuracy occurred, but that is an unimportant detail.

We have corrected the error by sending the attached memorandum to all professionals who received the original list; I don't quite know what to do about the Celler-Charlotte Observer story.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Arnold Forster

af/sgf
encl.

June 6, 1958

Mr. Nathan Belth
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Nat:

In the short time I have had since talking with you yesterday, I have been able to do very little on your request for information on Southern police chiefs.

I can say, however, Chief Earl Heustis of Louisville looks like a good bet. He is well thought of by white and Negro liberals in that city and apparently did a good job of preparation for Louisville school desegregation. There are rather brief mentions of his role in these preparations in the Louisville Story by Carmichael and James. I am sure you have a copy of this book in your office. You will find Heustis mentioned favorably on pages 95, 96, 97, and 99. He was chairman of Louisville's Committee on Police Training, which prepared Principles of Police Work with Minority Groups in 1950 - a good manual adapted from Joe Lohman's work for the Chicago park police. He is also on the local advisory committee of the Southern Police Institute, which he also serves as a visiting lecturer. I haven't had a chance to do any further checking on the police chief in Greensboro, North Carolina. His name is Paul Calhoun,

and I have heard that he did a creditable job of preparing to cope with any disorder last September and in dealing with the one or two problem situations that arose. I am enclosing an old issue of New South which gives the ancient history of how Greensboro acquired Negro police - some indication that the police force has been pretty good for some time there.

I would not rule out entirely Chief Hosse of Nashville, about whom you must have a great deal in your files. While he got off to a bad start, he did learn in a hurry once the school was bombed.

If a border city is to be dealt with, I might suggest that St. Louis be considered. The name of the chief there excapes me for the moment, but I have met him and other police officials there and was favorably impressed by their approach to racial problems. As you know, they have had some serious ones to deal with, notably the fair grounds park swimming pool riot. They have a police academy which gives regular instruction in police work with minority groups and in racial disorders.

This is very sketchy, but the best I could do without undue delay. If the Look writer is coming South anytime soon perhaps we can give him some help on the ground.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (New South, October/1947)

RECEIVED JUN 18 1957

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

thought you might be interested in seeing the minutes of my Board meeting.

Regards

Art Levin

K. K. K. Crosses Burn Again

Ala. White Citizens Call Rival Rallies

As Split Over Anti-Semitism Widens

Herald Tribune—United Press

FLAMES OF HATRED—The fiery crosses of the Ku-Klux Klan are fanning antagonisms in the South once more, as detailed in the accompanying article. Above, a Klan meeting at Macon, Ga., last year.

Pastors Say Bible Backs Race Equality

ROCK HILL, S.C., Jan. 8 (AP)—Comparing the South to Soviet-suppressed Hungary, white ministers here today declared, "We do not believe racial supremacy can be supported by the Bible."

The declaration came from Rock Hill Ministerial Association, composed of about 30 ministers in a textile community. Rock Hill is miles north of Charlotte. Hooded men attacked two men, allegedly for their views, in recent weeks.

"We feel that the supremacy of any people over another people or is subversive to our ideals and are in error."

REPL...

In Courthouse fracas— Carter brothers are found guilty

City Commission Candidate Asa E. Carter and his brother Douglas were fined $25 and costs each in Recorder's Court today on charges of disorderly conduct, attempting to incite a rescue and with interfering with an officer.

Judge Oliver B. Hall at the same time withheld judgment in a similar case involving Attorney R. B. Jones.

He asked lawyers to file briefs by April 7 on police powers in arrestings without practicing arrests.

THE CHARGES arose from a melee at the Courthouse Jan. 7 when three defendants refused to surrender Harold McBride to the sheriff.

McBride had been charged with two counts of assault with intent to murder in wounding two men. He was sworn out previously by City Det. V. T. Hart and Det. Pitts intercepted the group and placed McBride under arrest.

IN ARGUING THE CASE for the Carters, Jones noted that they were acting at his request in helping him push McBride toward the sheriff's office.

"I am the culprit, if there is a culprit," Jones said. He said ...

...der had been sworn out for McBride at the time. Asa Carter faced the same charge, but free under bond, since been indicted by Jefferson County Grand Jury.

AT O...

Kasper Ordered Arrested in Tenn.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 25 (AP)—U.S. District Court Judge Robert L. Taylor ordered the arrest of segregationist John Kasper today on a second criminal charge of court charge for violating ... of Ch...

K.K.K. Awakes to Dream of the Past

But That Past Is Long Gone
It Has No Place, No Pre...
In an Industrial...

By OTTO ZAUSE...

Klan Group Called Illegal By Dragon

ROCK HILL, March 6 (AP)—A Klan group operating in the Rock Hill area whose activities have been extensively reported by the Rock Hill Evening Herald has been called "illegal" by a state grand dragon—J. H. Bickley of Marion.

Bickley said in a letter to the newspaper that his organization, the U. S. Klan Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is not operating in the area.

The Rock Hill paper had published stories of a Klan group in the ...

North Georgia Tribune

Only the Gullible Heed Pulp Of Rabble-Rousers in State

...y Harris of Augusta, anti-Negro influence spreader for the ..., made a speaking appearance recently at one ... clubs and delivered another of his "anti-...

Mr. Harris, we of ... can take what he ... evaluate it and ... lish-sought to gro... one of his ... ses, but ...

Navy Repudiates Hate Spouter R-Adm. Crommelin

The Navy recently repudiated flagrantly anti-Semitic statements made by Rear Admiral John C. Crommelin (ret.), whose comments, Secretary of the Navy Charles S. Thomas told the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith "most emphatically do not represent the views of the Navy."

Admiral Crommelin declared in a speech before the Pensacola, Florida, Daughters of the American Revolution on February 2 that "a hidden force of Zionist individuals are threatening the United States," which he proposes to overcome with Christian principles "in a bloodless way if pos...

Klan Stirs New Hate of Jew, Negro

Eerie Meeting Is Described

(This is the first of a series on the resurgence of the Ku-Klux Klan.)

By Robert S. Bird

"The answer to desegregation is in the Bible," the speaker shouted. "The Bible was good enough for our forefathers and is good enough for us. The Bible proves that ... different fr... saxons. An... "We don't ... r. A good ... the outsi... alte on the ... side. We on... ggers. But th... deprive him... ghts. We ... m to the sam... tizenship that...

KKK

Public Speakin...

SAT. NIGHT MARCH 9, 8 P. ...
3 MILES SO. OF INVERNESS, F...
ON U.S.41 TURN LEFT AT S...

PLENTY OF PARKING SPACE. BRING YO... SIT IN YOUR CAR AND HEAR THE:

TRUE STORY OF THE NEGRO ...
BY THE FAMOUS JOHN K...

IF THIS RALLY IS RAINED OUT, IT WILL BE ... LATER DATE.

...THE KNIGHTS OF THE KKK ...
...HT FOR AMERICAN RI...

Assails Jews For Sparking Fight on Bias

Special to the New York Post

Montgomery, Ala., Aug. 21—... Adm. John G. Crom... fight against seg... sparked by "Felix ... a Jew, Arthur Span... a Jew, and Sen. Her... a Marxist Jew."

...h, who retired after ... reprimand from the ... leaking confidential ... while fighting armed ... cation policies in 1949, ... statement before ... Citizens Council rally.

...you know it's the ... ple behind this ... Crommelin said ... after assailing ... Justice Frankfur... New York Sen... ed to "healthy ... ger" to report ... newspaper records ... formation.

"Crommelin, red-fac... ...g the Rock of G... that I mean toon."

28 Pastors Ask: End Violence at Koinonia

A group of Georgia ministers urged that responsible officials put an end to violence at the controversial, biracial Koinonia Farm at Americus before someone is killed.

A statement signed by 28 ...ained ministers of eight ...mination...

Montgomery Bombs Laid To Klansmen

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 10 (AP)—Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal said today that recent bombings of Negro churches and prointegration ministers' homes "were perpetrated by members of the Montgomery branch of the Ku Klux Klan."

The chief said his department has substantially completed" investigations of four bombings in...

Klansman Free In Alabama Shooting Fray

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 24. (AP)—A Ku Klux Klansman won an acquittal on charges of assault with intent to murder in a shooting which wounded the leader of a Klan "bloody plan...

...t jury Thursday ...ans, 32, innocent ...of J. P. Tillery, ...by last January. ...another similar ...ion with the af... ...illery and Chad... ...ded. Klansmen ...er, Harold...

AP Wirephoto

KASPER SHOWN PHOTOS OF HIMSELF, NEGROES
John Kasper (Seated) Identifies Pictures For Mark Hawes

Segregationists From 3 Cities March On Capitol

(See Related Story, Page 6)

By JACK SETTERS

Pro-segregationists from three Tennessee cities "marched on" the State Capitol today, urging legislators to draft strong segregation laws that would skirt the controversial 1... S. Supreme Court ruling.

The first cor... ...nt of the three-city motorcade containing 12 ca... ...his in a pre-dawn move—and arrived her...

...es of floggings, ...rutality and unl... ...ck like night... ...f the Ku Klux... ...South. ...ericans hop... ...sheets and ...trapdoor ...m record...

Motive Sought in Rail Explosion At Clinton, Fifth Blast in 5 Months

CLINTON, Tenn., Jan. 4 (AP)—Police said today they are without any clues ... ing to solve a series of ... which have ... rocke... of Ander... ...st five ...

...doing all of this," the sheriff said. "There's people who know who is behind this, but people are afraid to talk. They ... that they will ...

Woodward said the explosi... had destroyed ... came a few minu... might give ... who might ... He added ... cause ... to scare." ... each case ... explosive, ... had been us...

The worst ... night of ... building ... Citizens ... The build... ...outh of ... blast rip... ...ncrete-b... some...

...E, TUESDAY, MARCH 6, 1958

Court Upholds Contempt Term Of John Kasper

...CINNATI, Ohio, June 1 (AP)—The U.S. Court of Appeals Saturday upheld a one-year prison term for contempt of court against segregationist John Kasper.

Kasper was sentenced by the District Court in Knoxville, Tenn., for violating an injunction prohibiting him from ... activities ...

...voy bearing ...and including ...ng Dixie made ...the Capitol un... ...ate, County and ...

...upon joining the ...d Chattanoog... ...o Memphians bega... ...members of the ...ouse of Represent... ...y of proposed legis... ...had as an act to ... Commissioner of S... ...withhold all S... ...funds for districts w... ...ate the public schools... ...at of the rendezvous w... ...way 70 near Belle ...

Trooper Escort

...pers escort... ...van into t... ...rait similar... ...and Chat... ...caravan... ...at the ... ...its a... ...he week... ...to the ...

'We Can't Fight Everybody'

N.Y. HERALD TRIBUNE

Alabama White Councils Split on Anti-Semitism

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Mar. 5 (AP)—Alabama's White Citizens Councils leaders are showing plain signs of a split over anti-Semitism.

The Jewish issue, however seemed to be part of a larger struggle for control of the state-wide ...

The struggle, apparently in the making over the last several months, was brought into the open Sunday when "The Birmingham News" printed a story saying membership in the North Alabama group was confined to white Christians.

Mr. Carter said the charter of ...

RACE MODERATION URGED BY CLEMENT

Seeks New Laws Against Integration; Accept Reality of Edict, Collins Urges

By the Associated Press

Gov. Frank Clement of Tennessee Wednesday recommended what he termed a "moderate" approach to the problem of segregation, but he asked the Legislature for new laws to prevent integration of the state's public schools.

In a speech prepared for the Legislature, Clement made his first public stand on the issue and declared, "I, for one, will not be a party to any action which would imperil or endanger the continuing existence of our public schools.

The new acts which he asks would allow local school boards to maintain separate schools for white and Negro children when parents wish segregated school ... permit the sch... ...s to a... sign pupil... ...cioloe...

...the races—and we believe there is room for different convictions here—we do not believe that racial supremacy can be supported by the Bible." ...

Presbyterians Against Racial Segregation

Rev. Galyon Presents Important Resolution

At a well attended meeting of the Presbytery of Union Presbyterian Church USA, Tuesday, a resolution was adopted opposing "all forms of racial segregation."

Rev. Aubrey E. Galyon, Jr., chairman of the organization committee on Social and Action presented the resolution as part of a report of the committee. Rev. Galyon is Mr. Galyon, Sr., Business Representative of the Knoxville Trades Council.

...see also recommend... ...ge College be com... ...leadership in the ...

Court Bucks Nashville's Start on Integration

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Jan. 21 (AP) — Federal Judge William E. Miller today approved Nashville's "partial plan" for ... school desegregation with the first grade next Sept... called for a "complete plan" by next Dec. 31.

The portions of the Nashville plan receiving approval included provisions for transfers of students on a voluntary basis when desegregation would place them among a majority of the opposite race.

Judge Miller handed down his ruling in a suit by parents of 21 Negro and two white children seeking admission to school now ...

Of the sixth point, he said:

"It is manifest that ... six makes the plan substantial and incomplete, a ... in effect simply a propo... ...definite postponement o... desegregation, directly ... to the mandate of the ... Court that full compliance ...

Full Probe Of Klan Now Likely

BY JANE ALDRIDGE

What appears likely to be a full-scale grand jury investigation into Ku Klux Klan activities in Jefferson County is now ...

Whether the grand jury ... limit itself to the Jan. 22 sh... ...ing of two men during ... Klan meeting as Central ... Theater, or goes beyond ... into a full study of activities ... was subject for ca... ...order ...courthouse rumor ...

...believed ...the Klu... ...peste...

KLAN SPEECH CANCELLED

Kasper's Stock Hits Bottom With Baring Of 'Mixed' Past

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., March 12 (AP)—John Kasper's strength among Florida segregationists took a sharp dip today following his testimony that he 'danced with Negro girls at mixed parties in New York.

...red B. Hockett, ...per found th... ...tens ...

...speak here Saturday night under Klan auspices had been abandoned.

Hendrix said ... speak ...

Dynamite at Pupil's Home Kindles Tension in Clinton

CLINTON, Tenn., March 11 (AP)—A bucket of dynamite, found in front of the home of a Negro student at an integrated high school, touched off new racial unrest here today but police could not find a white man alleged to have placed it there.

It was the second dynamite incident in a month involving the Clinton Negro section. "Foley Hill." On Feb. 15 a suitcase full of dynamite exploded, wrecking two buildings and damaging about ...

...ing has been the scene of ...ble since its high ...rated, with state ... peace after ...

Adviser Held In Shooting of 2 Klansmen

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Jan. 23 (AP)—Segregationist Asa E. (Ace) Carter was charged today with intent to murder two Ku Klux Klansmen, only 24 hours before the plan... announ... candidac... city polic... missioner... Carter, ... viser to th... and ex... secretary ... North ... council...

Segregation Blow to Dixie Growth Denied

GREENVILLE, S.C., March 27 (AP)—A Greenville contractor and an engineering firm spokesman said ... discounting reports that the segregation ... ...magazine reports by checking ... ...tion controversy ... industries to ... the movement of ... the South.

Charles E. Daniel, president of ... the Daniel Construction Co., said ... that in his opinion the reports ... were "substantially propaganda" ... to delay movement of industry to ... the South and expansion of ... ...ry already in the South.

John McPherson of the McPherson ... ...n engineering firm, said ... ...reports were largely ... ...unions sup... ...n. for the ...

Carter Jailed On Charges Of Assault To Kill

BY GEORGE COOK

Police Commissioner Robert E. Lindbergh said late night that "prospects are reasonably good" for identification of three masked men involved in the shooting of two Klu Klux Klansmen during a Klan meeting in the Central Park Theater Tuesday night.

Mr. Lindbergh made the statement following the arrest yesterday of Asa Carter, controversial segregation figure, on two charges of assault with intent to murder.

...charges placed against C... ...would block the qualifyin... ...tempt.

Jones is Carter's attorn... Carter, who was plac... ...

Dixie's Children May Get a New Kind of Primer

'A Manual For Southerners'

By Associated Press

GREENWOOD, Miss.—An official of the state Citizens Council says plans for "A Manual ... Southerners" ...

Methodists Merge Negro Department

ST. SIMONS ISLAND, Ga., Jan. 12 (AP)—The general board of evan... ...gelism of the Methodist ...

Many City Leaders Endorse Plan For 'Moderates' Group

...ual Journal 2-17-58

...roposal For Organization To Combat Radical ...ches To The Race Problem Is Supported By ... Civic Officials, Clergy, Busin...

egional ADL Board olds Meeting, lects Officers

Abe Goldstein, leading business d civic leader of Atlanta, and avid Blumberg, "million dollar ub" insurance executive and comunity leader of Knoxville, were ected respectively chairman and ce-chairman of the Southeastern egional ADL Board at the third nual meeting in Atlanta on Sunay, April 28th. The Board also mmended with gratitude Dr. Wilam Wexler of Savannah, who rved as organizer of the Board d chairman for the past two ars. Dr. Wexler was elected an norary vice-chairman.

The status of human relations the Southeast during the past ar received major consideration ring the morning session of the eeting. Board members from Alaama, Georgia, South Carolina and ennessee reported on develop-

B'nai B'rith League Hears Dr. Wexler

Dr. William Wexler of Savanah, outgoing chairman of the outheastern regional board of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, said yesterday in Atlanta hat the organization's educational vork will in the long run create etter race relations although not of news value comparable to he Klan and other extremist roups."

Wexler made the statement durng the board's third annual meetng at which the status of human elations in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee luring the past year was reviewed.

The board urged "re-emphasis" n maintaining law and order and alled for "prompt and effective rosecution" of those responsible or racial violence.

Wexler, who was succeeded as hairman by Abe Goldstein, Atanta business and civic leader, old the board that the Anti-Defamation League's "painstakngly slow education work, while not of news value comparable to he Klan and other extremist roups, will in the long run be the actor that will create better relaions among all people."

Other officers named by the oard were David Blumberg of Knoxville, Tenn., vice chairman; Julian V. Boehm of Atlanta, honrary chairman; and Leo Bearman, Memphis, Tenn., Simon Weil, Nashville, Tenn., Ben J. Massell, Atlanta, and Donald Oberdorfer, Atlanta, all honorary vice chairmen.

tiveness of counteraction measures taken by ADL. Also discussed for policy decision with regard to further action was the next Southern Governors' Conference, which has been invited to meet at the restricted Cloister Hotel in Sea Island, Ga., by Governor Marvin Griffin this September.

The bright side of the picture this past year was the intensive and unceasing education campaign waged by ADL committees in communities throughout the Southeast. here has also been a continuing demand from schools, church groups, and civic organizations for human relations materi-

Racial Violence Curbs Stressed

Dr. William Wexler of Savannah, outgoing chairman of the Southeastern Regional Board of B'nai B'rith's Anti-Defamation League, said here Sunday that the league's education efforts are painstakingly slow.

Although "not of news value comparable to the Klan and other extremist groups," the program will create better relations among all people, he said.

The board urged renewed emphasis on prosecution of persons responsible for racial violence.

Wexler was succeeded as chairman by Abe Goldstein of Atlanta.

B'nai B'rith Group Meets Here Sunday

The Southeastern Regional Board of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith will hold its third annual meeting here Sunday.

Dr. William A. Wexler of Savannah, board chairman, said representatives from over the Southeast will report on developments in the human relations field in their cities.

"Discussion will center on the maintenance of law and order as opposed to the violence of extremists, and the improvement of relations among all groups," Dr. Wexler said.

Board members and other community leaders from Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee will participate in the discussion.

Members from Atlanta include Morris Abram, Julian V. Boehm, Abe Goldstein, Arthur J. Levin, Ben J. Massell, Barney Medintz, Donald Oberdorfer, Dr. Alfred Weinstein, William Breman, Harry Elson, A. L. Feldman, Donald J. Kaufmann, Pincus Koplin, S. I. Mendel, Rabbi Jacob Rothschild and David Slann.

Board members from Tennessee are: Mrs. Nathan Thorp, Johnson City; Bernard Werthan, Julian Zander, Dr. Lou Silberman, Rabbi William Silverman, Simon Weil, Jack Kuhn, Jacques Back, and Isadore Frank, Nashville; George Berke, Felix Diamond, Alex Alper, A. J. Koblentz, and Sol Chazen, Chattanooga; Elias Goldsmith, Jr., Philip Belz, Leo Bearman, Morris L. Strauch, Miss Miriam Weiss, Howard Waller, Emile Grossbart, Mrs. Sol Lipman, Sam Myar, Jr., and Dan Wolf, Memphis; Mrs. Harry Strauss, David Blumberg, Mrs. Meyer Marx, and Harry Strauss, Knoxville; James Levenson, Jackson; and Irwin Miller, Oak Ridge.

ADL Hears Report on Southern Tensions; Elects Abe Goldstein

Abe Goldstein, leading business and civic leader of Atlanta, and David Blumberg, "million dollar club" insurance executive and community leader of Knoxville, were elected chairman and vice-chairman of the Southeastern Regional ADL Board at the third annual meeting in Atlanta on Sunday, April 28th.

The board also commended with gratitude Dr. William Wexler of Savannah, who served as organizer of the board and chairman for the past two years. Dr. Wexler was elected an honorary vice chairman.

The status of human relations in the Southeast during the past year received major consideration during the morning session of the meeting. Board members from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee reported on developments in their respective communities. Including in the discussions were the current activities of such well-known bigots as Ace Carter, Adm. John Crommelin and John Kasper. The Klan and Citizens Councils groups were assessed in terms of their counteraction measures taken by ADL. Also discussed for policy decision with regard to further action was the next Southern Governors' Conference, which has been invited to meet at the restricted Cloister Hotel in Sea Island, Ga., by Governor Marvin Griffin this September.

The bright side of the picture this past year was the intensive and unceasing education campaign waged by ADL committees in communities throughout the Southeast. There has also been a continuing demand from schools, church groups, and civic organizations for human relations materials. Especially important was the development of human relations councils in Nashville and Memphis, where a cross-section of all segments of both races in these communities have organized to work together toward an equitable solution of desegregation problems. This painstakingly slow educational process, while not of comparable news value to the Klan or Councils, will in the long run be the factor that will reduce anti-semitism and create better relations among all people.

The afternoon session of the Board meeting concerned itself with discussions of Leadership Development, the Joint Defense Appeal, a new Legacy Program, changes in the By-Laws of the Board, and election of officers, executive committee, and members of the Board.

Board members from Georgia are: Philip Bodziner, Mrs. Philip Boblasky, Dr. William Wexler, and Albert Tenenbaum, Savannah; Ira Nochumson, Rome; William Bremen, Harry Elson, Donald Kaufman, Simon Mendel, Bernard Howard, Morris Abram, Julian Boehm, Abe Goldstein, Arthur Levin, Ben J. Massell, Barney Medintz, Donald Oberdorfer, Dr. Alfred Weinstein, A. L. Feldman, Pincus Koplin, and Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, Atlanta; Dr. Morris Kusnitz, Alamo; Alvin Koplin, and Mrs. Abbott Frank, Macon; Max Estroff, and Maurice Steinberg, Augusta; Rabbi Alfred Goodman, and Joe Rothschild, Columbus; Abe Kruger, Fitzgerald; and Sylvan Meyer, Gainesville.

B'nai B'rith Group Calls for End of Racial Violence

ATLANTA, April 29 (UP)—The Southeastern Regional Board of B'nai B'rith's Anti-defamation League has urged "prompt and effective prosecution" of the persons responsible for racial violence in the South.

The board, meeting here Sunday to discuss the status of human relations in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee during the past year, suggested a "re-emphasis" in law enforcement.

Dr. William Wexler of Savannah, retiring chairman of the board, said the league's educational work is not of "news value comparable to the Klan and other extremist groups" but will "create better relations among all people" in the long run.

Dr. Wexler was succeeded as chairman by Abe Goldstein, Atlanta business and civic leader.

MINUTES

Southeastern Board Meeting
Atlanta, Ga. April 28, 1957

Don't do nothing!

Respectfully submitted,

Status (Jim) Orzou
Secretary

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

606 Common St., Room 401
New Orleans 12, La.

Confidential

Alex Miller

Irwin Schulman

June 18th, 1958

The furore at the Louisia State University

Last Tuesday, after being advised that some 600 people in Louisiana had the audacity to sign a petition coming out against the segregation bill introduced into the House to close public schools in the event of a court order to desegregate, the Louisiana House of Representatives ordered a full House probe of anti-segregation influence at Louisiana State University, since 66 of the signers of this petition were faculty members at the University.

This full House investigation finally boiled down to a ten-man legislative committee, five senators and five representatives being chosen. On Wednesday General Troy Middleton, president of the Louisiana State University, appeared before this legislative committee to read a statement and answer questions. Incidentally, the chairman of this committee is Senator William Rainach, president of the Louisiana Citizens Council, and the committee's counsel is William Shaw, who I believe is an attorney general and was one of the attorneys for Kasper and the nine defendants in Knoxville, Tenn.

To sum it up, General Middleton read a very excellent speech in which he came out for segregation but said also that he was always going to abide by the law. He also made a very strong statement concerning academic freedom, freedom of speech, and the danger of everybody thinking and talking alike. During Shaw's interrogation of Middleton, the latter was not only able to hold his own but, in one case, made an outright fool of Shaw.

These hearings were broadcast over a local radio station and were paid for by the White Citizens Council of New Orleans.

The situation has in no way cleared itself, as yet. Questionaires have been sent to the faculty members who signed the petition and, when these are returned, I anticipate a great deal of witch-hunting. Not only is this committee going to investigate what is going on at LSU but either this committee or a similarly appointed committee is going to investigate <u>all</u> state universities for anti-American subversive influence.

Having given up believing in miracles, I see very little possibility that the legislation intended to close the schools in the event that a court order will not be passed.

Kindest regards.

IS:mlh
cc: Milt Ellerin
Atlanta - Houston
Miami - Norfolk

June 19, 1957

Mr. Herman Edelsberg
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1003 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herman:

Art Levin suggested that I send you the enclosed letter protesting James C. Davis' attack on SRC in connection with the civil rights debate at the House. I sent a copy of this to Representative Celler and Senator Douglas, as well as copies of the two editorials that are also enclosed.

The attack up to now hasn't seemed important enough to warrant a full dress reply, but if it should reach that point in the Senate debate, I am sure you could be most helpful to us.

If you should find yourself in a position to be helpful to us and need further information, please call Paul Anthony of this office collect. I am going to be in New York for the next few days, but will be on deck again next week.

With appreciation for all your good works and kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - Ltr. to Rep. James C. Davis

R

LDV

Alex Miller

Priscilla R. Perry

June 24, 1958 (Dict. 6/17/58)

Confidential

The Dade County School System has been involved in the Federal District Court for the past two days as a result of a suit instituted by Rev. Theodore Gibson, NAACP leader in Dade County, in behalf of his son, and is being handled by NAACP attorneys.

The School System claimed, in Federal Court, that the public education system is being operated under the State Pupil Assignment Law which makes no distinction between white and Negro students."

After this first day's trial, Seymour Samet of the American Jewish Committee, Haskell Lazere of the American Jewish Congress, Bill Williams of the Dade County Council for Community Relations, and I met with Ruby Hurley of the NAACP out of Atlanta to hear her views regarding the direction in which the trial was going.

She indicated that the attorneys for the NAACP were not sufficiently prepared for the tact taken by the School System as indicated by their stand that segregation does not exist. That is to say, they did not investigate such facts as whether or not there were desegregated buses for Negro and white children, whether there was a supervisor of Negro education, a run-down of statements made by members of the Board regarding the fact that the existence of segregation was discussed at various School Board meetings, etc. Thus, the burden is placed on the NAACP to prove that the schools are, in fact, segregated.

On the second day of the trials, attorneys for the NAACP claimed that two Negros were denied admittance at a white school in Dade County. This caused a disruption of the case with a recess until August 18th, as School Board attorneys protested the new claim changed the entire complexion of the case. On the first day of the trial, the attorneys for the NAACP, according to the press, had stipulated that no Negro had made such an attempt.

It was Ruby Hurley's further feeling that Fed. Judge Lieb appeared sympathetic to the School Board throughout the two day trial.

Best regards,

PRP/skl

cc: Oscar Cohen
Arnold Forster
Sol Rabkin

Southern Offices - Art Levin

June 27, 1958

Miss Priscilla R. Perry
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Florida Regional Office
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Miss Perry:

Fred Routh passed on to the Information Department your request concerning interfaith, interracial organizations working in the South. Actually there are not a large number of such organizations, and most of them are ministerial associations which have integrated in the past few years. Enclosed is a copy of some of the ministerial associations which are known to be integrated.

Also enclosed is a directory of Human Relations organizations working in the South. It should be fairly easy for you to determine which ones of these fall into the category you mentioned.

If we can be of additional help, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lcc
Enclosures

June 17, 1958

Mrs. Priscilla R. Perry
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Florida Regional Office
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Priscilla:

Thanks for your letter of June 12 with the kind words about my part in the annual meeting of the Dade County Council for Community Relations. I, too, regret that we did not have the opportunity to sit down and yak. I am right happy, however, that you married such a nice guy, and tell him for me that I consider him to be a most fortunate young man.

I have asked our Research Assistant to pull together the information you requested. You will be hearing from her in the immediate future.

All good wishes to you and Nate.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

attach to merge NTL CNCL Mr. - LANCE

Please return for files S.S.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE

330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA • FRANKLIN 3-6306

June 12, 1958

Executive Director
NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Educational Director
MISS PRISCILLA J. ROSENFELD

Honorary Chairman
LEONARD L. ABESS

Chairman of Board
GEORGE J. TALIANOFF

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SANFORD M. SWERDLIN

National Chairman
HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

National Commissioner
GEORGE J. TALIANOFF

National Director
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It certainly was a pleasure seeing you at the annual meeting of the Dade County Council for Community Relations. Unfortunately, the pressure of time and the crowd about you did not allow me to tell you how effective I felt your presentation was that evening, but more importantly, I regretted that we did not have a chance to chat.

I have received an inquiry from a reporter on the Sentinel-Star in Orlando, Florida, on which I seek your advice. The reporter is most anxious to stimulate a United Church Association which represents the entire religious and racial community. She is very anxious to have facts on how many interfaith, interracial groups exist in other parts of the South.

MM

I know, Fred, that this kind of activity is virtually at your finger tips, and I would very much appreciate your providing me with this information at your earliest convenience.

I shall look forward to hearing from you in this regard. Warmest regards from Nate, myself, and my husband.

Cordially,

Pris

Priscilla R. Perry

PRP/skl

July 7, 1958

Mr. Murray Friedman
Director
North Carolina-Virginia Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
216 N. 2nd Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Murray:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your Progressive article. You did an excellent job of spelling out, by specific illustration, how industrialization is remaking the South. This kind of interpretation is as important, I think, as anything we can do.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NORTH CAROLINA-VIRGINIA REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

216 N. 2nd STREET, RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA, PHONE MI. 3-9143

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Administration
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

2 July 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of an article I did for The Progressive (July, 1958 issue) as evidence of the, "New South".

Keep well.

Sincerely,

Murray

Murray Friedman
Director

MF:bh
encl.

mean buying stock in Pacifica Foundation. A year's subscription costs $10 and entitles the subscriber to the station's bi-weekly *Folio*, which lists the programs over a two-week period. There are also advanced subscriber categories of $25, $50, and $100 for those who wish to contribute more to the station. Some 5,820 Northern Californians subscribe and 400 of them in the higher subscription categories make up the $5 deficit per average subscriber. The station needs 8,000 subscribers to make KPFA entirely self-supporting and hopes to reach that goal by the end of 1958. At present the deficit is made up from donations.

Since its beginning the station has been plagued with financial difficulties. KPFA was the dream of Lewis Hill, former Pacifica president. Started as an experiment with a mere 100 subscribers and a six-hour broadcast day, the station was able to stay on the air with a transmitter reaching only the Berkeley area for 15 months before lack of funds silenced it.

Hill and Foundation members thought they would have to wait several years before funds could be raised to begin operation again, but the interest of subscribers in KPFA brought them together and sent them on nine months of fund-raising efforts—door-to-door calls, speeches, and the like. The nine months ended with KPFA back on the air with a larger transmitter and a nine-hour broadcast day.

But this didn't end KPFA's money problems. The station received a sizeable boost in 1951 when the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education gave KPFA a three-year grant of $150,000. This enabled KPFA to continue its development despite a nationwide lack of interest in FM broadcasting and a consequent lag in production of FM equipment.

Because of the scarcity of FM equipment, Pacifica started a Subscriber's Supply Service, selling FM sets and tuners at factory cost, giving a free KPFA subscription with each set.

In April, 1954, there were 3,100 KPFA subscribers. Then the station hit newspaper headlines. KPFA had broadcast a program which appeared to urge the legalization of marijuana usage. California was suddenly up in arms. Fortunately, resulting unfavorable publicity was not disastrous, although subscriptions declined until Hill, who had left the station, returned in August. Partly because of the hi-fi craze, FM radio became popular once again, and KPFA recovered its losses by January, 1955.

During the next two years the station operated at a deficit, in a constant, nerve-straining battle to keep going—hectic appeals to listeners for funds, missed salary checks, innumerable bills. Lewis Hill, with a unique gift for fund-raising, and despite illness which kept him in almost constant pain, kept pushing KPFA on.

In July, 1957, Hill committed suicide. Rather than falling apart at the loss of its guiding force, KPFA dedicated itself to realizing Lewis Hill's dream. Listeners found themselves in the midst of a massive subscription and fund-raising drive, with contributions going to the Lew Hill Memorial Fund. Lew Hill's memorial was to be a fully-operative, self-supporting KPFA. In two months KPFA's staff and subscribers had erased the station's financial deficit of $15,000 and had $15,000 more for current operating expenses.

KPFA holds an important place in the lives of its listeners. For the station offers, as Kenneth Rexroth says, "a whole universe of discourse that just doesn't exist anywhere else in radio."

But KPFA is more than a venture in radio. It is, in the words of a former Pacifica Foundation president, an "audacious and challenging adventure of the mind and of the heart."

Changing Pattern In the South

by MURRAY FRIEDMAN

IN THE SUMMER of 1954, an employee of the American Safety Razor Company (now A.S.R. Products) in Brooklyn, New York, wrote to a friend in Richmond to ask for information about Staunton, Virginia, where the plant was transferring its operations. A substantial number of ASRC employees, he reported, were Jewish and Italian-Catholic and disturbed about the pending move. Were there any synagogues and Catholic churches in Staunton? What kind of reception would they and their families receive from local residents?

Several months after this letter was mailed, an editorial appeared in the Staunton *News Leader* dealing with the decision of Westinghouse and General Electric to open plants in the area. The *News Leader* was troubled by the dangers of over-industrialization. While some people looked upon this as progress, the editorial pointed out, farming would lose its place as the primary industry. Workers from crowded industrial areas and slums, some of whom might be organized in Communist-dominated unions, would be attracted who "would certainly not be the type of citizen who has kept this the fine 'Bible-belt' community that it is."

The undercurrent of concern in the letter and editorial reflect certain changes that have been taking place in the South in recent years. They make no banner headlines like violence in Birmingham, Alabama, or Clinton, Tennessee, but they are considerably more significant. New patterns of living and new attitudes are emerging from industrialization which will, in time, lead toward a solution of the South's vexing race problem.

Augusta County, Virginia, in which Staunton is located, is a good illustration of what is quietly taking place. Situated in the broad, bright green Shenandoah Valley between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains, is the second largest county in the state. Staunton with 24,800 people and Waynesboro with 15,000 are its two major cities. Traditionally, Waynesboro has been the back door to the aristocracy of its somewhat older neighbor, Staunton.

Typical of the Old South at its best, Augusta County is rich in culture and reverence for the past. Its fertile soil has also made it one of the state's top ranking agricultural areas. Located only a few miles from Monticello, it is steeped in the Jeffersonian heritage of hostility to industry and urban living and belief in the virtues of an agrarian society. In recent years, however, the "traditional land of bygone days," as the tourist guide puts it, has succumbed to the lure of industry, and agricul

ture has moved into a secondary position.

Waynesboro felt the impact first. In 1925, the Crompton-Shenandoah Company which makes velveteen and corduroy was established. Nature-cooled water brought E. I. duPont deNemours & Co. and its Benger Laboratory four years later to manufacture acetate yarn and orlon; it employed 3,100 last year. General Electric, representing an investment of $6 million and 1,000 employees, made Waynesboro the headquarters for its specialty control manufactures in 1954. Today, Waynesboro claims 30 industries with a payroll of about $30 million and 7,000 employees and, according to Mayor W. C. Caldwell, "We're just starting."

Major industry came to the Staunton area with sudden impact in 1954 when Westinghouse Electric Corporation (air conditioners) and American Safety Razor Products (Personna, Gem, and Pal razors and blades) began operation. Together, they represent an investment of $13 million and employ 2,700. With other industries already there and Waynesboro only 12 miles away, Augusta County stands as eloquent tribute to Henry Grady's prediction of a New South.

The growth of industry has brought prosperity to the area. Buying income of the average family in Staunton and Waynesboro was $5,850 last year, and residents spent some $11 million on food alone.

Industry is the reason for the great change taking place in the region, and it is what industry brings that is making vast inroads on the area's ways — schools, books, magazines, radio, television, automobiles, travel, and new people from other parts of the country. "Augusta County has become the nearest thing to a melting pot Virginia has," says Louis Spilman, publisher of the Waynesboro *News Virginian*. (The contrast between Spilman's vigorous editorial page, which is unafraid of change, and the *News Leader's* symbolizes the clash between the Old and the New South.) From sparking the drive for better schools to purchasing hi-fi sets, the newcomers are making an impact on every phase of life. An established Staunton merchant complains of the engineers and their wives shopping together in shorts on Saturday in the supermarket "examining canned goods with a slide rule." Food tastes are becoming more sophisticated. Pick up the telephone directory in Staunton and you will find Notre Dame football team type names like Urbanczyk, Usry, and Szczur.

What has happened—and this is taking place in varying degree all over the South—is that the rural, agriculturally oriented, and small town pattern of life is being replaced by a more urban type of civilization. The result is not the huge metropolis and probably never will be but neither is it the *News Leader's* "Bible-belt" community. In spite of the violent debate over civil rights issues, the outlook of the Southerner is growing more like that of the Northerner and Westerner.

Augusta County has demonstrated this in its unwillingness to be thrown into total confusion by the school segregation problem which has placed Virginia at the forefront of the resistance movement in the South. Two and a half years ago, Virginians went to the polls to vote, in effect, on whether the state constitution should be amended to permit the state to provide private school tuition grants to parents who didn't want their children to go to desegregated public schools. The plan, which was looked upon by many as a threat to public education, was approved by better than a two-to-one margin. It carried in 25 of Virginia's 31 cities. Augusta County and Staunton, however, approved the plan by a margin well below the state average, and Waynesboro actually voted it down by almost a two-to-one majority.

Augusta County's comparative freedom from racial tension may be the result of the small number of Negroes in the population—Staunton has 18 per cent and Waynesboro only nine per cent. Equally important, however, is the fact that the clarion calls to protect states rights and the Southern way of life fall on the less receptive ears of many people who come from parts of the country where either schools are mixed or these issues are not so transcending.

The increasingly middle class character of Augusta County is also seen in the shift to Republicanism in recent years. To some extent this has resulted from the Eisenhower popularity. Nevertheless, in 1948, Staunton broke its traditional Democratic allegiance to vote for Dewey, and Waynesboro lacked only seven votes to join the bandwagon. In 1952 and 1956, both cities liked Eisenhower by landslide majorities.

In what is probably a more advanced rate than the rest of the region at the moment, Augusta County is demonstrating the breakdown of the Old South and all that that term connotes in the way of values, patterns of life, and firmly held ideas. While segregationists denounce the U.S. Supreme Court's "sociological" decision, far more important sociological changes are taking place in the region. Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas *Gazette* and one of the South's leading interpreters of current social problems, put his finger on this in a recent speech when he said:

"Legal segregation was only one of the three peculiar institutions that set the Southern region apart through most of its history. The other two were the one-crop agrarian economy . . . and the one-party political system . . . All three of these institutions are so closely interrelated as to be virtually one, and none can survive the others. Thus the Southern leaders who are working with marked success to industrialize the region are undermining the system of segregation many of them so passionately defend."

The crucial question is how long will it take for these changes to be translated into new racial adjustments. The answer is not a simple one. Already, more than half of the states affected by the May, 1954, Supreme Court school desegregation decision are engaged in some form of compliance. However, custom dies hard in this area. Nostalgia for the past and a way of life is being exploited by the Klan and citizens councils as well as by sincere and honest opponents of social change. But new racial patterns are developing in the South not only because of forces outside the region such as national and international opinion and the U.S. Supreme Court but the revolutionary changes taking place within it. The significance of this is that the conditions in which the older society existed are gradually being whittled away.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
~~1101 BLODGETT STREET~~
~~HOUSTON 4, TEXAS~~

NEW ADDRESS:
SUITE 209, 2405 SAN JACINTO STREET
HOUSTON 2, TEXAS

FBR - Newsletter?

Alexander F. Miller

Ted Freedman

July 9, 1958

Mrs. Luther Holcombe, president of the United Church Women of Dallas, has come up with a rather unique idea, which she and a number of other women have undertaken in a very informal fashion. They have had stickers 2 inches long ½ inch wide made up, which read as follows:

> "I, as a customer, would have no objection to being served by anyone whose race, creed or color may be different from my own."

The good ladies of Dallas are pasting these stickers on bills they have received from department stores. There has been no reaction that I know of on the part of retail stores as yet. The ladies, according to the story, are not pressing the department stores to hire negroes but rather consider this as a softening-up process.

TF:es

cc: Southern Directors &
Mr. Oscar Cohen

COPY

FILE

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA • FRANKLIN 3-6306

July 10, 1958

Executive Director
NATHAN PERLMUTTER

Educational Director
MISS PRISCILLA J. ROSENFELD

Honorary Chairman
LEONARD L. ABESS

Chairman of Board
GEORGE J. TALIANOFF

Chairman, Executive Committee
PAUL SEIDERMAN

Vice-Chairmen
SAM A. GOLDSTEIN
BENJAMIN MEYERS

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MRS. PETER GLAZER
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RABBI MARIUS RANSON
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SANFORD M. SWERDLIN

National Chairman
HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

National Commissioner
GEORGE J. TALIANOFF

National Director
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Thanks so much for having forwarded to me the information relative to integrated ministerial groups throughout the South. I have transmitted the information to my inquirer and I am sure it will serve a most valuable purpose.

Cordially,

Priscilla R. Perry

Priscilla R. Perry

PRP/skl

cc: Fred Routh

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

606 Common St., Room 401
New Orleans 12, La.

Alex Miller

Irwin Schulman

August 15th, 1958

Harold Fleming

On August 4th I wrote you about the trial of the Yalobusha County (Miss.) Sheriff Trellear on charges of causing the death of a Negro by beating him.

After a two-day trial an all-white jury debated some 28 minutes and then brought in a verdict of not guilty.

Regards.

ISmlh

cc: Milton Ellerin
Art Levin
Ted Freedman
Nate Perlmutter
Murray Friedman

calling Robert E Lee Baker

ajl

August 29, 1958

Mr. Sol Kolack
Anti-Defamation League
12 Franklin Street
Suite 504
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Sol:

I have written Alex Miller today as enclosed. I hope you will agree with my feeling that SRC's best contribution is to refute that part of the New Bedford series about which we can speak with first-hand authority. I am not encouraged to hope the Standard-Times will publish any retraction, though we will continue to press for one. But we can get the refutation from the Times-Dispatch and other rebuttal material aired widely enough to make them look pretty bad. I f other appropriate groups do likewise, this vicious attack on the desegregation movement will be thoroughly discredited.

Certainly, for example, the NAACP has enough friends and documentation to do this job in defense of its good name. If there were some way for us to do an effective rebuttal of the whole series, we would gladly do it, but I believe the counter effort would be much more effective if everybody contributes to it.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

August 29, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter, Director
Florida Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

Harold Fleming and I agree with Oscar Cohen that the speech by Dr. H. Franklin Williams is good copy for New South. Oscar asked us to get in touch with you concerning this possibility if we were interested.

Could you tell Dr. Williams of our wishes to reprint the speech and let me know if he is willing to grant reprint privileges? We would appreciate it.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
Director

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JESSE STEINHART, San Francisco

September 23, 1958

Dear Friend:

We announce the following new publications:

Segregation and the Bible by Everett Tilson We would like to call your attention to a new book published by Abingdon Press entitled, "Segregation and the Bible," written by Everett Tilson, associate professor of Biblical theology at Vanderbilt University Divinity School.

In this book, Dr. Tilson seeks to set the Christian view in its proper perspective by suggesting tentative answers to such questions as:

Does the Bible demand segregation?
Are there Biblical precedents for segregation?
What are the implications of Biblical faith for the Christian approach to this crucial problem?

The author demonstrates that attempting to establish Biblical evidence through passages of scripture quoted out of context is a faulty method; he also makes it clear that neither segregationist nor integrationist is entitled to use the Bible simply as a prop for his own opinions.

In its ethical and theological teachings, however, he finds that the Bible does offer certain implications for the Christian approach to the issue of segregation. Dr. Tilson makes no attempt to set up a specific program for the churches. He tries, rather, to illuminate some of the guiding principles for facing this matter from the vantage point of Biblical perspective.

Wile this book lists at $2.50 (clothbound) and $1.50 (paperbound) we are offering it at $2.10 and $1.35 respectively.

Rabbinic Stories for Christian Ministers and Teachers by William B. Silverman We would like to recommend to you a new and particularly useful book published by Abingdon Press entitled, "Rabbinic Stories for Christian Ministers and Teachers", by William B. Silverman, Rabbi of the Temple (Congregation Ohabai Sholom) at Nashville, Tenn. Rabbi Silverman, who is a member of ADL's National Program Committee, figured promiently in the news this year when the Jewish Community Center in Nashville was bombed on March 16 and he received an anonymous threatening phone call following the blast.

In his book, Rabbi Silverman offers a selected anthology of Jewish homiletical literature in English translation suitable for pulpit and religious school presentation, with the hope that it will promote understanding and strengthen the ties that bind Christian and Jew in a spiritual brotherhood. The material used in this book is derived from three primary sources: (1) the Midrash, (2) Talmudic literature, and (3) the teachings and stories of the Hasidic rabbis.

Rabbi Silverman's book should be especially valuable to Christians interested in Jewish sermonic source material, especially those rabbinic homilies, stories, legends and interpretations that are relevant to contemporary religious thought. Those who teach Christianity will also find it helpful in order to understand more fully the teachings and ethical insights of the Jewish tradition.

List price for this book is $3.50. We are able to offer it at $2.75.

The Jews in American History (revised edition) by Jacob I. Hartstein The first definitive resource book ever prepared on the role of the Jews throughout the development of the United States from its earliest colonial beginnings to the present day.

Part 1 - The Part the Jews Played in American History, concentrates on the contributions of the Jews to the settling of the colonies; their participation in the struggle for liberty in America; the history of Jewish immigration to the Land of the Free; and their record of the defense of that freedom. The important contribution of the Jews to the economic growth and development of America is also described fully.

Part 11 - The American Jewish Community, explores the background of Jewish life within the mainstream of American society. Among the topics covered are mutual benefit societies, fraternal organizations, educational institutions, the Jewish press, literature, the Yiddish theatre and various Jewish organizations and agencies.

The cost per copy is $1.50.

Sincerely,

Robert C. Kohler

Robert C. Kohler

rck/bw

_____cloth copies @ $2.10; _____paper copies @ 1.35
Segregation and the Bible

_____copies Rabbinic Stories @ $2.75

_____The Jews in American History @ $1.50

Name_____Address_____

City_____State_____

_____Bill me _____I enclose remittance

If you remit with this order, mailing charges will be absorbed by us.

stamp
here

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Room 606
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, 3 Ga.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Monday, September 15, 1958

RALPH McGILL

'— Of Profound Import —'

News reports out of Washington described the Supreme Court's reversal of a lower court's stay of integration at Little Rock's Central High School as having a "profound import" for the South.

It did. And does.

This is one of the saddest stories of our time because a great many good and wonderful people have been deceived and misguided by much of their leadership, public, political and spiritual.

They were misled by men who told them that the Supreme Court could not legally act and that the 14th Amendment was not valid. The people at least deserved the truth. But anyone who attempted to tell the truth was attacked as a traitor and possibly a pink or leftist. Any Southern writer who attempted to say, "Now, look, this is a very serious matter. No state law which contradicts the federal can prevail," was damned for not "supporting" his state.

When the obviously hopeless theory of "intervention" was advanced, any person who said that the theory of states' rights could not stand against a contrary interpretation of the Constitution by the Supreme Court was denounced as a "nigger lover," a "race mixer" and otherwise subjected to abuse. Every wild-eyed attack on the court or the President made the speaker or writer of such a statesman and a hero. Any word of caution that a Supreme Court decision could not be dismissed or nullified by a state "interposing" its own sovereignty was damned as anti-Southern. There was a great demand to hear anything but the unpleasant reality and inevitableness of the situation.

Sad Situation

For that matter, there still is. But this only makes the situation the sadder because, after all, it is the children who will pay the price.

It is not now, and it never was, a matter of whether one was for or against segregation. The question was not whether one favored it or was against it, but what could be done. What one thought about it couldn't change it. The Southern states started on a program of legal resistance. That was right and proper. But within the past four years some states began to make token compliance. Insofar as the court decision of 1954 was concerned this seemed to fit the phrase "deliberate speed." In some states as few as a half dozen colored children have been placed in the school system. For these, the court decision seems to leave the other end open, insofar as time is concerned. Their school systems are not in jeopardy.

We now are beginning to see the price which must be paid for complete, or massive, resistance. It is the eventual loss, for a period of time, of education for all, white and colored. It would have been most helpful if, four years ago, the political, public and spiritual leadership had told the people the truth about this.

Soothing Syrup

But, instead, the people were dosed with soothing syrup assurances that the court had acted illegally and unconstitutionally. A great many people believe that sincerely. But even when they were saying this, the political, public and spiritual leaders would have better served the people by saying. "That is what I think, but it isn't going to reverse the decision. Once the decision is ordered by a district court it becomes the law. My job is to tell you the truth. I can entertain you by damning the court and the President, but we have a profound problem to face.

"We cannot interpose states' rights because there are no states' rights higher than constitutional rights. This one day will mean closing many of our schools, perhaps all of them, for an indefinite time. We can try a private school system, but it is certain to be subject to injunctions and suits testing the legality of any such system in which the state participates by collecting a school tax or providing tuition money. That is the price we must pay and I want you to understand it."

But few said this, and even fewer listened.

That is where seven states are today. The order is in the not too distant future and the inevitability of it ought not be concealed. There is tragedy enough as things are.

October 1, 1958

Mr. David Kirk
C. F. Vigor High School
North Wilson Avenue
Prichard, Alabama

Dear Mr. Kirk:

Your letter concerning a film on the integrationist viewpoint is being referred to the Anti-Defamation League here in Atlanta. They have two films of this nature which they distribute for our office. They are mailing you one of these film for your use. The charge is $1.50 for handling, but the ADL office will send you particulars.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lsc

JC - For referral to ADL?
HCF

September 30, 1958

Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Blvd.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

My class of senior social problems students is studying the various aspects of the racial issues of the country.

If it would not inconvenience you, would you please send me a film on the intergrationist viewpoint.

You may send the film to , C.F. Vigor High School, North Wilson Avenue, Prichard, Alabama.

Thank you for your kind consideration.

Very truly yours,

David Kirk

David Kirk

als

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JC

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

October 29, 1958

Mrs. Bee Wild
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Bee:

Harold, I believe, talked with you on the telephone concerning a request for the film, "The Face of the South" for Mrs. Myra J. Bryant for the date November 6. We are informing Mrs. Bryant that the film will be sent to her if it is returned from St. Louis in time. So will you please reserve the November 6, date for Mrs. Bryant and fill it if any way possible. Her address is 432 - 12th Terrace, North Birmingham, Alabama.

Sincerely,

John

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

NAME OF FILM	PRINT	OP	DATE	KEY
FOTS	2	1188	11/6	

December 2, 1958

Mr. Harvey F. Baty, Director
International Cooperation Center
Montana State College
Bozeman, Montana

Dear Mr. Baty:

Your letter to Dr. George Mitchell has been referred to me since Dr. Mitchell has retired and is no longer active in the work of Southern Regional Council. We have two copies of the film "The Face of the South" which may be rented for one dollar and a half. These films are handled by the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia.

If you are interested in purchasing a copy of the film you may do so from the Broadcasting and Film Commission of the National Council of Churches whose address is listed in the brochure I have included.

We are placing your name on our mailing list for NEW SOUTH and other special reports, and we are enclosing our Publication Listings.

If we can be of additional help, please write us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Enclosures

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE
BOZEMAN

INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION CENTER

Mr. Bourne
Complimentary D.S.J.

November 19, 1958

RECEIVED
NOV 25 1958

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Some time ago I saw your film, "The Face of the South." I was much impressed by it and would like to know how I may secure a copy - by rental or by purchase.

At the same time, I would like to know more about you and your work and the Council. Will you please send any information which you may have available and put us on your mailing list for new publications or news releases as they develop.

Sincerely yours,

Harvey F. Baty

Harvey F. Baty, Director
International Cooperation Center

HFB/ld

MONTANA STATE COLLEGE IS A UNIT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA. THE OTHER COMPONENT INSTITUTIONS OF WHICH ARE MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY AT MISSOULA, MONTANA SCHOOL OF MINES AT BUTTE, WESTERN MONTANA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AT DILLON, EASTERN MONTANA COLLEGE OF EDUCATION AT BILLINGS, AND NORTHERN MONTANA COLLEGE AT HAVRE

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Bricks, North Carolina

WM. JUDSON KING
PRESIDENT

TELEPHONES
ENFIELD 2146 AND 2147

December 4, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E
Atlanta. Georgia.

Dear Mr. Constable:

I am grateful for your prompt reply to my request. We are writing the ADL about the film.

Very truly yours,

W. Judson King

W. Judson King.

December 2, 1958

Mr. W. Judson King
President
Franklinton Center, Inc.
Bricks, North Carolina

Dear Mr. King:

We now have two films for distribution to interested groups. These are "The Face of the South" and "The Baltimore Story," however the Anti-Defamation League, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta, handles the distribution of the films for us. Rental is one dollar and a half for each session. If you are interested in obtaining either of these for a specific date, please write the ADL office for confirmation of these.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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Bricks, North Carolina

WM. JUDSON KING
PRESIDENT

TELEPHONES
ENFIELD 2146 AND 2147

November 25, 1958

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Constable:

We would like to have a list of the film which you may have for distribution. I heard in Roanoke Virginia of a very interesting one which the Y.W.C.A. groups had been showing during November. If this latter is available we would like to have it for the week of January 19th, 1959.

Very truly yours,

W. Judson King

W. Judson King.

MATERIALS SENT

What's Happening in School Integration?
Clips: (a) Negro children in Catholic Schools
(b) Integration gain in South is Slight - New York Times
(c) Outside Spotlight, Integration quietly gains
SERS Statistical Summary
Desegregating Institutions of Higher Education

December 31, 1958

Mr. Haskell Lazere
714 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Mr. Lazere:

We are forwarding the enclosed material in reply to your telephoned request to Harold Fleming. If any comprehensive articles or studies covering recent developments in school desegregation have been published, I do not know of their existence. I feel sure that you are familiar with the material covered in "With All Deliberate Speed," edited by Don Shoemaker, the most recent publication I know of which would pad out the raw data we are forwarding. Although you probably have a copy of the SERS Statistical Summary, I am enclosing a copy of the region-wide data included in the most recent printing of that compilation.

We hope this material will prove useful.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Research Assistant

MM/bkc

RECEIVED APR 8 1959

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

OK
Harold Fleming
Interested?
Regards
Oscar

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Milton Ellerin

Date: March 27, 1959

Subject: Carleton Putnam -- The Putnam Letter Committee

The following is for background information purposes only.

Subsequent to its appearance as a paid advertisement in the New York Times of January 5, 1959, the Carleton Putnam "My Dear Mr. President" letter, critical of the Supreme Court decision outlawing public school segregation, has appeared in leading newspapers throughout the country.

For the benefit of those who are not as yet familiar with the letter, conspicuous advertisements have appeared in leading papers of the country with the salutation, "My dear Mr. President," in bold type. The advertisement is preceded by the legend, "Distinguished New Englander Discusses High Court's Decision on Public Schools."

Briefly, the letter itself expresses Putnam's conviction that while the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation must be obeyed, it ought be reversed. Putnam argues that since the decision, in his opinion, was wrong, "every legal means should be found, not to disobey it but to avoid it." Putnam accuses the court of "forcing upon the South a view and a way of life with which a great majority of the population are in complete disagreement." Further, that the crux of the entire issue seems to him rather obvious -- "social status has to be earned."

Our position regarding these advertisements is that we will take no action unless the background of Putnam or his sponsoring group warrants exposure. Thus far no such information has been developed.

We can report to you the following:

Putnam, a former airline executive, was born in New York on December 19, 1901. He received his B.S. from Princeton in 1924 and his LL.B. from Columbia in 1932. He is the founder and former President of the Chicago and Southern Airlines and at one time was chairman of the board of Delta Airlines. Currently, he is a member of Delta's board of directors. He is the author of a book "High Journey -- A Decade in the Pilgrimage of an Airline Pioneer," as well as being the author of numerous papers.

The Putnam Letter Committee, which sponsors these advertisements, is located at 317 N. 20th Street, Birmingham, Alabama.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

Insofar as we have been able to ascertain, the Committee consists of: James E. Simpson, whose name appears as treasurer in the various ads, a Birmingham attorney; Frank M. Dixon, a former Governor of Alabama (1939-1943); W. G. Hardwich, former Lieutenant Governor of Alabama (1954-1958); and Albert Boutwell, the present Lieutenant Governor of Alabama.

No activity on the part of this group other than the publication of the Putnam letter has come to our attention. Their fund-raising appears to be for the sole purpose of raising revenue for additional advertisements. According to the latest information available to us, the Putnam Letter Committee has raised a total of approximately $10,000.

ME:mwr

VIA AIR MAIL

April 21, 1959

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
National Director
Department of Interreligious Cooperation
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Rabbi Gilbert:

In the interest of time Mr. Fleming, who is out of town, has asked that I reply to your letter of April 6th. Our delay in writing has been caused by our inability to reach Bishop Moore who is away from the city, or the Bishop's secretary who is ill. However, it seems likely that the Bishop will be away from Atlanta during the time of your visit. If this should prove not to be the case, we will attempt to arrange the appointment on May 7th or 8th.

Both Mr. Fleming and Mr. Routh will be in on those days and will be happy to see you at your convenience.

Our most sincere apologies for the lateness of this reply. If we can be of further help, please let us know. We shall attempt to comply more successfully as well as more promptly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith

RECEIVED APR 8 1959

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

JA 1.2382

April 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
c/o Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As Art Levin may have told you, I am planning to spend two weeks in the South in the early part of next month, and I shall conclude my journey in Atlanta on Thursday and Friday, May 7th and 8th.

I should welcome the opportunity, of course, at that time of chatting with you and of meeting your colleague, Dr. Frederick B. Routh. As well, I have written for appointments to the Southern Baptist State Convention executives, the women workers at the Presbyterian U. S. Board of Church Extension, Sam Laird at Emory, Dr. J. McDowell Richards at Columbia Theological School, and others.

I should welcome the opportunity to include among those whom I visit Bishop Arthur Moore of the Methodist Church. Art Levin suggested that you could be instrumental in setting up such an appointment for me. I think that that will just about do it because if all of these appointments come through, I shall be quite a busy man for those two days.

I do appreciate your aid and assistance in this regard and I look forward to hearing from you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
National Director
Dept. of Interreligious Cooperation

AG:CF
cc: Art Levin
Oscar Cohen

NTW HCF's NEW YORK TIMES REPRINT:

HOLD UNTIL "DUE DATE" IS KNOWN, THEN

REVIVE FOR ACTION. Mon - Tues

ALSO: Send 200 copies of same, when ready, to Bergheim, Govt. Affairs Inst.

done

May 1 1960

April 18, 1960

Mr. Israel Moss, Director
Department of National Organizations
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Israel:

Yes, SRC is planning to reprint the New York Times Magazine piece, and I'm sure we can supply enough copies for promotion of the NCSW session. I'll let you know when we have a delivery date. Meanwhile, thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

500 copies

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Community Service

J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization Planning

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

April 13, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Do you plan to have the lead article you wrote for the New York Times magazine reprinted?

If so, we could use a substantial number for distribution with our promotional mailing to advertise the ADL session at the Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare in Atlantic City at which you will take a principal role.

I should think we could use several hundred reprints.

May I hear from you at your immediate convenience.

Sincerely,

Israel

Israel Moss, Director
Dept. of National Organizations

IM/ap

cc: Oscar Cohen

May 5, 1960

Mr. Israel Moss
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Israel:

Shortly after we talked today, I got confirmation on the date of my New York trip -- namely, Monday, May 23. As soon as I get word on one other appointment, I can set the exact times of arrival and departure. This is just to let you know that I am likely to be available either on Monday morning the 23rd or on Tuesday the 24th.

We have received the list of regional offices and are breathing hard on the printer's neck. The reprints should go out no later than next Monday.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

PLaza 1-1800

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Wednesday P.M.,

Dear Harold,

attached is a list of ADL Regional Offices.

I have indicated the number of copies each office is to receive.

The boys will hold up their promotional mailing to the social agencies with whom they work pending the arrival of your reprint.

Please breathe down the printer's neck.

Sincerely
Isaac

PA - Please handle
HCF

2,000 copies

Done
wk.

Number of Copies

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

August, 1959

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100 CONNECTICUT REGIONAL OFFICE, 956 Chapel Street, Room 412, New Haven, Conn.
Director: Mortimer L. Feigenbaum

100 D.C.-Maryland Regional Office, 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.
Director: William Korey

100 FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE, 330 Seybold Building, Miami 32, Florida
Director: Nathan Perlmutter

50 ILLINOIS REGIONAL OFFICE, Meyers Bldg., Springfield, Illinois
Director: Saul Sorrin

50 INDIANA REGIONAL OFFICE, 108 E. Washington St., Indianapolis, Indiana
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100 MICHIGAN REGIONAL OFFICE, 163 Madison Avenue, Suite 120, Detroit 26, Michigan
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50 MINNESOTA-DAKOTAS REGIONAL OFFICE, 925 Upper Midwest Bldg., Minneapolis 1, Minn.
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50 SO. CENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE, 606 Common Street, 4th Floor, New Orleans 12, La.
Director: Irwin Schulman

100 NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.
Director: Monroe R. Sheinberg

50 NORTH CAROLINA-VIRGINIA REGIONAL OFFICE, 216 No. Second St. Rm. 306, Richmond 19, Va.
Director: Robert Kohler

100 OHIO-KENTUCKY REGIONAL OFFICE, 82 North High Street, Suite 610, Columbus 15, Ohio
Director: Seymour Gorchoff

50 PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE, 2303 Smith Tower, Seattle 4, Wash.
Director: Seymour Kaplan

100 PACIFIC SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE, 590 North Vermont Ave., Los Angeles 4, Calif.
Director: Milton A. Senn

100 PENNSYLVANIA-WEST VIRGINIA-DELAWARE REGIONAL OFFICE, 225 S. 15th St., Phila. 2, Pa.
Director: Fred Grossman

50 PLAINS STATES REGIONAL OFFICE, 527 Securities Building, Omaha, Nebraska
Director: Ted Sennett

(NONE) PORTLAND REGIONAL OFFICE, 414 Education Center Bldg. 220 SW Adler St., Portland 4, Ore.
Director: Seymour Kaplan
Counsel: David Robinson

100 SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE, 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
Director: Arthur J. Levin

50 SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE, Suite 209, 2405 San Jacinto St., Houston 2, Texas
Director: Theodore Freedman

100 WESTERN NEW YORK STATE REGIONAL OFFICE, 308 Crosby Bldg., Buffalo 2, N.Y.
Director: Hersh L. Adlerstein

50 WISCONSIN-UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL OFFICE, 623 No. Second Street, Milwaukee 3, Wisc.
Director: Sidney H. Sayles

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED AUG 6 1959

For your information

Paul Rilling - SRC

Marvin L. Shapiro

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
216 North 2nd Street
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

Alex Miller

Robert C. Kohler

24 July 1959

EVALUATION OF VIRGINIA'S RECENT ELECTION RESULTS

COPY

Governor Lindsay Almond's "control" of the Virginia legislature was reasonably assured when the results of the election were in. While this was certainly a major defeat for the forces of "massive resistance, by no means can this be considered the end of the Byrd machine or a statewide coup-de-grace for the Defenders.

Though the Governor gained some support for his "containment" program in the over-all election, it is significant to note that some areas of Southside Virginia defeated incumbent "moderates" and elected new candidates, supported by the Defenders, and staunch advocates of "massive resistance". Virginia has become a sectional armed camp, with obvious divisiveness on the whole issue of the segregation. In addition, the Byrd machine is also looking for a leader. They feel that Byrd Sr. is too old and that Byrd Jr. has more to learn. John Battle Sr., a former Governor, is the likely choice. The concern here is that Battle Sr., when age forces him to surrender the reins of leadership, might place them in the hands of his son, an able young politician, instead of returning them to the Byrd Jr. These schisms have every positive connotation.

Almond's opposition on issues other than desegregation will not necessarily come from the same sources. He will need help from the Byrd machine. Local option resistance to integration, the administration program, figured in only some of the contests. Almond, who had said that he would not take part in any of the legislative primaries, did make numerous speeches. In these talks, he made appeals for the election of legislators who would support his total program. The elected candidates were not backed by an "Almond machine". Instead, they got in and slugged it out, backed only by their personal "machines". While the majority of those elected are with Almond on the desegregation issue, they are not "pro-Almond" on many other issues. Almond knows this - Byrd knows this.

The history of the Byrd machine is liberally salted with examples of others who opposed it. Byrd was seriously challenged a number of times, but never entered into open conflict with his opposition. He quietly surrounded and swallowed the "trouble-maker". In "liberal" strongholds, the defeat of several Almond-Perrow supporters in the House, and the election of other Almond-Perrow supporters, showed it was not enough for a candidate to run on the Almond-Perrow program to the neglect of other election issues. Whether Almond will be another victim of "swallowing" when expediency forces him to be "surrounded" by Byrd supporters remains the moot question.

In a balancing of these negative facts, it appears that the election tides generally, from the standpoint of statewide significance, ran against the massive resisters. They failed to unseat the main targets in the Almond-Perrow camp of the Senate. Also of importance is the recognition that election results gave no encouragement for a resister-backed proposal to hold a statewide referendum on constitutional amendments to eliminate public school requirement from the State Constitution. In this respect, the returns seemed to be an indication that, under existing conditions, such amendments would meet with defeat.

Conversely, these positive factors can be diminished by another crisis on some unpredictable "Virginia school front" or by troubles or disorders in a desegregation process. The latter is of greater concern to me. Irresponsible segregationist elements might very well choose to follow this method of operation - while applying the

(cont'd. - page 2)

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
216 North 2nd Street
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

"tightening screws" of "I told you so - let's go backwards".

For the first time, I am told, pro-segregation hopefuls had billboards and signs in great abundance in Negro precincts and actively solicited for votes. The returns of the so-called Negro vote indicates a high level of political sophistication. The "plunk" or "single shot" vote proved to be a forceful weapon in this election, in spite of the fact that it contributed to the defeat of one "good" candidate.

In this election, with 64 per cent of the qualified Negro voters exercising their voting rights, as compared to 33 per cent in other communities, there is every evidence that sophistication will become maturity. Anything other than maturity could seriously handicap the ambitions of a good slate of public officials in future elections.

Regards.

BCK:bh
(In Mr. Kohler's absence)

CC: OSCAR COHEN
SOUTHERN DIRECTORS

COPY

July 10, 1959

Mr. Irwin Schulman
Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
606 Common Street, Room 401
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Irv:

You bet I've changed -- that picture was taken in 1956.

Twenty-five copies of the reprint from the Nashville Tennesseean are coming at you.

What's going to happen in New Orleans?

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

606 COMMON STREET, ROOM 401, NEW ORLEANS 12, LA.

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Executive Assistant

RECEIVED JUL 10 1959

July 8, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I just saw your picture in the New York Times. You've changed!

Could you please send me 25 copies of the re-print from the May 31st edition of the Nashville Tennessean on the lack of new industries in Little Rock? I would be most appreciative.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

IS:mlh

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Violence, Intimidation and Reprisal Report

REGARDING:

Distribution of by Fla. Council on H. R. via Anti-Defamation League - Arthur Spiegel

DATE

August 5, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Joint Fact-Finding Project -"Promotion & Publicity"

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

HCF

For your information

Paul Rilling

Regards
Murray L. Shapiro

Whitney -
pass on to
Paul Rilling

Arnold Forster

Nate Perlmutter

October 1st, 1959

From time to time, I have been forwarding information to you concerning the CORE matter. Herewith enclosed is a photograph of a recent story that appeared in our local News.

During our absence in New Orleans, I understand that some scuffles and an arrest was made in a situation involving a professional man from CORE. All of it ~~involves~~ revolves around the sit-ins.

I was called by an attorney for the lessees of the fountain at one of the involved department stores, who wants to talk further with us. Having been ill -- --I just returned full time-- -- I postponed the meeting. However, I can say this that as this thing grows warmer amongst the main cast of characters, I suspect we will find Negroes and Jews on one side, and on the status quo side a group that includes substantially Jews. That is to say the largest class which owns the department stores in which the fountain facilities are. I will continue to keep you advised.

encl:

NP/ss
cc: Alex Miller
Arthur Levin
Irwin Shulman
Robert C. Kohler
Theodore Freeman

Miami Herald 9-30-57

Negro Leader Bares Plot To 'Stop Him'

By MILT GOSIN

A prominent Dade physician who has been leading a fight for racial equality here said today he had been warned that an ex-convict has been hired to "stop" him.

Dr. John O. Brown, Negro eye specialist and head of the local Congress of Racial Equality, said he had reported the purported plot to police.

Police, however, said they did not interpret Brown's report as a murder plot but a threat of "strongarm" tactics against CORE, the group headed by Dr. Brown.

GOT PHONE CALL

CORE, composed of both Negroes and whites, has been conducting a campaign in downtown Miami to permit Negroes to eat at lunch counters along with whites.

Dr. Brown said he received a telephone call last Wednesday night warning him that Holton Newbold, a convicted Negro bandit, had been hired by a racist group.

Newbold will be remembered by thousands of Dade Countians as the Laundry Union employe who was beaten and shot by white labor hoodlums and left on a canal bank for dead.

Newbold was released only recently after serving a five-year term for robbery.

VISITED BY NEWBOLD

Newbold, Dr. Brown said, called for an appointment the same night of the phone call. He made the appointment for the next afternoon.

With Dr. Brown when he received Newbold was Otis James, manager of the Afro-American Life Insurance Co., and in an adjoining room, ready to intervene, was an off-duty Negro policeman, a friend of Dr. Brown.

"Newbold asked me if I had any political ambitions and I told him I had absolutely none," the physician related.

'SOME DON'T AGREE'

"Then he said, 'There are some people that don't agree with you and they contacted me to see what I can do.'

"I asked him what he was supposed to do about stopping me and he said, 'Now doctor, you have your profession, and I have mine.

"He started to talk in a rambling manner and I couldn't understand too well what he was getting at but it bore out pretty well what I had been warned about.

"I received a definite feeling that he was psychotic and not too responsible. At one point he said, 'I wanted to meet you and form my own opinion about you. Sometimes you know, people change sides.'"

Dr. Brown recorded the con-

Continued on Page 1-A, Col. 5

Negro Leader Bares Plot To 'Stop Him'

Continued From Page 1-A

versation on a tape but it was mostly garbled, he said.

He said he reported the incident and the warning to Miami police. Sgt. Charles Sapp of criminal intelligence, said Dr. Brown had made a report and turned over a tape but that it was his understanding the complaint was not of a plot against the doctor's life but a complaint of "strong arm" methods against CORE and aggempts to discredit CORE by staging of "incidents" in downtown department stores.

Newbold, 30, lives at 1946 NW 5th St. A woman who answered the telephone there said he was "out working" but that she didn't know where.

On Dec. 14, 1955, Newbold was sentenced to five years on a robbery charge by Judge Ben Willard in Criminal Court for the holdup of a grocery clerk and has only recently been discharged from prison.

TAKEN FOR RIDE

On Feb. 28, 1951, Newbold, then a Laundry Union employe, was "taken for a ride," shot five times and dumped for dead on a canal bank.

Two labor hoodlums, Sollie Isaks and Dave Kaminski, were convicted of the attempted slaying. He testified at the trial of the pair that he had been assigned to "gut" a laundry official who was holding up negotiations.

June 16, 1960

Mr. Israel Moss
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Iz:

It was a pleasure being with you last week and joining forces with you, Bob, and Alex for the NCSW session. You did a fine job of advance promotion and chairing. I only hope you felt the final product was worth the effort. I believe it was, particularly when you consider the publicity that resulted.

My expenses, in addition to those already taken care of, were as follows:

Airplane Fare	$113.85
Airport Limousine and Taxis	9.40
Meals	2.80
Total:	$126.05

I hope the Motel bill was properly rendered. When I checked out (on Saturday), it was pretty confused, for evidently they had no record of Bob's

checking in and out -- which he probably didn't do and had billed the room as double for the whole time. They promised to correct this. I paid for my third night there, so the bill should be for two nights, one single and one double. I might add that they kept refusing my money for that third night, saying, "Dr. Moss will take care of this." I was strongly tempted.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Organization Planning
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

June 16, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for giving so much to the session, Thursday afternoon.

Thanks also for helping so much to make Thursday evening a thoroughly pleasant and relaxing climax to a week of growing boredom.

And of course, a more than incidental thanks to AVC and its Lou Warshaws.

I shall look forward to our getting together again, and I hope, soon.

At your early convenience Harold, would you please send me a statement of your expenses.

Cordially,

Israel Moss

IM:lk

Put 6/16/60

June 17, 1960

Mr. J. Harold Saks
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Harold:

This is a word of belated but genuine appreciation for your report and article on the Panama situation. It's extremely well done, and I found the whole story fascinating.

I had a pleasant sojourn in Atlantic City with your colleagues. Next time I'm in New York, I will hope to see you and them over a leisurely lunch. Meanwhile, my very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Organization Planning
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

May 25, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Iz Moss delivered the message and I am pleased to send you a copy of my report on Panama as well as the February 1960 issue of the ADL Bulletin which included an article based on the report.

Next time you are in New York save a few moments for a visit.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Harold

J. Harold Saks

JHS:mfh
Enc.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

C O N F I D E N T I A L

CC: Label Katz
Benjamin R. Epstein

MEMORANDUM

To: Arnold Forster

From: J. Harold Saks

Date: January 7, 1960

Subject: Panama - December 25-31, 1959

On Sunday, December 20, 1959, Carlos Zelenka, President of B'nai B'rith in Panama, phoned president Label Katz regarding serious manifestations of anti-Semitism and urging him to send a representative of the Anti-Defamation League to Panama to help. Label Katz sought Anti-Defamation League help and on December 23, I went to Washington to meet State Department officials and representatives of the Panama Embassy regarding the situation. On Thursday, December 24, I left for Panama and remained until Thursday, December 31. I met with the B'nai B'rith Human Rights Committee several times to acquaint myself with the problem and to assist them in the development of a program of counteraction.

1. The Jewish Community of Panama.

There are 2,000 Jews in Panama. 1,500 live in Panama City. About 300 live in Colon. The balance live in the smaller communities in the interior of the country. The Jewish community is well integrated in the life of Panama. There is no discrimination against Jews at any level - social, economic or political. About 35% of the Jewish community is of Spanish-Portuguese descent whose ancestors have lived in Panama for some 100 years and in some cases in the Caribbean area for 300-400 years. There is a Spanish-Portuguese Reform Temple, Kol Shearith Israel. Another 15% of the community is of mid-European origin from Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia. The bulk of this group came to Panama between 1938-1940 and most of them belong to Congregation Ashkenazim. The third group (50%) are more recent arrivals from the Mid-East - Turkey, Iraq, Syria and belong to Congregation Shevat Ahim. There are also several Americans.

There are three forces which weld the Jewish community into a cohesive unit. They are, first, B'nai B'rith. While B'nai B'rith is not a mass organization in Panama, it is certainly a prestige group representative of the leadership of all elements of the Jewish community. The B'nai B'rith president is Carlos Zelenka.

The second force uniting the community is the Albert Einstein School. Since parochial education is the custom of Panama, the Jewish school looms most importantly in the life of the Jewish community. It maintains high educational standards and a full curriculum. Jews of all segments of the community are proud to send their children here for a good education. The school has 300 students. Some 40 or 50 are Christian.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

The third unifying force is the common danger which the Jewish community senses in the current manifestations of anti-Semitism. On this, too, the community is united and refuses to be intimidated by threats of hatred and bigotry. The community, through B'nai B'rith, has formed a Human Rights Committee and with dignity and courage it is planning sound measures of counteraction and community relations.

2. Problems of Concern to Panama B'nai B'rith.

During the latter part of November and early December, the Jewish community of Panama began hearing rumors about anti-Semitic radio broadcasts. Every effort to check out such rumors proved them to be groundless. Nevertheless, the community felt an uneasiness and anxiety arising from a general unrest and a rising tide of nationalism. This was brought to a head on November 3 when Aquilino Boyd, Panamanian Congressman, and Dr. Ernesto Castillero, a University of Panama professor, led a small group of nationalists to the Panama Canal Zone for the purpose of planting the Panamanian flag in the Canal Zone. The group was stopped at the border by American troops. A mob formed, rioting ensued, resulting in the destruction of United States Government property as well as other property nearby. Later that day, Aquilino Boyd led a mob to the American Embassy where they desecrated the American Flag, and hung Uncle Sam in effigy.

The Panamanian newspapers reported that the flag which was brought to the Canal Zone was made in Egypt and presented to Castillero by President Nasser. The November 3 riot was followed by a series of minor disturbances culminating in the cavalcade of November 28 to commemorate a national Panamanian holiday. The cavalcade of "students" from David was led by four ringleaders, one of whom was Communist trained. In the group from San Tiogo, the ringleader was one Chanmarin who returned this year from extensive training in Moscow and Red China. These incidents contributed to the concern of the Jewish community.

During the recent session of the Panamanian Congress, a new minimum wage law of forty cents an hour effective January 1, 1960 was enacted. Until then, the average wage for labor in Panama was about eighteen cents an hour. The new minimum wage was sponsored by Aquilino Boyd and was considerably higher than that recommended by the Panamanian labor unions. The drastic effect of this law led to many formal and informal protests with the request that President Ernesto de La Guardia veto it. Included in those protesting the law were Fernando Eleta, the Minister of Finance, the Panamanian Chamber of Commerce and several committees of businessmen. Included in the committees were Jewish merchants, some of whom were relative newcomers to Panama. At about this time several Panamanian newspapers - La Hora, La Nacion, and others, carried articles referring to those who opposed the minimum law as exploiters, smugglers, scoundrels, bloodsuckers and mercenaries. One article questioned "...who are these newcomers who still smell of the oil of the ships which brought them to this country." The newspaper also reported activities of the Arab Legation recently established in Panama. There were also many items regarding Israeli abuse of the Arab refugees.

On or about December 10, 1959, the Jewish community became aware of a half-hour radio broadcast over station Ondas Istmenas (HONZ) each weekday evening, Monday through Friday at 6:30 p.m. conducted by one Bonifacio Hernandez, broadcasting under the radio name of Johnny Bonny. The station is owned by Noberto Zurito, an associate of Arnulfo Arias, Panama President in 1941. Arnulfo Arias, an extreme nationalist and admirer of Hitler, had, during his incumbency, instituted many anti-minority measures. These broadcasts were partially sponsored by the government party candidate for president, Ricardo Arias. "Dicky" Arias, as he is known in Panama, was, until recently, the Panamanian Ambassador to the United States. Only fifteen minutes of the broadcasts were sponsored on behalf of the candidacy of "Dicky" Arias. However, the other fifteen minutes were so intertwined with the Arias time that it was impossible to distinguish from that which was on behalf of Arias and that which Johnny Bonny was broadcasting on his own. Throughout the broadcast, he injected statements such as "Vote for Dicky" and then went on with the other items, giving the impression of it being one continuous half-hour program.

During the December 10 broadcast, Johnny Bonny sympathized with those common people who were going to have a very poor Christmas season with no gifts and no good food to expect, only misery and poverty in contrast with another class of people who have everything and who get everything they want in a very easy manner. This class of people, he said, are owners of all the big and rich stores on Central Avenue. They appear very decent and good but actually they make their living by squeezing and milking the Panamanian people. This class of people, Johnny Bonny said, are doing business at the cost of the poor population while they themselves live in palaces, beautiful homes in Congrejo, Belle Vista and other rich sectors of the city. He suggested that they display the Star of David and the word "Jerusalem" at the entrance of Congrejo because "they" own the whole section.

He also accused "these people" of violating the customs of Panama by bringing in 500 left foot shoes as samples and thus subject to no import duty and a few weeks later bringing in another 500 right foot shoes. Bonny continued, "they know a lot of tricks like these because their rabbis teach them." Johnny Bonny concluded his broadcast by promising more information the next day about the people who "suck the blood and exploit the Panamanian people." Continuing, he said, "it is no wonder that Hitler tried to exterminate them."

Disturbed by this anti-Semitism, a representative of B'nai B'rith called on Zurito, the owner of the radio station. The station owner responded that it would do no good to stop the broadcasts since some other station would be willing to sell Johnny Bonny time. When asked where the funds come from, Zurito responded that the broadcast was paid for by the Government Party (Coalition Patriotica).

In his broadcast the following day, Johnny Bonny advised that he had been approached by a friend who admonished him not to generalize about any race or group because in every group there are some good and bad. Therefore, Johnny Bonny said that henceforth he would name names freely so as to prove what kind of people they are. He promised that in his next broadcast he would present a long list of people living by smuggling and making easy money by exploiting the Panamanian people. He named Dabah, Kardonsky, Azrak, Btesh and a certain Jewish store called Broadway. He assured his audience that more names and more details would be given another day. All this, he said, he was doing to protect the country from these "insects and plagues, and against cancerous cells which have to be extracted." Continuing,

Johnny Bonny referred to whiskey smuggling and accused Mr. Motta, a prominent member of the Jewish community. Mr. Bonny said that he would continue this subject as long as necessary until everyone knows the people who are using Panamanians for their own purposes and who live quietly and rich while Panamanians suffer and live in misery.

At about this time, the Jewish community learned that one of their members was Johnny Bonny's godfather. This individual called on Bonny and confronted him with his anti-Semitism pointing out that when he spoke of Jews in this manner, he was speaking about his friend. Bonny's response was that (1) he must broadcast in this sensational manner in order to gain popularity and (2) he was being paid $500, $200 of which he gave the radio station and the balance he kept himself. When the friend asked who was paying for the broadcast, the response was, the Arab Legation. The Jewish friend then urged him to take no more money. As godfather he would see to it that Johnny Bonny would not starve.

This incident was reported to the Human Rights Committee of B'nai B'rith. The following day, the friend called a member of the B'nai B'rith Committee and advised that he had gone to the radio station on Monday afternoon in order to make sure that Johnny did not broadcast his poison. He asked to see the manuscript and when Johnny Bonny refused, he snatched two of the four pages. He saw that it included charges against Jews including the charge that when a Jewish firm, Dabah & Company, was fined $220,000 for smuggling, it hired an American named Lipstein to assassinate President Remon. The manuscript went on to say "these people are accustomed to things like this and are trained for it in order to get rich quick. Jews will go to all extremes for money. That is why Hitler exterminated 800,000 of them." The friend refused to return the manuscript and Johnny Bonny was thus forced to go on the air without his prepared material. He did not refer to the statement in the manuscript but stated that he was on a Christmas truce and therefore he would speak about "other foreigners who are doing mean things to the Panamanian people." Such foreigners as "Greeks, West Indians, Chinese, Hindus and others are harming the Panamanians by exploiting them."

In reporting this incident to the B'nai B'rith Committee, the friend said that Johnny Bonny actually received $800 from the United Arab Republic Legation; that he was now willing to return $400 of that amount provided the Jewish community paid him $1,000. The Committee responded that the Jewish community would not participate in such blackmail.

Mr. Bonny's Jewish friend was advised that he should cease and desist from contacting Mr. Bonny on behalf of the Jewish community; that the Human Rights Committee of the B'nai B'rith lodge had the matter completely in hand and that he should not interfere.

On the following day, Tuesday, December 22, Ricardo Arias happened to visit the place of business of one member of the Committee. This individual therefore took the occasion to discuss the matter of Johnny Bonny. Mr. Arias immediately started making telephone calls in order to stop the broadcast. Finally, unable to reach his parties, he phoned the Secret Police and requested that men be sent to the radio station to order Johnny Bonny to refrain from any attacks against Jews during the broadcast, or face loss of his broadcasting license.

That evening when Johnny Bonny went on the air he made no attack. He mentioned that he would continue to speak but in view of the Christmas holiday it was necessary for him to make a truce. He also apologized stating that in the Christmas rush he had forgotten his papers and promised that he would speak the following day. He did say, during his broadcast, that there is a "colony of people in this country who are against Nasser. Everybody knows who I mean. I have a lot to say about them and I promise you that I will."

The following day, Wednesday, December 23, Johnny Bonny only announced that he was observing a Christmas truce but promised to speak on Tuesday, December 29.

On Monday, December 28, Johnny Bonny was again on the air. This time he made no reference to Jews or other minority groups except to refer to a news item in passing reporting the desecration of the synagogue in Cologne, Germany.

On Tuesday, December 29, Johnny Bonny broadcast as usual but during the closing minutes stated that he was leaving Station HONZ. His last broadcast would be on Friday, January 1, 1960. He stated that he would be back on the air Monday, January 4, but that he was unable to advise the name of the station. He indicated that he needed a much more powerful station from which he could tell the truth and reach Colon and the interior of Panama. He referred to an anonymous letter enclosing a news clipping of a picture of a recently murdered peasant. Written under the picture, he said, was "You can die like this." Continuing, Johnny Bonny stated, "Jehova. There you see it -- the Jew. I have escaped death three times but I am working for the welfare of the people. If they silence me others will carry on for the welfare of the people."

As of this time, it is impossible to know what broadcast, if any, followed on Wednesday, December 30 or on Thursday or Friday. These will be reported to me in due course.

3. <u>The Arab Legation.</u>

Almost everyone with whom I spoke in Panama, Jew and non-Jew alike, was aware of and concerned with the activities of the Arab Legation. There are virtually no Egyptians or Syrians in Panama except for a few Egyptian and Syrian Jews. Furthermore, Panama and the United Arab Republic conduct almost no trade. The Legation is an extremely active one. It has a staff of four; the Director, Mohammed el Tabei, a former Egyptian intelligence officer. His first assistant also has army intelligence experience. It is rumored that the office has approximately $30,000 a year for propaganda purposes. Tabei and his wife entertain representatives of the press and the university frequently. They move in top social circles in Panama and entertain constantly. Although there is no Panama Legation to the United Arab Republic at present, the 1960 budget includes provisions for the establishment of such a mission in Egypt. Dr. Ernesto Castillero, the Panama University professor who led the November 3 flag planting episode, has been mentioned as the probable Minister to the United Arab Republic when diplomatic relationships are established.

The Arab Legation asked for permission to set up a radio station in Panama. This was refused on the grounds that the Panamanian law provides that no foreign government may own a radio station or a newspaper.

Aquilino Boyd, the Congressman who participated in the flag planting incident in the Canal Zone, was once Foreign Minister of Panama. Boyd is reported to have sent a congratulatory wire to Nasser on the anniversary of his election as President.

There were also several references in the newspaper to a possible visit to Panama by Nasser. Within the past few days the newspaper, La Hora, reported that Nasser is not coming to Panama.

4. Communist Activity.

There are no diplomatic relationships between Panama and the Soviet Union. However, there is much evidence of Communist activity in Panama including rumors of a direct tie with the United Arab Republic Legation. In the November 28 cavalcade, as noted above, several known Communist leaders participated.

George Edman of the United States Information Agency advised me that four tons of books printed in Spanish were brought into Panama from China during the past twelve months. Many of these volumes, he said, have been discovered on the shelves of the National Library of Panama. Edman also advised that seven Communist films recently brought in from China are now circulating around Panama.

5. Newspapers and Radio.

With respect to newspapers and radio, in each case there are one or two responsible giants dominating the field with many smaller and much less responsible organs in operation. For example, the two newspaper giants are the Star and Herald which is an English language newspaper, and its Spanish sister Estrella de Panama. Both are owned by the Duque family. *Even the so-called giants have small news staffs and therefore, rely upon many outside and voluntary sources for their information, opinions and news. In many instances, the papers may have a large group of part-time correspondents and columnists and it is not unusual for a column to include 30 separate unrelated items, each contributed by a different unnamed contributor. As a result, it is suspected that many outside sources have been able to infiltrate and influence newspapers perhaps without the knowledge or acquiescence of the management. The newspaper, La Hora, on frequent occasions has included items with anti-Semitic overtones. Its columns have included references to "these foreigners who drive Cadillac cars." Similarly, the Panama American has included many such news items as well as letters to the editor in English and Spanish with thinly veiled anti-Semitism. Both the Panama American and La Hora are owned by Dr. Harmodio Arias and editorially have strong nationalist leanings.

Similarly, La Nacion has included many items, columns and editorials making very favorable references to the United Arab Republic Minister, Mohammed El Tabei. This paper also maintains a strong tie with Fidel Castro and one of its staff members, Miguel Moreno Gongora, is said to be a representative of Fidel Castro. The Cuban newspaper, La Prensa Latina, provides its news services to La Nacion free of charge.

* The other giant is "The Panama American" and its Spanish counterpart "El Panama America".

The Panama Tribune, a very responsible, reliable newspaper, is edited by George Westerman, a Panama delegate to the United Nations. It is printed in English and has a very strong following among the Panama West Indians. This newspaper has been extremely fair and concerned with matters of human relations. It recently carried a strong editorial condemning prejudice, discrimination and bigotry.

During my visit to Panama, I spent considerable time with Panamanian and American news people. For example, I visited Luis Noli, the chief news writer for Estrella. Mr. Noli is most sensitive to the problems of anti-Semitism and danger implicit in the United Arab Republic Legation and its possible ties with the Soviet Union. He indicated that he himself has attended some of the social functions of the Legation and completely confirmed my information with regard to those activities.

I also met Mr. Ralph Skinner, correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor, and Mrs. Hindi Diamond, former member of the staff of the Panama American and publisher of an independent magazine, "Panama". Mrs. Diamond agreed to represent us with the press whenever we might have occasion to call on her. She has excellent contacts with members of the working press throughout Panama.

The situation with respect to radio is very similar to that of the press. One radio network, Circuito RPC, consisting of two radio stations, reaches 55% of the listening audience of Panama. This station is owned by Fernando Eleta, Minister of Finance in President de La Guardia's cabinet, and his brother, Carlos Eleta. These two stations are managed by an American, Ralph W. Smith, who recently moved to Panama, a close personal friend of Henry Schultz. Circuito RPC will soon open the first commercial television station in the country. I met with Mr. Smith and Carlos Eleta several times. Both were extremely cooperative and genuinely concerned with problems of bigotry and anti-Semitism. Carlos Eleta ordered his staff to monitor all future broadcasts by Johnny Bonny in order that they might be studied for possible editorial response. As a matter of fact, Mr. Smith and Eleta invited their chief news representative, Roberto Nunez, to join our conference in order that an editorial might be prepared for broadcast. An excellent editorial condemning discrimination and bigotry and pointing up the important contribution to Panama of Catholics, Jews, West Indians, Greeks, Spanish and other groups was broadcast on Monday evening, December 28, and repeated on Tuesday morning, December 29. Nunez will continue such editorial broadcasts from time to time.

The balance of the radio industry in Panama consists of some 28 or 30 small radio stations each struggling to maintain a miniscule portion of the listening audience. Ondas Istmenas, for example, reaches .08% of the listening audience.

However, in view of this situation, the smaller stations are ready prospects for unscrupulous propagandists who are willing to pay for radio time. It can be expected that the United Arab Republic Legation will continue to approach irresponsible broadcasters in order that their propaganda can be broadcast.

6. Analysis of Problem.

In my opinion, the anti-Semitism which has cropped up in Panama is largely contrived and has not become a part of the social or political fabric of the country. The United Arab Republic has taken full advantage of the unrest in the country and geared its propaganda and anti-Semitism accordingly. The pressure of so many minor, irresponsible radio stations and newspapers makes it relatively simple for the Arabs to bribe and buy their way into the news columns and airwaves. In this atmosphere, it is my opinion that the Jewish community is reacting more to the potentials of a dangerous situation than to the overt expressions of anti-Semitism which have appeared thus far.

There are several factors of danger and unrest. In each of these the Jews of Panama are identified in such a way that their situation becomes especially precarious. The elements of danger as I see them are the following:

a. There is a tremendous surge of Panamanian nationalism and anti-Americanism. Much of the anti-American sentiment centers around an anti-Panama Canal Zone drive. The ultra-nationalists make much of the fact that only the United States flag flies over the Canal Zone and of the alleged discrimination in wages paid to the civil service employees as compared with Panamanian wage scales. The United States is the demon which political opportunists use as their scapegoat with which to stir up the masses of Panama. Although the Jews completely integrated into the social, economic and political structure of Panama, they also find themselves identified with the United States. There are many Americans in the Jewish community. Many Jews represent American firms and many Panamanian Jews have business interests in the United States. Wealthy Panamanians, Jews and Christians, attended American universities and send their children to American universities. These factors all contribute toward identifying Jews with America and make them subject to the popular anti-American sentiment.

b. There is an increasing resentment of "have nots" against the "haves" in Panama. Panama has a few rich families and a great mass of poverty stricken exploited people. There is no middle class. Jews being primarily merchants are identified in the minds of the masses as "haves" and are thus exposed to charges and attacks of rabble-rousers who seek to stir up the masses against the ruling classes.

c. The propaganda activities of the United Arab Republic Legation adds to the anxiety of the Jews of Panama. Here they see an active propaganda center undermining the Jewish community with releases through the press and radio. They use every available device to ingratiate themselves in Panama society and university circles. The propaganda themes play up Panama nationalism, a comparison of the Panama Canal to Suez, abuse of Arab refugees and anti-Semitism.

d. The tremendous volume of Communist activity in Panama is a further threat to the security of the Jews. It is well known that Communists were ring-leaders in the nationalist and anti-American demonstrations during the troublesome days of November. Tons of Communist propaganda are finding their way into Panama and it is rumored that there is a direct link between the United Arab Republic Legation and Communists. Whether this is true or not, the interests of both are the same. Both the Arabs and the Communists seek to stir up greater nationalism, attack the United States and its operation of the Canal and create ill will and distress for Israel and the Jews of Panama. The Jewish community feels itself seriously threatened as a result of Communist activity.

Thus if the current manifestations of anti-Semitism in Panama are in and of themselves not dangers that would impair the position of the Panamanian Jew, there certainly exist elements of potentially greater danger. The apparent anti-Semitism there is certainly symptomatic of this more basic ill involving not only the security of the Jews of Panama but the security of the United States and free world as well.

7. Program of Counteraction.

a. Military Intelligence, Panama Canal Zone.

Meeting with Col. Robert Rhine and Robert Bruskin (State Department, Washington), Carlos Zelenka, B'nai B'rith President, Stanley Fidanque, B'nai B'rith President-Elect, Rabbi Nathan Witkin, Jewish Welfare Board and J. Harold Saks.

Both Col. Rhine and Mr. Bruskin were most sympathetic with the problems of anti-Semitism, which they consider to be one device employed to create unrest in Panama. Col. Rhine ordered a more extensive coverage of possible subversive propaganda sources.

b. United States Embassy.

The American Ambassador to Panama, Mr. Julius Harrington, was away for the Christmas holidays. I met with Mr. John C. Chillock, First Minister of the Embassy and Counsellor to Ambassador Harrington. Mr. Walter H. Dustman, Chief of the Political Section, also participated in the conference. They were not aware of the anti-Semitic incidents which I related but were aware that the Arab Legation in Panama is being used as a propaganda center. They discussed the great political unrest in Panama. They were also concerned with the rise of several new political parties which will complicate the political picture in the coming election and open the door to many irresponsible splinter groups which will use the campaign to stir up anti-American sentiment, nationalism and anti-Semitism. They expressed their concern that this would probably lead to a great increase of group antagonism and advised that they would watch the situation closely. They suggested that on my return to the United States I again visit with representatives of the Central American section and the Panamanian desk of the State Department.

c. United States Information Agency.

On Tuesday, December 29, I met with Mr. George Edman, Director of the United States Information Agency in Panama. I found Mr. Edman completely informed on the anti-Semitic incidents in Panama and the activities of the Arab Legation. He was also very sensitive to the activities of Communists in Panama. He pointed out that several ringleaders in the November 3-28 period were Moscow and Red China trained.

d. Formation of Council of Catholics and Jews.

On December 29, a delegation consisting of Rabbi Nathan Witkin, Aron Eisen, Counsel to the Israeli Government in Panama, Ralph de Lima, President of the Spanish Portuguese Congregation, Moise Mizrachi, prominent member of the Mid-Eastern Sefardic Congregation, called on Archbishop Beckman, head of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Panama and the Canal Zone, and discussed with him the activities of the United Arab Republic Legation and the serious attacks on Panamanian Jews, West Indians,

Spaniards and Negroes. The Archbishop was extremely sympathetic and suggested that immediate steps be taken to counteract the attacks. He agreed to participate in the formation of a Council of Catholics and Jews for Panama under the aegis of which interfaith and community relations activities might be undertaken. This is considered to be an extremely significant move in that Panama is a predominantly Catholic country. Rabbi Witkin will follow up on this and has agreed to do everything possible to make the Archbishop's suggestion effective.

The Human Rights Committee of the B'nai B'rith lodge has agreed to continue as a permanent body in order to conduct as extensive a human relations committee in Panama as possible. When I left, the committee was making plans for the employment of a part-time secretary. They plan to continue their surveillance of the press and radio for any anti-Semitic overtones and other evidences of bigotry and hatred. They will continue to maintain the contacts that were established during my stay there in order that their program of counteraction will proceed as effectively as possible. Carlos Zelenka will complete his term as President of B'nai B'rith within the next few weeks and Stanley Fidanque will become the B'nai B'rith President. Zelenka will continue as chairman of the Human Rights Committee. The membership of this committee consists of:

Carlos Zelenka, President, B'nai B'rith
Stanley Fidanque, President-Elect, B'nai B'rith
Aron Eisen, Consul of Israel, Ex-President Congregation Ashkenazim
Ralph de Lima, President of Kol Shearith Israel
Dr. Manfred Engel, Ex-President, B'nai B'rith
Dr. Igo Glattstein, Ex-President, Congregation Ashkenazim, Member of Panamanian-Israeli Committee
Taofilo Homsany, prominent member of Chevet Ahim (Sefardic congregation)
Moise Mizrachi, prominent member of Chevet Ahim (Sefardic congregation)
Rabbi Nathan Witkin, Director of the Jewish Welfare Board

8. Recommendations.

As a result of my visit to Panama, it is my opinion that a number of steps should be taken by the ADL in order that we might help to alleviate the problems which exist there. I would therefore make the following recommendations:

a. That the ADL undertake a region-wide study of anti-Semitism and the position of the Jew throughout Latin America.

b. That the ADL encourage the B'nai B'rith of Panama to continue its Human Rights Committee and to expand its activities into a full-scale community relations program adapted to the situation and needs of the area.

c. That the ADL Foreign Affairs Department of the ADL Civil Rights Division give greater emphasis to the Latin American area and establish appropriate mechanism for regularly servicing the area.

d. That we confer with the Ambassador from Israel with respect to the establishment of a full-time Israeli mission in Panama. At present, a volunteer, Mr. Aron Eisen, is accredited as the Israeli Consul to Panama and as a volunteer Mr. Eisen does an outstanding job at great personal sacrifice. However, as a volunteer, he is not in a position to undertake some of the public relations activities which a full-time representative of Israel might engage in. The presence of the United Arab Republic Legation in Panama makes it urgent that Israel counter as effectively as possible.

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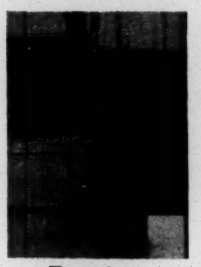

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Notes from a EUROPEAN MISSION

By Benjamin R. Epstein and Nathan C. Belth

Benjamin R. Epstein, ADL's national director, had planned to leave for Europe late in January to attend the Amsterdam meeting of the International Council of B'nai B'rith, scheduled to start on January 26. Then came the outbreak of anti-Semitic vandalism, first in West Germany and then throughout the western world. Mr. Epstein pushed his departure date ahead, to January 11, in order to spend time in Germany, to assess attitudes, to explore the terrible prospect: is anti-Semitism again becoming one of Germany's export products?

Accompanied by N. C. Belth, ADL's public relations director, Mr. Epstein left for Germany on January 11. The two men were members of an ADL study team in Germany in 1954 and Mr. Belth again visited Germany last summer for a study of the country's educational approaches to democracy. Mr. Epstein had been an exchange student in Germany in the early Hitler years and speaks German fluently — an asset beyond value in getting behind diplomatic facades. In fact, when it came to the subject of the anti-Semitic outburst, the two men found little facade on the part of German officialdom. Instead, the reaction was one of shock or chagrin or embarrassment — and sometimes all three.

During their tour, the two men met with Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano; Dr. Heinrich Krone, majority leader of the Bundestag; Dr. Walter Menzel, member of the Social Democratic Party's executive committee; Dr. Max Brauer, minister-president of Hamburg; and Dr. Franz Boehm, who negotiated the restitution settlements with Israel and Jewish organizations. They also consulted with members of the Standing Committee on Education, the Foreign and Interior Ministries, and government bureaus concerned with church affairs, civil rights, and the fighting of anti-Semitism. Among American officials they met in Germany were Ambassador Walter C. Dowling and Minister Clare Timberlake. In Holland they were received by Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard. In Rome, Mr. Epstein was a member of a five-man B'nai B'rith group that had a private audience with Pope John XXIII. And they met scores of little Europeans, too.

The two men gave a comprehensive report of their findings at the Amsterdam meeting and in subsequent press interviews. The report was based on their joint notebook. Portions of that notebook are presented here to give intimate insight into some of the people they met, the things they heard.

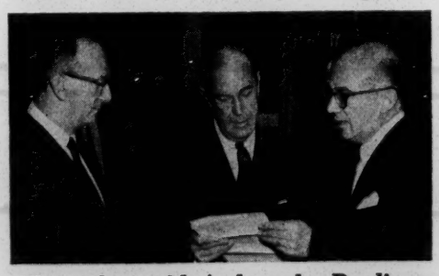
Tuesday — The Vatican

The Swiss Guards, the splendor and the ceremony of the Vatican, all lead up to this one man, the spiritual leader of half a billion. The personality of Pope John XXIII seems to contrast with his surroundings; he is warm and earnest and quickly puts his callers at ease. He speaks of the acts of anti-Semitism; they distress him profoundly because they violate natural rights and destroy understanding among people. This, above all, is his concern and his prayer: that those of the Old Testament and those of the New will come closer, under God, to the brotherhood of man. We are seated in the Pope's study as he speaks to us. Pomp and ceremony are left outside the door; here there is depth and compassion and love for humanity.

Tuesday — Bonn

The weather is cold and gray. And so is the mood of the city. Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano speaks to us candidly about the incidents. "I'm frightened by what this means—not to the outside world but to Germany. I'm ashamed too. Germany learned the hard way about totalitarianism; it should not be necessary to tell us what dictatorship means. We know we have to use every means, legal and educational, to improve ourselves." Von Brentano speaks with anger and sorrow. "Germany is still an infant democracy. We have so far to go . . ."

He agrees with our view of the incidents generally, that they represent imitative behavior and are not centrally directed. "But in Germany, in light of our history and background, we have a far different, and far graver, problem than yours."



The authors with Ambassador Dowling.

Almost all German officials we meet appear glad to see us but somehow stricken. At a luncheon meeting, the chairman remarks that such affairs usually begin with a hearty toast. But not today. "Can any of us be anything but ashamed of the events which brought you here?" he asks. We reply, in German, that we have not come to Germany specifically in reaction to the incidents, but for other compelling reasons as well.

Wednesday — Bonn

On election day, Germans march to the polls and vote. Some 88.2% of all qualified Germans voted in the last election. But how else do they take a hand in their government?

"They don't. Apathy is the biggest evil and threat to German democracy," Dr. Franz Boehm told us. "There is simply no mass concern about Germany's political future and many Germans are

ready to leave things to whomever happens to be in control at the moment. We don't need laws against Nazis so much as we need to 'pump-up' democratic structures and ideals."

Dr. Boehm negotiated restitution settlements with Israel and Jewish organizations. From 1952 to 1959, he expected to be the target for anti-Semitic mail. But, surprisingly, he had received none at all although, in the post-war years before 1952, he averaged two anti-Semitic letters or cards a week. Then, early in December 1959, he received his first anti-Semitic letter in nine years. On December 25 came the desecration of the Cologne synagogue.

Dr. Boehm had a word to say about the American-type education program: "We rejected it when we started out after the war and we were wrong. We realize now that democracy must be taught at every stage of youth—and all day long."

Thursday — BONN

DR. HEINRICH KRONE has a long and honorable background in German government. He was a member of the Reichstag from 1925 to 1933 and was thrown out of office when Hitler came in. He returned to government in 1945 when he helped found the CDU, today's majority party. He came to his present position, majority leader of the Bundestag, in 1955. He is a solid and blunt man. To the charge that Hungarian Nazis might have plotted the German anti-Semitic incidents, he has a quick answer: "There's no basis for the charge. We have enough Nazis of our own." To the suspicion of a centrally directed conspiracy, his answer is even quicker: "Nonsense."

There is nothing heartening about this. It would be easier for the German government to deal with conspiracy—through apprehension and punishment—than it is for it to deal with the general malady of anti-Semitism.

Friday — BONN

IF HE can help it, a father doesn't tell his son about the dark or seamy side of his past. Is it any wonder that German children know so little about the Hitler years?

Dr. Walter Menzel, a member of the Social Democratic Party's executive committee, says that "it is imperative that German youth be enlightened about the past. But look at the terrible psychological dilemma involved. Many teachers and parents were Nazis. Millions of others felt that they couldn't do a thing about Nazi barbarism. How can they tell children about the past when, inevitably, the child's question must be: 'Where were you when all this was going on?' "

Dr. Menzel doesn't believe that neo-fascism is politically important in Germany. Instead, it is a ghoulish remnant of the past. But teaching about that past is important in every way. The people who attend films or lectures about Hitler, or the people who visit concentration camp sites, are usually the people who don't need it. Efforts are sincere; the problem still unresolved.

Democracy today? "We have serious obstacles. Many of the swastika incidents are more than anti-Semitic—they are protests against the present democratic system. We have far to go. It would be so much better for Germany if one generation of Germans didn't have to go through military training . . ."

Saturday — BONN

GERMAN youth may know little or nothing about the Hitler past but obviously their parents do—and sometimes don't mind giving others their version of it. The most agonizing cliche is that nobody, *nobody*, knew that human beings were being exterminated in gas chambers while it was all going on. Others concede that they knew something terrible was happening but what could they do about it? Our driver had a standard diversion about the past: "We were right about the Russians then and we're right now. They're the enemies of the world. You should have joined us in licking them twenty years ago."

A more direct—if chilling—attitude was expressed by a fellow diner in a Dusseldorf restaurant. He was curious about us and, after a few minutes of cross-table conversation, sat down with us. When he heard we were from New York, he tried to recall mutual friends there. We had none. He started talking about himself. "You may not like to hear this," he said, "But I was in the SS during the war." We let him go on. "I know how you Americans feel about Hitler but you really have it all wrong." We still let him go on. "Look, we can sit up all night and talk about it," he continued. "You didn't like him and I did—it's just a matter of taste."

Sunday—EN ROUTE TO AMSTERDAM

HOW CAN we sum up Germany today? It is an incredibly complicated place, filled with emotions and attitudes quite incomprehensible to most Americans.

Four important members of the Adenauer administration were members of the Nazi party—Hans Globke, who is the Secretary of the Chancery; Theodor Oberlaender, now Minister for Refugees, who is under particular fire; Gerhard

Continued on page 7

Meeting with Prince Bernhard: Left to right, Max J. Schneider, Nathan C. Belth, Benjamin R. Epstein, the prince, and Label A. Katz, president of B'nai B'rith.

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PANAMA: The Pot Boils

Anti-Semitism is the new ingredient in Latin-American stew.

By J. Harold Saks

U. S. troops block Canal Zone entrance to rioters. (Below) Uncle Sam in effigy.

When you first hear it, the name Johnny Bonny has a pleasant ring. It suggests something mellow and familiar, like well-seasoned whiskey, or an old tune. But there is a man in Panama who bears this name and he is about as palatable as raw alcohol, as tuneful as radio static.

His real name is Bonifacio Hernandez, although he broadcasts his anti-Semitic material under the radio name of Johnny Bonny. He is a fly-by-night operator who flourished for a brief period on a small wave length in Panama City, station Ondas Istmenas (HONZ).

Johnny Bonny lasted about three weeks before he was finally blacked out, some time at the beginning of the year. Before he was silenced, however, his broadcasts managed to stir up some unpleasantness; they came at the height of great tension in Panama, which is experiencing unrest and a violent upsurge of nationalism.

Nerves were frayed and the people of Panama were in a receptive mood for rabble rousers when Johnny Bonny appeared on the scene. He began laying down a nightly barrage against a group of people whom he did not name, but identified by associating them with the Star of David and the word Jerusalem. He charged them with growing fat as big store-owners while squeezing and milking the people of Panama.

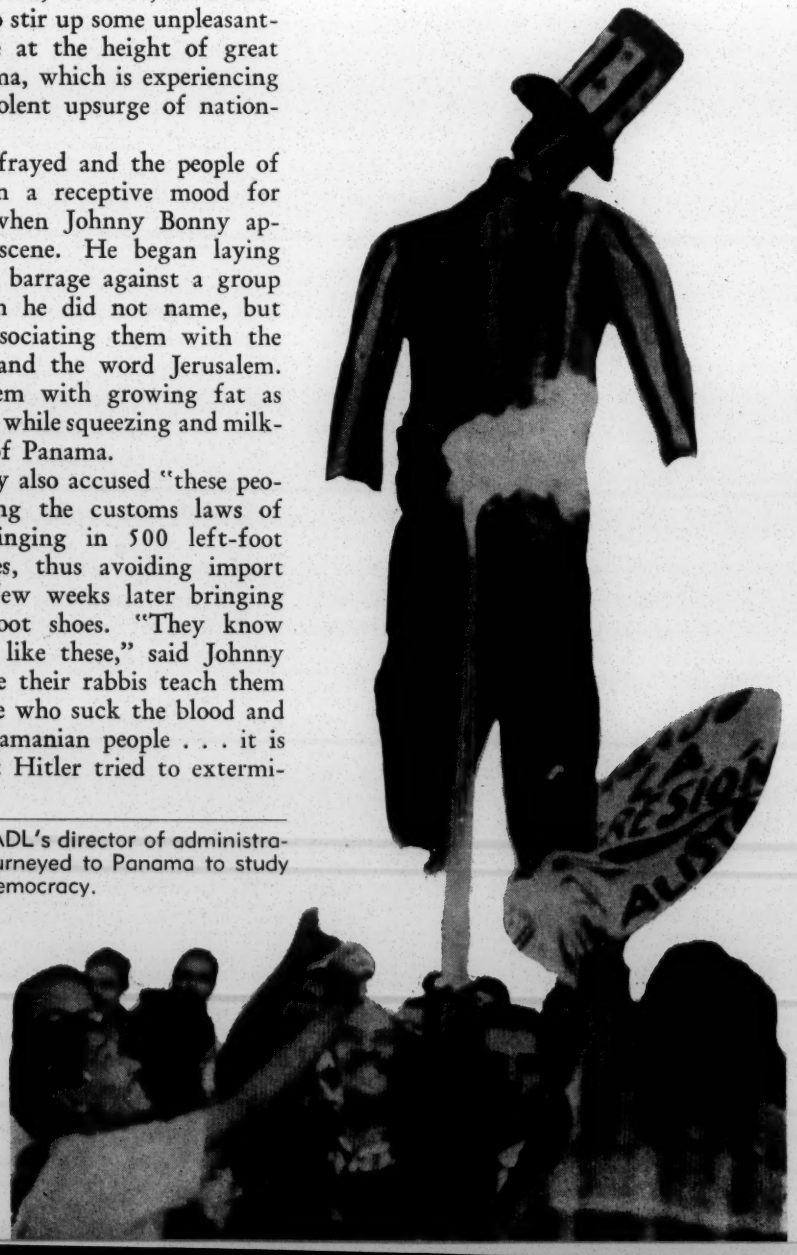
Johnny Bonny also accused "these people" of violating the customs laws of Panama by bringing in 500 left-foot shoes as samples, thus avoiding import duties, and a few weeks later bringing in 500 right-foot shoes. "They know a lot of tricks like these," said Johnny Bonny, "because their rabbis teach them . . . these people who suck the blood and exploit the Panamanian people . . . it is no wonder that Hitler tried to exterminate them."

J. Harold Saks, ADL's director of administration, recently journeyed to Panama to study its problems of democracy.

Johnny Bonny was reported to have said privately that he broadcast in this sensational vein to build up popularity and was paid a stipend to do so.

During one of his last few broadcasts, he said there is a "colony of people in this country who are against Nasser. Everybody knows who I mean. I have a lot to say about them and I promise you that I will." On his final program he promised to be back on the air, but he did not say on what station. That was the last heard of Johnny Bonny—for the time being.

What's behind Johnny Bonny and other evidences of anti-Jewish and anti-Israel sentiment in Panama?



Anti-Semitism is new in Panama, something freshly imported. The Jewish community is well integrated in the life of the country. Discrimination against Jews, social, economic or political, is practically non-existent.

Jews form a small group in Panama, numbering only about 2000; 1500 live in Panama City, and about 300 in Colon. About one-third of them come from Spanish or Portuguese ancestors who have lived in Panama for 100 or more years; in some cases, they have been living in the Caribbean for 300-400 years. About fifteen per-cent of them come from Germany, Austria, Poland and Russia and for the most part arrived in Panama between 1938 and 1940. Half of Panama's Jews are more recent arrivals from the Middle East: Turkey, Iraq and Syria.

Parochial education is customary in Panama and Hebrew schools play a vital role in the life of the Jewish community. The Albert Einstein School in Panama City maintains high educational standards, a full curriculum and attracts Jews from all segments of the community. (The school attracts non-Jewish students too for it is highly regarded in the general community.)

The Albert Einstein School has helped unite the Jewish community in Panama. A second unifying force is B'nai B'rith which, though not a mass organization in Panama, is a prestige group representative of the leadership of all elements of the Jewish community. Another factor that has brought the Jews of Panama closer together is the sense of danger that is latent in Panama's situation today.

The country is suffering from general unrest and a rising tide of extreme nationalism and anti-Americanism. The ultra-nationalists are whipping up mass resentment over the fact that the United States flag flies alone over the Panama Canal Zone. Last November a group of nationalists tried to raise the flag of Panama over the Canal Zone but were stopped by American soldiers. There was a riot and destruction of American property. Later that day, the mob gathered in front of the American Embassy,

Continued on page 7

ACTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Christian Reaction

FROM CHRISTMAS 1959 to the end of January 1960, 414 incidents of anti-Semitic vandalism in the United States were reported to the ADL. For the same period, the press reported exactly the same number of incidents in West Germany.

Beyond that, any equation of the situation in the two countries must end. Because of differences in history, the significance of anti-Semitic acts in the United States and Germany simply cannot be related.

The American incidents represented a disturbing phenomenon. But following directly in their wake came another, greater phenomenon; the spontaneous reaction of shock and disapproval of the desecrations by Americans of all faiths—often accompanied by expressions of love and understanding for American Jews. Here are some examples:

From an editorial in The Indiana Catholic:

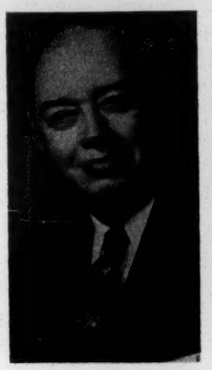
"This week we shall write about the Jews. What we say will not make amends for the ugly words and symbols smeared with paint on synagogues. Words of love are never strong enough by themselves to overcome words of hate. Words of love are meaningless unless they recall deeds of love . . . What we say may not help the Jews in America . . . but what we say ought to help ourselves and all Christians willing to face this problem fairly. If we are honest with ourselves we must admit that it is we, not the Jews, who need help. Anti-Semitism is a distinctly and disturbing Christian malady . . . Good will will come from the present outbreak of anti-Semitism if it jolts Christians everywhere into self-examination of their own attitude towards the Jews . . . We all need to be honest enough to admit that if there is a Jewish problem for us, the answer is to be found within ourselves."

From the Board of Directors, Lutheran Human Relations Association:

"It is hardly necessary for any Christian group to say that it deplores the kind of vicious behavior that has been directed recently in many 'Christian' countries, including our own, against the Jewish people. Hatred of any racial or ethnic group is a sin which, unless repented and forgiven, must destroy the soul. We are concerned, not only for the Jew who must bear the brunt of this unreasoning hatred, but also for the Gentile who, by yielding to this hatred, closes his heart to the love and mercy of God . . ."

From Mayor H. Roe Bartle of Kansas City, Missouri, (speaking at Friday night services at Kehilath Israel Synagogue the day after a portion of the synagogue was shattered by a bomb):

"I asked Rabbi Maurice Solomon whether I might join you here tonight so that I might share in your prayers and devotions. I have here a personal attachment. I went with you almost every step as this synagogue was planned and erected. I broke ground and dedicated it and I have had the rare fortune to call Rabbi Solomon a good friend for more than 25 years. It is in more than an official capacity that I appear here tonight, to condemn this outrage against me, against you, against every citizen of Kansas City . . . The violence that took place here last night is . . . especially an



Bartle and bombed temple.

A Case Study

LAST MONTH, at the peak of the wave of anti-Jewish desecrations, the manager of Epstein's Department Store in Baltimore received an anonymous letter. Inside was the swastika-decorated message: "Jew, get out of town." Police investigation quickly determined who had sent the letter: a fifteen-year-old Baltimore boy. On January 29, the boy appeared—with his parents—for a hearing before Judge Charles E. Moylan of the Baltimore circuit court's division of juvenile causes. Besides sending the anti-Semitic letter, the boy was charged—in formal courtroom language—with "endeavoring to start an organization to be known as the 'Nationalist Socialist Service of the Fuehrer' . . . the requirements for membership in this organization being as follows: 'Be against the Jews' 'Have some knowledge of Hitler,' and be of German stock."

The boy's age and background are similar to those of many apprehended for anti-Semitic acts or desecrations. Because of his youth, the boy's name has been deleted from the following excepts from his hearing. All questioning was done by Judge Moylan:

Witness: Detective William Craig.

Q. How did the matter come to the attention of the Baltimore Police?

A. Through an informant. We had been assigned to anti-Semitic activities and made various investigations . . . With this information, we contacted the boy and he readily admitted sending the card to Epstein's Department Store. I asked why and his reason was that he had read these things in the paper and he thought he would do it as a prank. We found out later that he tried to start an organization known as the "National Socialist Service of the Feuhrer."

Witness: The Boy

Q. You are on trial for a very serious offsense and I will be glad to hear anything you want to tell me.

A. I heard this on television and newspapers and I just got the idea to start an organization. About two or three weeks ago I thought the idea wasn't any good and shouldn't be carried any further and I told (two other boys) we would break up the idea.

Q. How about the card?

A. I sent that.

Q. Are you or your family customers of Epstein's Store?

A. Yes.

Q. What did you have against the store?

A. Nothing.

Q. Why did you want them to get out of town?

A. I didn't

Q. You didn't? Then why did you tell them to get out of town?

A. I told you, I had the idea from the television and papers.

Q. This organization you were forming, why did you want just German boys rather than French or American boys?

A. I thought it would be more original.

outrage against our God. I resent that act as your mayor and as your neighbor and I feel that this malicious, irrational attack is directed as much against me as it is against any of you . . . It shreds the pages of Christianity and scatters them to the four winds . . . We cannot account for this wild, flamboyant and utterly cruel attack. We can however promise you that no one of us shall sleep well until the culprits are apprehended. . . ."

From Bishop John Wesley Lord of the Methodist Church's Boston Area (on the subject of why rabbis had preached sermons in some 400 Methodist Churches in New England one Sunday:)

"I decided to invite rabbis to our pulpits in order to demonstrate how strongly we feel about the concept of brotherhood of all people. The idea came in the wake of anti-Semitic outbursts. . . ." The idea of interfaith cooperation is not new to people of the Area. Last year, the Bishop recalled, "We held our annual New England Methodist Conference in Temple Ohabei Shalom at the invitation of our Jewish friends in Boston."

And as heartwarming are the messages—unsolicited ones, from people unknown—which arrive at the ADL office by the score. Typical is the post card:

"I would like to register a moral protest against the recent wave of anti-Semitism."

It is signed simply, "A Christian friend."

Q. And in getting the members, why did you want them to have some knowledge of Hitler?

A. I thought it would be best that way if they knew something about him and what he did, his ideas.

Q. What were his ideas?

A. Now I know they were wrong and it was just twisted against the Jews.

Q. What were the ideas you thought were right three weeks ago?

A. The Jews never had any civilization of their own and were always stealing from other persons.

Q. Have you been in trouble before?

A. No.

Q. Are your mother and father of German stock?

A. No.

Q. What church do you go to?

A. I used to go to the Baptist church.

Q. And you don't go to any church now?

A. Not lately.

Q. What religion is your family, your grandmother, grandfather, mother and father?

Continued on page 6

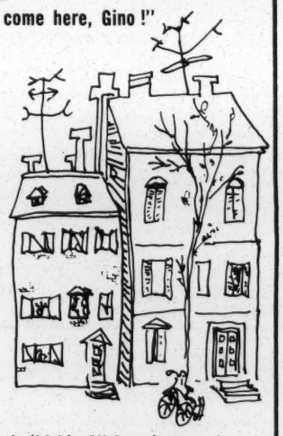
THE WORLD OF WONDERFUL DIFFERENCE

Written and Illustrated by HANS GUGGENHEIM

Now perhaps you have been thinking that DISCRIMINATION was a nation,
like the American nation or the Dutch.
But it isn't such.
IT IS A DISEASE OF THE MIND,
OF THE VERY WORST KIND.
And it does a lot of harm to the people who are being discriminated against,
and also to the people who do the discriminating
and, just as the flu is caused by bugs,
so discrimination is caused by invisible thugs,
which you must fight when you get a chance.
They are HATRED, ENVY and IGNORANCE.
And so, you see,
DISCRIMINATION IS ALTOGETHER NO GOOD!

To point out the moral,
here is the exciting story of a boy
whose parents had just moved to 91-07 Huckleberry Street, Troy,
who was going to try to build a rocket to fly to the moon ..... soon.

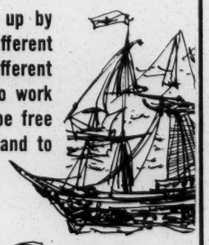
And he went across the street to get some help
from the fellow at 91-10 Huckleberry Street, Troy.
And he looked through the window and he heard that boy's mother call:
"Gino, Gino come here, Gino!"



When he heard that, he thought:
"Why, 'Gino,' that sounds like an Italian name.
This boy can't work on my rocket.
I want my rocket to be All-American!"

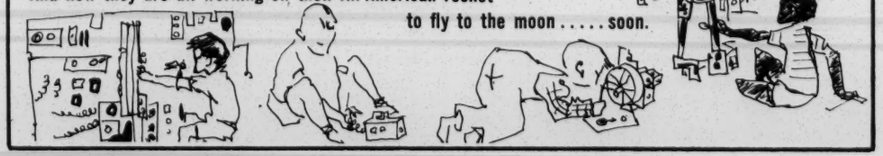
And he went to the next house, 91-12 Huckleberry Street, Troy.
But as he looked through the window,
he heard that boy's mother call, "Sammy, Sammy."
And so he thought, "Say, that boy must be Jewish.
I want my rocket to be All-American. I can't ask him to work on it."
And he went to all the houses on the street and found
Pat to be Irish
Frank to be German
and Gil to be Scotch.

And so he became very sad and thought that he would never be able to build his All-American rocket.



But luckily, one day at school the teacher explained how America was built up by many people who came from many different lands, who spoke many different languages, who practiced many different religions and who were many different shades of color. And she told them how they all came to America to be free to work in the pursuit of happiness, to be free to think what they wanted to think, to be free to say what they wanted to say, and to be free to follow their own religion, and to be respected no matter what color their skin!

And the boy from 91-07 Huckleberry Street, Troy, understood what really
made him and all his friends Americans,
and that in a Democracy all people must respect one another.
AND HE STOPPED DISCRIMINATING AT ONCE!
And he went to all the houses on Huckleberry Street
and asked all the boys to help him build his rocket, which they all did.
And now they are all working on their All-American rocket
to fly to the moon ..... soon.



An excerpt from ADL's new "The World of Wonderful Difference," a book of sparkling verse and pictures for children and more sophisticated parents ($2.50).

CASE STUDY

Continued from page 5

A. It varies. Some are Seventh Day Adventists, Catholic, Baptist.

Q. What is your father?

A. No particular religion.

Q. And your mother?

A. The same. It varies.

Q. Their grandfathers and grandmothers—did they have any religion or not?

A. I don't know.

Witness: Boy's Father

Q. What do you want to tell us about your son?

A. Well, I can't tell you anything about this myself. He has been a good boy as far as I know.

Q. What religion is your family, your grandmother, grandfather and your mother and father?

A. Methodist, I would say.

Q. The boy says some of you are Catholics and others are Seventh Day Adventists and Baptists.

A. We go to different churches sometimes.

Q. Does the boy hear this sort of thing around the breakfast table?

A. No, sir.

Witness: Boy's Mother

Q. What do you want to tell us about your son?

A. He is a nice boy. I was never so hurt in my life. It is a question I don't have the answer to. I have told him all his life there is nothing to this sort of thing and not pay attention to it. He has been good. He stays home all the time, never goes anywhere and does good in school and had a good life ahead of him and that's all.

The Court: Other than in this case, he has been a normal boy. He is in the ninth grade and has passed his grade.

This is his first offense, so we have no background information on him, how he gets along in school, whether he gets along with other boys, or gets into fights.

I think it is important to find out all we can about his background. We will have a member of the social worker side of the Court check the school and community and do a full-fledged investigation and then discuss it in staff conference before coming to a final decision. Meanwhile I make a finding that the boy committed the acts as charged and is delinquent.

There is no apparent excuse for this sort of nonsense in a civilized community. It would seem the parents had plenty of opportunity to teach this boy, if they want to teach him anything, what an insane pervert Adolph Hitler was . . ."

TALE OF FRUSTRATION

Indifference and gentle prejudice stall a one-man campaign for democracy.

STARLIGHT Tower in St. Petersburg Beach, Florida—in the words of its sponsor, John K. Ruff—is "one of the finest cooperatives on the West Coast of Florida. Many fine, outstanding and well-to-do people, both Jewish and Gentile, have bought and are living there and are happy. . ."

In truth, at least one person who had bought a Starlight Tower apartment was *not* happy there. Sidney Weinman, a Baltimore manufacturer, father and grandfather—a successful and contented man by most standards—found life at Starlight Tower unbearable. His reason: he concluded, on the basis of much questioning and investigation, that Starlight Tower had instituted a 10% quota for Jews.

Mr. Weinman is concerned with good living. After he bought stock in the Starlight Tower Corporation, he spent much time and effort furnishing his apartment to his taste. He is also dedicated to democratic principle. He learned that permission to sub-lease an apartment had been denied a couple because they are Jewish. He quickly wrote to the president and board of directors of Starlight Tower, Inc. asking for a clear statement of policy. He offered some suggested wording:

". . . all applicants for occupancy of apartments in Starlight Tower, Inc., whether purchasers or as sub-lessees, shall be required to be of good moral character . . . or sufficient financial resources to promptly discharge their obligation . . . and their religious affiliations or racial backgrounds shall not, in any case, be considered a factor in the acceptance or rejection. . . ."

Mr. Weinman thought that such a policy statement would help build a "cordial and harmonious relationship among the tenants" by ridding all suspicion of religious intolerance in Starlight Tower.

Mr. Weinman was not alone in his request for a statement of democratic principle. W. H. Steed, a laywer from Thomasville, N.C., had tried to sublet his Starlight Tower apartment to a Jewish couple. He wrote to the directors and officers of the corporation that the couple were "of excellent character and reputation, acceptable in any and all social groups . . . at Elkins Park, Pa., Philadelphia, St. Petersburg and vicinity, or any other place where they are known. But they were arbitrarily rejected at Starlight Tower, Inc. for no other reason than the fact that they were of Jewish ancestry . . . (this action, is contrary to all principles of morality and Christianity) . . . If Starlight Tower, Inc. is now being operated by bigots, I want to know it now."

Neither Mr. Steed nor Mr. Weinman received satisfactory answers to their letters. Mr. Weinman took another course of action. He wrote to all of the stockholder-tenants, telling them that he believed that a quota had been imposed on Jews, that he considered this unfair and undemocratic. He asked them all to give their views on the subject to the board of directors. "I cannot help but feel that this policy is not the wish nor does

it reflect the attitude of the majority of the owners . . ." he concluded.

Mr. Weinman's high hopes were soon demolished. The answers he received were frustrating, non-comprehending:

—The president emeritus of a midwestern university replied: "Relax and enjoy your neighbors without pushing constantly for a personal principle which will avail you nothing."

—From Canada came the admonition: "We have agreed to abide by the decisions of the Starlight Tower board of directors. If you do not feel that the corporation is supervised properly, perhaps you are not in the proper atmosphere. It is not my business to question the board's decisions."

Continued on page 8

EUROPEAN MISSION

Continued from page 2

Schroeder, Minister of the Interior; and Herman Lindrath, Federal Property Minister. The Social Democratic Party is keeping up a continuing barrage against Oberlaender and realistic Germans agree that the presence of the four is a symbol of the German dilemma.

These four are in the public eye; thousands of others with former party connections hold public office of high or low degree in Germany today.

Question: Can a new democracy be built in Germany with so many old Nazis at the complicated controls of the ship of state? There is no doubt of the Chancellor's unalterable opposition to Nazism. But what about the men of dubious background whom he considers devoted to his regime?

Obviously, democracy cannot be secure in Germany until it has created democratic symbols of its own—out of the German experience itself. Germany still has no Bunker Hill or Independence Hall or Fourth of July or any holidays that honor men who fought for freedom, not for conquest.

Any generalization is risky but it does appear that Germans generally subscribe to one of four attitudes:

—There are those who consider Nazism heinous and immoral and actively seek to educate themselves and their countrymen about the evils of the past.

—There are those who have profound guilt feelings about the past but seal off or divert these feelings in one way or another, and prefer not to talk or teach about Hitler.

—There are those who consider themselves "uninvolved" or who feel that attitudes toward Hitler are "just a matter of taste."

—There are those who are neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic and think that the only thing Hitler did wrong was to lose the war.

By far the greatest number of Germans come into the second and third categories—the silent ones with feelings of guilt or those who are unemotional about the past. The German officials we met are largely in the first group, and dedicated to concepts of democracy. They are serious men who have probed deeply and have many plans. But there is a vast difference between planning and execution.

An American correspondent in Bonn says it differently. He is an intellectual with a sense of detachment. He also has deep convictions about justice and humanity. He summed up Germany in a seemingly simple way—the kind of simplicity that takes years of intelligent observation to achieve.

"What goes on here now is the eternal conflict between Good and Evil in its most primitive sense. At the moment, the forces of Good are in command and are having their way. But they do not seem to be in the majority. The issue can turn against them at any moment . . ."

The wave of anti-Semitic incidents took place in a Germany with high prosperity, prestige, and firm political position in the western world. What might happen in a Germany less prosperous, less sure of itself?

Wednesday—AMSTERDAM

DESPITE overcast skies, the Netherlands seems sunny after Germany. Queen Juliana and Prince Bernhard receive the B'nai B'rith delegation informally—the prince informal to the point of wearing slacks and sport jacket with leather sleeve patches. He is outgoing and direct. He said he agreed with Chancellor Adenauer; he'd like to thrash some of the anti-Semitic hoodlums himself to set an example. Prince Bernhard is proud of the long history of good relations with Jews in the Netherlands. He recalled that during the Nazi occupation, Amsterdam's entire transportation system went on strike in Dutch protest against anti-Jewish measures. More Dutch Christians wore yellow armbands than did Dutch Jews.

Prince Bernhard has had a taste of social anti-Semitism, American-style. On a recent trip to the States, an American suggested to him that he was "spending too much time with Jews." The Prince's reply: "I'll choose as a friend anyone I damn well please." Outgoing and direct.

Otto Frank met us in Amsterdam. He took us on a tour of the House at Prinsengracht 263. It is now being converted into a youth center by the Anne Frank Foundation. The play and the movie based on the diary were dramatic and moving. But they don't come close to the emotional impact you get on seeing the "Secret Annexe" where the Frank family hid for two and a half desperate years — the rudely improvised quarters where Anne wrote her testament to the world.

PANAMA

Continued from page 3

hanged Uncle Sam in effigy and desecrated the United States flag.

ANOTHER cause for resentment is the wide gap in the standard of living enjoyed by American civil service employees in the Canal Zone and the workers of Panama, whose wage scale is not very high. Political opportunists, aided by Communist elements, are inciting the masses against the United States, which is being pictured as the arch-demon and cause of most of the country's ills.

The Jews have found themselves identified with the United States. There are many Americans in the Jewish community; many Jews represent American firms and have business interests in the United States. Wealthy Panamanians, both Jews and Christians, attended American universities and send their children there. Thus, the Jews of Panama find themselves tied to the popular anti-American sentiment and their prestige sinking along with that of the United States.

The struggle in Panama has taken shape as the classic one of the "have nots" against the "haves." The country has just a few rich families and a great mass of poverty-stricken and exploited people. There is no middle class. As primarily merchants, Jews are bracketed with the "haves" and have become the target of rabble rousers — like Johnny Bonny—who are stirring up the masses against the ruling classes.

The tremendous volume of communist activity in Panama is another factor contributing to the country's unrest and the decline of American prestige.

Then too, there is a United Arab Republic Legation in Panama, headed by a former Egyptian intelligence officer, Mohammed el Tabei. His chief aide is also an army intelligence veteran. El Tabei and his wife move in top social circles in Panama and entertain frequently.

The Arab legation lurked in the background during the anti-American demonstrations. It undoubtedly made its contribution to the tense situation. The Arab legation has had much success in penetrating the press and radio of Panama, particularly since many of the newspapers are poorly staffed and rely on outside sources for free material. The press has carried many items concerning alleged Israeli abuse of Arab refugees—normally not a matter of basic interest to newspapers in Panama. Some of the newspapers, strongly nationalistic, frequently carry items of an anti-Semitic character, a practice previously unknown to the country.

When the nationalists tried to raise the Panama flag over the Canal Zone in November, they were led by Aquilino Boyd, Panamanian congressman, and Dr. Ernesto Castillero, a University of Panama professor. Panamanian newspapers reported that the flag they carried had

Continued on page 8

FRUSTRATING TALE

Continued from page 7

—Another stockholder gave the most typical answer: "We all have a personal investment in our holdings and sincerely hope that any disagreement can be settled to our mutual satisfaction." Period.

A local minister had another point of view: "I think the issue is clearly this. Do private institutions have a right to make their own rules? If they disallowed Jews altogether, I think there would be discrimination. But since they don't, I cannot feel that you are justified in your position."

There were other answers too, from Jewish as well as Christian stockholders. Almost all of them had the same tone: "Forget your principles—don't stir up trouble."

Mr. Weinman's one-man campaign has, to date, gained him nothing but frustration—and a reputation as being "troublesome." Because he is a man of principle, he has sold his holdings in Starlight Tower and moved out. The atmosphere around Starlight Tower — "one of the finest cooperatives" in the Sunshine State —is still dense and unyielding.

PANAMA

Continued from page 7

been made in Egypt and presented to Castillero by President Nasser.

IN RESPONSE to the current tension, the Jewish community, through B'nai B'rith, has formed a Human Rights Committee which is planning a program of counteraction and community relations. Late last December, a delegation from the Jewish community called on Archbishop Beckman, head of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese in Panama and the Canal Zone, and discussed with him the series of attacks which have recently been lodged against the Jews, West Indians, Spaniards and Negroes of Panama. The delegation was cordially received by the archbishop, who urged quick steps to curb these attacks.

The archbishop agreed to participate in the formation of a Council of Catholics and Jews for Panama to lead and guide intergroup and community relations activities. Panama is a predominantly Catholic country; the archbishop's recommendation is a significant one.

The Human Rights Committee of Panama's B'nai B'rith lodge has been established as a permanent body and is now undertaking an educational program to counteract anti-democratic propaganda and activity. This is only the beginning of what promises to be one answer to the Johnny Bonnys of Panama.

THIS MONTH

FEBRUARY

Diners' Club Story

MR. AND MRS. Chaim Rosen of Quebec City and their party picked up their reservations and checked in at the Auberge du Faubourg in St. Jean Port Joli, Quebec, recently. They had planned to stay three days; instead they were out the next day. The reason: the proprietor told them that "Jews are not wanted in this establishment." The Auberge du Faubourg is a member of the Diners' Club and it was on the Club's recommendation that Mr. Rosen had gone to the motel. He quickly wrote to the Diners' Club outlining his story. Within a week, the Diners' Club, Canadian branch, took action. It wrote to the proprietor of the Auberge: "We are an international organization in the most encompassing sense and deplore discrimination of any kind . . . It is suggested that you reflect for a time upon the connotations of the word 'brotherhood' . . . Under the circumstances, we have no alternative but to exercise the prerogative of our contract with your establishment and cancel same."

Good Business

WHAT happens when a resort drops discriminatory barriers against Jews and others? This was one of the questions put to Henry Spitz, general counsel for the N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, at a meeting of the Society of Travel Writers. His answer: According to a recent survey of Adirondack hotels, the dropping of barriers actually increased business in many cases. One resort manager attributed the improvement to "an added international flavor" that made for better business.

Briefs

CALIFORNIA Attorney General Stanley Mosk and Director of Alcohol Beverage Control Malcolm Harris have jointly announced that any alcoholic beverage licensee who practices discrimination may be subject to disciplinary action by the state—including suspension or revocation of a license . . . Alexander F. Miller, ADL's community service director, and Herman Edelsberg, ADL's Washington representative—both well-known to ADL Bulletin readers—are among the contributors to Vol. 1, No. 1 of *The Journal of Intergroup Relations,* to be published quarterly by the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials . . . The latest report to President Eisenhower by his Committee on Government Contracts shows that 111 complaints were filed in a fifteen month period. It also states: "Nearly half the complaints originating with organizations were from the Pacific Southwest Regional Office of the Anti-Defamation League." The complaints concerned discriminatory job orders . . . Lester J. Waldman, executive assistant to ADL's national director, has been named to the new post of director of organization and planning. Among his new duties will be the involvement of lay leadership in the League's program and activities. Mr. Waldman this month returned from Europe where he addressed B'nai B'rith groups in Malmo, Sweden, and Copenhagen, Denmark.

Waldman

New Officers

NEWLY elected chairmen of ADL regional advisory boards include: Stanley Morantz of Kansas City, Mo. (Plains States); Sidney Karbel of Detroit (Michigan); Lawrence Williams of Cleveland (Ohio-Kentucky); Robert Ruwitch of Chicago (Midwest); Judge Myron Gordon of Milwaukee (Wisconsin — Upper Midwest); and Samuel Fendel of San Francisco (Central Pacific).

Samuel E. Binswanger

THIS MONTH, Samuel E. Binswanger, for many years chairman of ADL's Virginia-North Carolina regional board, died at the age of 65. The Richmond (Va.) Times Dispatch wrote of his death: "(He) was a citizen who combined great business acumen with equally great love for his fellow men. He was also deeply religious . . . He spent a great deal of time and effort promoting inter-group understanding. The establishment in his honor of a human relations library at Temple Beth Ahabah was a striking testimonial to the effectiveness of his work . . . He will be greatly missed by members of all faiths in the Richmond community."

Binswanger

Now Available

AMONG new ADL publications:

Prejudice and Society, by Earl Raab and Seymour M. Lipset. (Freedom Pamphlet Library.) Tells how individual behavior towards minority groups is influenced by prevailing social practices and suggests how destructive attitudes can be changed. ($.35)

the ADL bulletin
515 Madison Ave., New York 22
Entered as 2nd class matter.

February 8, 1961

Mr. Louis Glickman
Anti-Defamation League
220 Empire Building
Denver, Colorado

Dear Louis:

You were very thoughtful to write me that kind note after the NAIRO meeting, and I have been meaning ever since to thank you for it.

This gives me a chance to send you a copy of our report, "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights," recently submitedd to President Kennedy and his key advisers. It has had a good reception so far, and I think you will find it of interest.

As it happens, my wife spent some of her happiest younger years in Denver, where she has family, and we have an old, frustrated desire to get out there one of these days. If we do, you can be sure that I will be in touch with you. Of course, the same invitation holds for you if circumstances should bring you down this way.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

LOUIS H. GLICKMAN
COMMUNITY CONSULTANT
RES. ALPINE 5-8184

220 EMPIRE BUILDING
DENVER, COLORADO
MAIN 3-6209

SUITE 220 EMPIRE BUILDING
430 16TH STREET
DENVER 2, COLORADO

November 28, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a word to tell you I enjoyed very much getting to meet you and was most stimulated by the sessions at Cincinnati for which you were responsible.

Alex Miller has told me of the very fine relationship he had with you when he was in Atlanta.

If you ever have occasion to go through Denver, I would be most happy (and privileged) to show you a little bit of this beautiful country (if you haven't seen much of it). I am very serious about that, Harold, just let me know ahead of time if you should be planning a trip and would have time to spend a half day or an evening.

If you should be talking to the boys in our Atlanta office and think of it, I would appreciate it if you would give them my warm regards.

Cordially,

Louis Glickman

LG:elz

File - ADL -

December 18, 1961

Mr. J. Isaac Copeland
Librarian and Associate
Professor of History
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Copeland:

I am writing to you with reference to the copies of hate materials which you had sent to the Southern Regional Council. The materials wese authored by Lambert and Patricia Schuyler and published by Heron House in Winslow, Washington.

You may be interested to know that our records on these individuals go back some years. In 1954, we received a report which stated that Lambert Schuyler was the author of several books published on his own printing press under the name of Heron House. Among his books are "To Hell On A Tobaggan" and "Lay The Axe To The Roots" which are said to be violently racist. In the latter book, he advocated a third party, stating that the Republican Party has gone to the left. He was also the author of "Wake Up America." He was one of the leaders in the anti-Japanese campaign and urged that all Japanese-American be deported to a Pacific Island. For good measure, he urged that all Jews and Negroes be similarly treated.

In 1959, Schuyler came to our attention again when an article by him on Economics was published in the new defunct newsletter "Right" which had been published in San Francisco by "Liberty and Property." "Right" had published material by anti-Semites and served as a clearinghouse for information on the activities of anti-Semitic individuals, organizations and publications.

During this period, Patricia Schuyler, wife of Lambert, wrote a series of articles in a New York publication called "The Truthseeker." The series was entitled "How To Avoid Pogroms" and was anti-Semitic in content. ("The Truthseeker," for

many years a respectable atheist-freethinker type of magazine, has in recent years become blatantly racist and openly anti-Semitic. Its circulation, however, is not large.)

The Schuylers have jointly authored a book called "Close That Bedroom Door" which has been published by their own publishing house, Heron House. Written from a woman's viewpoint, the book apparently contains arguments in favor of the preservation of so-called racial purity.

I hope the above information has been of assistance to you. Please feel free to call upon us if you receive any further copies of this type of hate literature.

Sincerely yours,

Richard M. Shapiro
Associate Director

rms/tg

cc: Paul Anthony - Southern Regional Council

Memo | from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

file

KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCE

The Man Who Knows Gives Him Some Ideas on Human Relations

Atl. Journal — By PAT WATTERS Constitution 3/25/62

ART LEVIN and his fine family are leaving Atlanta. The deep loss is to the city and not the South, and mostly personal, because he will still be doing the kind of quiet, assured, brave work on a national scale that he has done with extreme effectiveness for the past troubled 14 years to the benefit of the region.

He is one of the several men whose practical work in the field of what they call human relations has done incalculable good in getting the South through the tangles of the social revolution yet under way down here. He leaves the directorship of the Southeastern office of B'nai B'rith's Antidefamation League to become staff director of the Potomac Institute in Washington. He will work with another of the few who have done so much, Harold Fleming, former director of the Southern Regional Council, whose loss to the city was also great.

SOUNDED OUT

Before he gets away, I took the opportunity to sound Art Levin out on his ideas about human relations, and here are, in a telescoping of quote notes, some of the things he said, this man among the nation's few most knowledgeable sources on the subject.

On the South's future: Human relations work is never done. It's got a long way to go in the South. There'll be increasing pressure from the rest of the nation the way there is continuing pressure on the nation from the rest of the world. The biggest change that has occurred has been acceptance of the inevitability of legal desegregation. Massive resistance fights now only a holding action. Race is less and less effective as a smokescreen, a political device to draw attention from the real ills which involve things like education, public health, industry. The South will benefit enormously from getting it out of the way, and getting down to these issues which affect all the people, working together toward common boals to get the South out of peonage.

Pat Watters' column appears regularly in the daily Atlanta Journal.

Atlanta: Atlanta has a better image than it deserves.

Because it is in the deep South state of Georgia, with its county unit system, it has always had difficulty in changing, was never in the forefront, always following. It hasn't acted out of belief in right but because of money and coercion. The favorable image is due mostly to one man, former Mayor Hartsfield. He was a strong mayor. A strong mayor is still needed. The people are waiting now for direction. They will go whichever way the leadership takes them. Religion has been a tremendous factor for the good here. You have to compare Atlanta to the image of Atlanta. Or compare Atlanta's reluctant handling of lunch counters to the smooth and harmonious way Columbus did it.

Idealism: Do I expect people to do things because they are right? No. Not in the South or in the nation or in the world. Self interest is the touchstone of change. It is to the self interest of the South, the nation and the world that we improve relations between mankind. There is no other choice but annihilation. The greatest menace to the South, the North and the world is not communism or the radical right, but apathy which allows these things to flourish unopposed. Forget morality and idealism, and figure that if people would only express their self interest, only react, all the menaces, which are symptoms, would disappear. Such basics of human relations have to be revived by every generation. This is what makes education so important.

SICK PEOPLE

Bigots: For every bigot, there are 100 kind and generous, decent people in the South or North. But because of default, apathy, fear and ignorance, the bigots take over. In general, they are sick people. I don't feel very kindly toward them, but in a sense they are victims as well as the people they harass. They are more afraid than the people they try to frighten.

Social change: The emotional climate sets the pattern. The climate is changed by leadership. Home and school and church work on prejudice which is the way people feel. My job is to work on discrimination which is the way people act. The kind of climate I am talking about is one where people can do the decent thing without fear. If they can, most will.

KNOWLEDGEABLE SOURCE

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LDV

file
ADL

March 16, 1962

Mr. John L. McKnight, Executive Director
Illinois Division - American Civil
Liberties Union, 17 South LaSalle St.
Chicago 3, Ill.

Dear Mr. McKnight:

I am writing to you in your capacity as Chairman of the National Panel of Professional Integrity.

Joe Gross, a member of NAIRO, has brought a matter to our attention which I understand would properly come under your jurisdiction.

Joe Gross has been, since November 1959, Integroup Relations Specialist with the Housing and Home Finance Agency assigned in Atlanta. He has had a "taper" status.

On March 5th, he was apprised that his appointment was terminated as of March 31, 1962.

Since Mr. Gross feels that this termination was "capricious" and part of an action of harrassment to the Integroup Relations Program, I have asked that he submit his complaint in writing directly to you. I know that you will undoubtedly act expeditiously in this matter due to the shortness of time involved.

Sincerely yours,

Richard M. Shapiro
Southeastern Area Chairman

cc: Robert Thompson
Joe Gross
John Lassoé
Lloyd Davis
Paul Rilling
Charles Wittenstein

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

(SF-1201 (R-60))

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

426P EST AUG 14 62 AH389 SYA745

SY AGB201 PD AR AG NEWYOORK NY 14 449P EDT

LESLIE DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST ATLA

CAN YOU PICK ME UP BALTIMORE STATION PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD MONDAY

11:05 AM ARRIVAL FOR DRIVE TO BEHANY BEACH?

HENRY SCHWARZCHILD ADL.

515 Madison Ave.
NY 22

Pl 1-1800

REPLY 8;16

WILL MEET YOU AT PA. STATION BALTIMORE 11:05 a. m. Monday.
RETURNING AFTER MEETING WITH MORLAND TO WASHINGTON.

LWD

August 30, 1962

Mr. Henry Schwarzchild
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Henry:

Under separate cover I am sending you, as you requested, a selection of SRC publications.

I enjoyed our day together immensely. Again, the best of everything in the new job.

LWD:A

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

Mailed separately:

New South, Sept., Nov., Dec. 61, July-Aug. 61; Jan., June 62
L-1, L-16, L-22, L-23A, L-34
The Federal Executive and Civil Rights
Executive Support of Civil Rights
School Desegregation: the first six years
Green-Gauerke, If the Schools are Closed
Spearman-Meyer, Racial Crisis and the Press
McMillan, Racial Violence and Law Enforcement
The Negro and Employment Opportunities in the South: Houston
Thompson, The Case for Integration
Rudwick, The Unequal Badge
The Student Protest Movement
Morland, Lunch-Counter Desegregation in ..... Texas
Zinn, Albany
Dunbar, The Annealing of the South
Dunbar, Reflection on the Latest Reform of the South
Policy Statement of SRE, December 1959

September 18, 1962

Mr. Henry Schwarzschild
Director of P blications
Anti-Defamatiön League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Henry:

I am not going to make the Mass Media Committee meeting this week and have already so informed Harry Fleischman. I shall be up to New York next week and will give you a call.

I think evasion or refusal of the I.C.C. order is sporadic and hit-or-miss. We occasionally hear of a place that is not complying and when we do we pass the work along. Just last week, for example, I sent up to Washington a note about Baxley, Georgia.

We have been sending on a fair bit of stuff to Morland. Have not heard from him since our visit, but I am confident things are going well.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Administration
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

September 13, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Briefly, four items --

1. When you are in New York for the Mass Media Committee on Wednesday, September 19, at the building of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, will you have time to spend with us here either before or afterwards? I would be eager, for reasons professional and personal, to have a chat. Do let me know the possibilities.

2. Can you tell me informally what you know about the extent of Southern refusal to obey the I.C.C. injunction of last year concerning interstate passenger facilities? Is there sporadic violation, or are there whole areas where segregation of facilities is still maintained?

3. I have done some spade-work on the question of tokenism and educational theory, but the material I have examined deals largely with the position assumed by Dean Fischer of Columbia Teachers College that refers primarily to de facto school segregation in the North. As soon as I have something more specifically relevant to Ken Morland's task, I'll send it on.

4. Thank you for the material you sent. It is instructive handsome. Incidentally, the Freedom Rider whom you write about, Tim Nash, was a boy I personally shepherded from Chicago to Jackson, a very nice and sweet, albeit limited, guy. He did not, incidentally give up a job to go - he was at the time unemployed. But no matter. It's much more impressive, in many ways, to have the commitment of simple people such as he than of sophisticates.

We look forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Henry

Henry Schwarzschild
Director of Publications

A. I. BOTNICK Anti-Defamation

41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

file

October 5, 1962
(dictated 10/4/62)

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

This is in reference to our conversation relative to the CBS Report televised Tuesday, a week ago. Much to my embarrassment, you were correct in stating this program was not broadcast in Mississippi. Since speaking to you on Wednesday, I have been in contact with my brother in-law in Hattiesburg and I find that I garbled the story.

He did see the program. However, he saw it in New York as he was in the city during that week. Nevertheless, I am still trying to smoke out some reaction, if this is possible, from Mississippi. I will keep you apprised.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

"B"

A. I. Botnick

aib/tg

Monroe Schlatten, Ex. Dir.

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Anti Defamation League

file

6/1/67

Dear Les:

Attached are the questions we discussed to be propounded to SCLC.

Please let me have your thinking as to additional questions, changes in the listed questions, and especially rephrasing the questions as to make them more "politic" but also to elicit the kind of information we want.

As soon as I hear from you all, I'll arrange to have the questions taken up on a top level.

Best Regards

Art

1. What is the Southern Christian Leadership Conference ongoing program?

2. With whom does Southern Christian Leadership Conference work -- Constituency? Organization?

3. What kinds of things has Southern Christian Leadership Conference done since its inception in 1958 -- concretely?

4. Who governs Southern Christian Leadership Conference -- to whom responsible?

5. How are funds raised -- expended? Is there any reporting to people who contribute?

6. What is Southern Christian Leadership Conference relationship to other agencies in the field?

7. Carl Braden episode?

bcc: Mr. Justin Finger, ADL, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.

Wire folder 1963

January 22, 1963

Mr. Henry Edward Schultz
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Schultz:

I extend our congratulations to the Anti-Defamation League as it celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of its service. You have worked long and well, so that, in the hopes of Solomon, "The upright will inhabit the land, and men of integrity will remain in it."

The Southern Regional Council has often been privileged to join with you in common endeavors. We address you on this occasion, therefore, with the special warmth and friendship of a colleague who has known, in at least some of your many exertions, the wisdom of your policies and the firmness of your purposes.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

James McBride Dabbs
President

JMD/mmj

THE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
(In Cooperation With The Columbia Broadcasting System)

In Celebration of its 50th Anniversary

Staff

RECEIVED
JAN 25 1963

Announces
THE LIVE TELECAST
Of

Letter + Passes on
MA
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E.O.G.P.
LK
NM
MG
MM
RB
MT
BCC

"DINNER WITH THE PRESIDENT"

At Which Time
AMERICA'S DEMOCRATIC LEGACY AWARD
Will Be Presented To

***

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

***

DATE: Thursday, January 31, 1963

TIME: 9:00 - 10:00 P.M. - Central Standard Time

STATION: New Orleans - WWL-TV - Channel 4
Other - Please check your local listing

May we suggest that you have friends in for a T. V. party to watch and hear President Kennedy, Mr. Robert Preston (who will be the Master of Ceremonies), Odetta, Josh White and a host of others.

January 30, 1963

Mr. Henry Schwartzchild
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Henry:

My plane gets in at 7:40p.m., and I shall be at the hotel by 8:30 or so. Let s meet in my room. You provide the entertainment and I will provide the sustenance.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

PA - state group interested?

MA noted & copied for reference

February, 1963

Dear Friend:

I would like to inform you of what may be one of the most important break throughs in the Intergroup Relations field vis-a-vis audio-visual materials. Undoubtedly, you know or have heard of Dr. Thomas F. Pettigrew of Harvard University's Department of Social Relations.

Last year, utilizing a graphically illustrated lecture technique, he presented a series of programs over what is often considered the outstanding education station in the country - WGBH-TV in Boston. The series was eminently successful and many of the people with whom I am in contact were enthusiastic about it.

The ADL cooperated in the series and we now have in film form five of the lectures on race relations. I believe that you will find "Epitaph for Jim Crow" a vital and constructive addition to the courses you are already teaching. I can make available to you, upon request, any one or more of the films for preview, if you are interested in purchasing them. Each sells for $85.00 and audio-visual libraries certainly should seriously consider this series. Rentals are $7.50.

Some people have used these with ADL's previous two films in the Point of View series -- Princeton University's Dr. Melvin M. Tumin's "Anti-Semitism in America" and N.Y.U.'s Dr. William Van Til's "Challenge To America." The latter two illustrated lectures are also available in inexpensive printed form.

I shall look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Mort Sobel

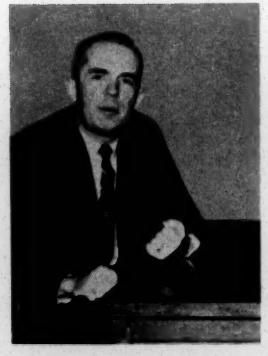
Morton J. Sobel, Director
National Department of
Colleges and Universities

MJS/jk
Enclosures

Epitaph for Jim Crow

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith presents EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW—a new and significant series of illustrated film-lectures on the history of the Negro American and the dynamics of intergroup relations in the United States. This five-part series makes extensive use of the vast resources of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, which, led by Gordon Allport, has long been a major contributor to the field of intergroup study. Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, of the Harvard faculty, is writer and host of these searching studies. The series was produced by the staff of WGBH-TV, Boston's outstanding educational television station.

In five half-hour sessions, Dr. Pettigrew examines the historical, sociological, psychological and political forces which shape intergroup relations in the United States. Patterns of prejudice and discrimination against minority groups are closely analyzed.



Dr. Thomas Pettigrew

The history of the Negro American and his changing position within the American social structure come into sharp focus as Dr. Pettigrew traces the development of race relations from the 19th Century until today. The role of the federal government is described, and procedures for improving understanding and acceptance among religious, racial and ethnic groups are discussed in the light of recent research studies.

A Southerner, Dr. Pettigrew is ideal as writer and host of the series, because he knows the racial situation at first hand. As a member of the Harvard Department of Social Psychology, Dr. Pettigrew supplies a wealth of data never before applied to these concerns in this manner. Adapting his informal lectures to television techniques, he vividly illustrates his points with visual materials, dramatic vignettes, and guest interviews.

Tale of Two Ladies

Dr. Pettigrew emphasizes the long history of Negro protest against racial discrimination. The earliest legal tests of the "separate but equal" system of segregation are visually documented. Dramatic sketches illustrate specific attitudes which Dr. Pettigrew feels contribute to prejudice.

Face to Face

The problem of bringing groups together in mutual understanding and trust is here explored. Citing recent polls and research studies, Dr. Pettigrew demonstrates that prejudice and discrimination do not always go together nor are they always directed at the same objects. He then examines the value of various kinds of intergroup contact for bettering race relations. The role of legislative action is compared with other more direct measures such as sit-ins, freedom rides, and "social teas."

14th Generation Americans

In reviewing the whole history of Negroes in America, the Negro's role in government since the days of Southern Reconstruction as well as his many and various contributions to every aspect of American life are dramatically outlined.

The Newest New Negro

In this film, Dr. Pettigrew examines the new direct-action form which Negro protest is taking today. The significance of sit-ins and freedom rides and the major changes in the status of the Negro American in recent years are considered. Examples of Negro educational and economic improvement and future possibilities for advancement are discussed with guest Whitney Young, Executive Director of the National Urban League.

Conformity and the Crutch

According to leading social psychologists, the source of bigotry is often a neurotic need on the part of the bigot to disguise his own feelings of inadequacy. Here, in visual essay, Dr. Pettigrew describes some of the most common personality distortions.

EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW, a series of five half-hour films presented by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, was produced by WGBH-TV, Boston, under the auspices of the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, with the assistance of the Commonwealth School of Boston, the Claudia B. and Maurice L. Stone Foundation, and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

(Photo courtesy of State Commission For Human Rights)

These films are available exclusively through the Audio-Visual Library of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith at $85 each, or for rental at a nominal fee. Of particular value to college classes in psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology and intergroup relations, they are also suitable for community and civic organizations, religious and social action study groups, and employee-information programs.

The Anti-Defamation League's library of illustrated film lectures also includes: "Anti-Semitism in America," with Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton University; and "Challenge to America: The Role of Education in Intergroup Relations," featuring Dr. William Van Til of New York University. These two half-hour films, along with the EPITAPH FOR JIM CROW series, provide an excellent foundation for intergroup relations seminars and college courses, and workshops in human relations.

For information regarding rental or purchase of these films please contact

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.
or your local ADL regional office

POINT OF VIEW

ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

". . . Jews are too clannish — but they are always t mix in. Jews are too materialistic — and also too spiri moral. Jews are too concerned with business — and at time too bookish and intellectual."

Those are a few of the mutually contradictory stereoty sisting in the prejudiced mind. In this film, Dr. Tumin insight into that mind, tracing the psychology of anti- as well as its history, its manifestations, and its reme first film of its kind to be produced by a human relation ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA is a study in depth of and discrimination, defining and illustrating the pr selective perception by which people tend to see what t to see and have been taught to see.

Running time: 25 minutes. 16 mm.

TO INAUGURATE THE SERIES
TWO FILMS ON TOPICS OF MAJOR IMPORTAN

CHALLENGE TO AMERICA
The Role of Education in Intergroup Re

"In America today we face a tremendous challenge to this nation good human relations among people of va gious, racial and nationality backgrounds."

This film illustrates ways and means of dealing with t lenge and traces some four decades of prejudice and dis tion in America. Professor Van Til eloquently outli promising approaches to building better human relati graphically illustrates the need to apply them. "Like it o sheer brutal fact of life is that our problems of human are problems of international concern, woven into ou as a world power."

Running time: 25 minutes. 16 mm.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA

". . . Jews are too clannish — but they are always trying to mix in. Jews are too materialistic — and also too spiritual and moral. Jews are too concerned with business — and at the same time too bookish and intellectual."

Those are a few of the mutually contradictory stereotypes persisting in the prejudiced mind. In this film, Dr. Tumin gives an insight into that mind, tracing the psychology of anti-Semitism as well as its history, its manifestations, and its remedies. The first film of its kind to be produced by a human relations agency, ANTI-SEMITISM IN AMERICA is a study in depth of prejudice and discrimination, defining and illustrating the process of selective perception by which people tend to see what they want to see and have been taught to see.

Running time: 25 minutes. 16 mm.

Dr. Melvin M. Tumin is professor of anthropology and sociology at Princeton University. He has served as research director, Mayor's Commission of Race Relations, Detroit, and Director of the Study of Social Stratification and Social Mobility at the University of Puerto Rico and is the author of *Caste in a Peasant Society, Mental Hygiene Fact Book,* and *Segregation and Desegregation.*

TOPICS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE

CHALLENGE TO AMERICA
The Role of Education in Intergroup Relations

"In America today we face a tremendous challenge to foster in this nation good human relations among people of varied religious, racial and nationality backgrounds."

This film illustrates ways and means of dealing with that challenge and traces some four decades of prejudice and discrimination in America. Professor Van Til eloquently outlines nine promising approaches to building better human relations, and graphically illustrates the need to apply them. "Like it or not, the sheer brutal fact of life is that our problems of human relations are problems of international concern, woven into our destiny as a world power."

Running time: 25 minutes. 16 mm.

William Van Til is Chairman of the Department of Secondary Education at New York University. He was formerly chairman of the Division of Curriculum and Teaching at George Peabody College for Teachers; Director of Learning Materials, Bureau of Intercultural Education; and an appointee to the Illinois Interracial Commisison.

A NEW APPROACH TO HUMAN RELATIONS

POINT OF VIEW . . .

A series of films on intergroup relations narrated by leading educators . . . of special interest for Commercial and university television stations, Teacher-training programs, Psychology and sociology students, In-service teacher education, Community groups

These two films are the first in the

POINT OF VIEW

series. Others are now in preparation and new titles will soon be announced. The films sell for $75.00 each, or rent for a nominal fee. For further information, write to the:

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

or your local regional office.

. . .

For nearly half a century, the Anti-Defamation League's educational programs have been directed toward combatting discrimination against minorities; to fighting the propaganda threat of all forms to totalitarianism; and to promoting intercultural education and cooperation among the great religious faiths of America. Its materials are used in colleges and schools throughout the country.

In cooperation with educational institutions, the ADL conducts hundreds of workshops and has been recognized by major national educational associations as a principal source of intercultural education materials and techniques.

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5 FORSYTH ST NW

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WILLIAM H LAWSON PLACEMENT SPECIALIST OFFICE OF PERSONNEL OPERATIONS US DEPT OF LABOR

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MAY 8 1963

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MR WILLIAM H LAWSON PLACEMENT SPECIALIST OF PROGRAM OPRNS

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RICHARD SHAPIRO IS AN EXCEPTIONALLY CAPABLE PERSON HIS WORK WITH ABL IN THE SOUTH REQUIRED A WIDE RANGE OF SKILLS, WAS PERFORMED WELL AND WITH A HIGHLY DEVELOPED SENSE OF PERSONAL JUDGEMENT AND STABILITY. HIS CONDUCT, CHARACTER AND LOYALTY TO THE UNITED STATES ARE BEYOND QUESTION.

LESLIE W DUNBAR SOU REGL COUNSEL

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Line - fyi
return to files
MM

WIRE TELEPHONED TO LWD BY U. S. TELETYPE SERVICE
MAY 7, 1963

Considering for employment as Youth Employment Program Adviser Mr. Richard Shapiro who indicates you as personal reference. Please reply by wire collect your evaluation of personal experience, ability, and fitness for youth position and any knowledge regarding conduct, character, and loyalty to the U. S.

Signed: William H. Lawson
Placement Specialist of
Program Operations
U. S. Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

WIRED COLLECT LWD REPLY:
May 7, 1963

Richard Shapiro is an exceptionally capable person. His work with ADL in the South required a wide range of skills, was performed well, and with a highly developed sense of personal judgment and stability. His conduct, character, and loyalty to the United States are beyond question.

Signed: Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

August 19, 1963

Mr. Munroe Schlactus
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Munroe:

Thank you for your letter of August 15 which we shall duly think about.

I enjoyed our lunch, especially the chance to get to know Ted Freedman whom I had long heard about from Paul Rilling, et al., but somehow had never met.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Theodore Freedman

October 8, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Senator Humphrey, of course, has our permission to reprint the Coles pamphlet, subject to Bob's own willingness. I see that you send him a copy of your letter to me of October 1, and I assume that he will be letting you know.

I am sorry as I can be about last week. You may have heard that I called your office, but too early. I then got sucked up -- and I mean that almost literally -- in the New York world, and I never got a chance again to see you. I promise you, however, that I shall soon put down on paper some suggestions about the "High Cost of Conflict."

Again, my sincere regrets.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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October 1, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Some time ago we were contacted by Senator Hubert Humphrey with regard to a book of readings on school integration. Among other things, I suggested the study by Dr. Coles, "The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study."

Senator Humphrey's publishers have now asked for permission to reprint this publication in the text. This is fine with us -- would you have any objections?

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Dr. Robert Coles

Rec'd 10/30/63

After Nov. 1, 1963

the address of

The National and New York Regional Offices of the

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

is

315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

New Telephone:

MUrray Hill 9-7400

PLEASE CORRECT YOUR RECORDS

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N.Y. Regional office, 20 West 40 St., N.Y.

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Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Eva - fyi

Oct. 30, 1963

NM, JS, BCC, MM & others
who should know

MMJ

Official notice has been received from Anti-Defamation League that AFTER NOVEMBER 1, 1963 their offices will be housed at the following new address:

315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York (10016)

New telephone: MUrray Hill 9-7400

Program Materials... Information... Projects

ADL Materials For the Church Community

The materials listed and described in this brochure have been selected to meet the special needs and requests of ministers, Christian educators, and leaders of children's, youth, and social action groups.

They cover the wide range of subject matter that falls within the scope of church activity—from an explanation of Jewish worship and practice to an understanding of intergroup dynamics. Through the Anti-Defamation League's department of inter-religious cooperation and its twenty-seven regional offices, competent speakers, consultants, rabbis or resource persons can be obtained to participate in conferences and retreats or to demonstrate these materials.

Understanding Your Jewish Neighbor

C523.
YOUR NEIGHBOR CELEBRATES. (Pamphlet) Clear and concise explanation of the major Jewish holidays, describing their historical origins, ceremonies and significance for the Jewish people. Particularly suitable for children 10-14, the pamphlet can also be read and enjoyed by parents and teachers. Illustrated, 40 pp. . . . . **15¢**

C524.
YOUR NEIGHBOR READS. Colorful, entertaining and stimulating selection of brief quotations, proverbs and stories from Jewish literature spanning twenty centuries. The divisions and sub-divisions of post-Biblical literature are explained, including examples of some of the rich folk literature of Yiddish. Especially useful for youth and adult study groups. Illustrated, 32 pp. . . . . **15¢**

C525.
YOUR NEIGHBOR WORSHIPS. Guided tour of the synagogue, explaining its history and describing its singular architectural features and major ceremonial objects. The synagogue is traced from beginnings in Biblical days through its development as a spiritual and cultural center of Jewish community life. Can be used by junior and senior high school age students and adults. Illustrated, 31 pp. . . . . **15¢**

G307.
KIT OF RELIGIOUS ARTICLES. Contains (some in miniature) 15 religious and ceremonial items used in Jewish worship—*tallith* (prayer shawl); *yarmulka* (skull cap); *menorah* (candelabra); *mezzuzah* (parchment prayer scroll attached to doorposts of Jewish homes); *havadlah* (Sabbath end) *candle;* spice box; matzos; and copies of *Christian Friends Haggadah, Union Prayer Book, Your Neighbor Celebrates, Your Neighbor Reads, Your Neighbor Worships,* and teacher instruction sheet. Available on loan from Anti-Defamation League regional offices. Purchase price: **$10.00**

G327.
YOUR NEIGHBOR CELEBRATES. (Book) *Arthur Gilbert* and *Oscar Tarcov.* Library and school edition. Written especially for those who have little knowledge of Jewish life. Material from *Your Neighbor Celebrates* and *Your Neighbor Worships* was revised, elaborated and strikingly illustrated by large photographs. In simple, easy-to-read type, the book describes the history of the synagogue, Jewish beliefs, ceremonies and holidays. 128 pp. **$2.50**

YOUR NEIGHBOR CELEBRATES. (Film) Effectively demonstrates the ceremonial observance of five major Jewish holidays. Includes scenes of actual holiday services in various synagogues, accompanied by choir and cantor. Suitable for all age groups. 16mm black and white, or color, 27 minutes. . . . Write the nearest ADL regional office. Nominal rental fee.

G321.
ISRAEL, LAND OF THE BIBLE. *Rabbi Arthur Gilbert,* editor. A primer on modern-day Israel. Describes peoples of Israel; religious freedom; Christian religious groups; recent archaeological findings; relations of Arabs and Jews; Jerusalem and the Holy Places; Arab refugee problems; religious cultural life; and brief history of land, past and present. Includes suggestions for further study. 40 pp. **25¢**

G305.
POSITION OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA TODAY. *William Attwood.* First-hand report on the status of Jews and Judaism in U. S. Answers such questions as, where American Jews live and what they do, whether there is a Jewish vote, the degree of anti-Semitism in the U. S., the reaction of Jews to Gentile prejudice, etc. Article reprinted from *Look* magazine, of which author is national affairs editor. 8 pp. . . . . **10¢**

G328.
BLESSED IS THE LAND. *Louis Zara.* Award winning novel of exciting days in New Amsterdam of stomping Petrus Stuyvesant, when an adventurous band of 23 pioneer Jewish men, women and children first settled in the New World. "A kind of realism not usually found in historical fiction." *The New York Times.* 394 pp. . . . Regular Price **$3.95**
Special Price **$2.00**

On Prejudice and Discrimination

F106.
ABC's OF SCAPEGOATING. *Gordon Allport.* A popular study of the psychological mechanism behind scapegoating. Analyzes scapegoating motives and sources of race prejudice. Author is professor of psychology at Harvard University. 40 pp. **25¢**

G316.
HOW OLD IS A BIGOT? *Howard Whitman.* Material from the Philadelphia Early Childhood Project is used to illustrate the ways children acquire prejudice. For church educators and leaders of youth groups. 4 pp. . . . . **5¢**

G300.
CIVIL RIGHTS AND MINORITIES. *Paul Hartman.* An up-to-date survey of the status of civil rights in the forty-eight states as revealed through an analysis of state laws. For social action and citizenship committees. 8 pp. . . . . **10¢**

G302.
FEPC AND THE COST OF DISCRIMINATION. A graphic presentation of the results of the Elmo Roper poll, indicating clearly that discrimination in employment is costly to the entire American economy. For social action and citizenship groups, youth and adult. 14 pp. . . . . **10¢**

G331.
LET'S GET DOWN TO CASES. *Jean Alexander.* Written by the former secretary for intergroup work of the United Christian Youth Movement, this pamphlet presents a series of role-playing situations in the field of inter-religious and intergroup understanding. For youth, young adults and social action groups. . . . . **15¢**

Understanding Intergroup Techniques

G313.
TO CLARIFY OUR PROBLEMS: A GUIDE TO ROLE-PLAYING. *Oscar Tarcov.* Step-by-step guide to help group and committee leaders use techniques of role-playing as a discussion method. Can be used with following pamphlet. Of great value to all active in planning programs. 6 pp. . . . **10¢**

G314.
YOUTH'S ATTITUDES IN ACTION. Designed to show the why, what and how of role-playing as technique in working with youth groups, in and out of school. Supplements preceding item. Prepared by Youth Advisory Board of Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights. 8 pp. . . . **10¢**

G315.
HOW TO USE DISCUSSION 66. Highly effective discussion method, frequently called "buzz session," is described in detail, with step-by-step directions for use. An important technique for all persons seeking ways to improve communication of ideas. 4 pp. . . . . **5¢**

F109.
GROUP DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL ACTION. *Benne, Bradford* and *Lippitt.* Useful description of the ways a church or community organization can function effectively through the creative application of group dynamics techniques. Authors are leading authorities in the field of "group dynamics." 61 pp. . . . . **25¢**

Booklets and Pamphlets for Children's and Youth Groups

C500.
LITTLE STORIES ON BIG SUBJECTS. *Gladys Baker Bond.* Illustrated by *Maurice Sendak.* Box of seven individually-bound short stories, superbly illustrated and suitable for reading to and by children. Exciting, lively stories provide youngsters with vicarious experiences in solving the problems of human relations. For children from 10-14 years. . . . . 75¢ per box

C501.
THE RABBIT BROTHERS. *Robert Kraus.* A humorous cartoon pamphlet about twin rabbits, Joe and George. Joe dislikes all rabbits different from himself, and succeeds in making himself miserable. George tries to find some good in all rabbits and is much happier. Includes discussion guide for parents and church leaders. For elementary school ages and up. 34 pp. . . . . 10¢

C502.
VEGETABLES AND PEOPLE. Illustrated story of a boy who doesn't like green vegetables but doesn't know why. Includes a self-test for evaluation of one's own attitudes towards other people. Originally published by Department of Social Education in Action of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. For sixth grade level up. 16 pp. . . . . 5¢

G320.
OTHER HEARTS IN OTHER LANDS: The Experiences of American Farm Youth in Israel. Recounts experiences of 17 young men and women who visited, worked on farms, and observed life in Israel, through the International Youth Exchange of the National 4H Club Foundation. For youth and young adult groups. Illustrated with photographs. 24 pp. . . . . 50¢

C503.
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SING A SONG OF FRIENDSHIP. *Irving Caesar.* Catchy tunes and delightful lyrics on intergroup relations themes by one of America's outstanding composers. The song book includes words and piano music. 65 pp. $1.95

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MARY SMITH MEETS MR. PEOPLE. In this twenty-minute play, Mary Smith, a vain, wilful schoolgirl learns the important lesson of the Golden Rule from a mythical "Mr. People." For junior high school level and up. 11 pp. . . . . 15¢

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THE ODD MAN. Offers valuable lessons in citizenship based upon the experiences of boys on the football field. For junior high school level and up. 12 pp. . . . . 15¢

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THE DEVIL AND THE DREAM. *Joseph Julian.* Music by *Anita Leonard.* Fast-moving play-within-a-play. Activity centers around group of high school students rehearsing a musical version of the George Washington and cherry tree story. In primary play, an allegorical soldier with a dream of peace battles the Devil to prove that brotherly love is stronger than "brotherly hate." For upper junior high school age and above. 16 pp. . . . 15¢

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P700.
THE BIBLE ON BROTHERHOOD POSTER SERIES. Ten handsome posters, each based on a pertinent brotherhood text from the Old and New Testaments:—ACTS 17:26, I JOHN 4:20, EXODUS 23:2, LEVITICUS 19:18, MICAH 4:4, MICAH 6:8, PROVERBS 6:16-19, PROVERBS 3:29, PSALMS 133:1, PSALMS 145:9. Posters are in black and white, measure 17" x 22". Free illustrated folder available. . . . . 5¢ each, set 50¢

S100.
RUMOR CLINIC. A filmstrip and discussion program which graphically illustrates how rumors develop. The audience witnesses the growth of distortions as a story is transmitted from one person to another. 35mm, 3 frames. Instruction and discussion guide included. . Purchase price $1.00

CHRISTIAN FRIENDS BULLETIN. Bi-monthly ADL publication for ministers, church educators and leaders of youth groups. Includes: new program aids for intergroup understanding; articles on Jewish history and folklore; Midrashic selections; stories of interfaith cooperation. Subscription free on request for ministers and directors of religious education. Write the Dept. of Inter-religious Cooperation, ADL, 515 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

Films

The following films and filmstrips, available from Anti-Defamation League regional offices throughout the United States, are also recommended for use in church programming. Obtainable at a nominal rental fee, most of them are accompanied by discussion guides for group leaders. Panel or group discussions should accompany films for maximum effectiveness. The Anti-Defamation League regional office nearest you will supply catalogs of additional films on request.

CAN WE IMMUNIZE AGAINST PREJUDICE? Three sets of parents set out to prevent prejudice in their children.

THE HIGH WALL. Illustrates how Tom Gregory grew up in the shadow of a high wall of bigotry.

HERITAGE. Cartoon on human rights, points out that all men have certain God-given rights as the hub around which society and government grow.

THE TOYMAKER. Two little hand puppets are warm friends until they discover they are decorated differently. For children age 3 to 8.

WANTED—A PLACE TO LIVE. An experimental film, designed to evoke discussion.

Filmstrips

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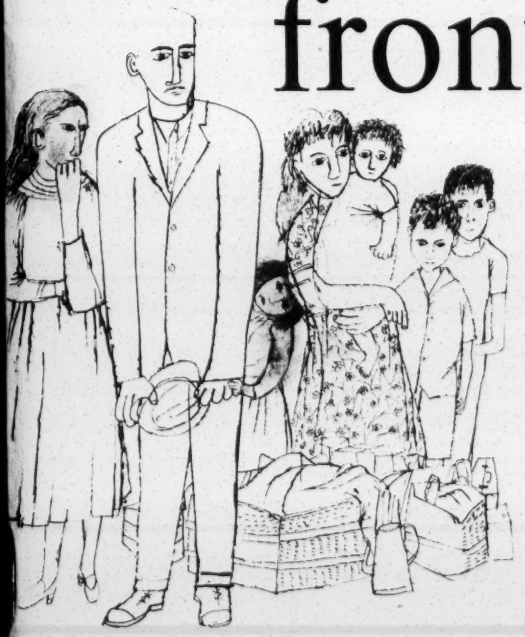
The international repercussions of acts of bigotry and violence in America can be a determining factor in the battle between Democracy and Communism for the minds of men all over the world. The nature of this danger, and how the mass media can help reduce it, were discussed recently by Frank Stanton, President of Columbia Broadcasting System. Dr. Stanton spoke with such insight and candor that I commend to you the full text of his remarks.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League

The neglected frontier

FRANK STANTON



The neglected frontier

A talk by Frank Stanton, President
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.,
at the Anti-Defamation League
Freedom Forum,
New York, December 6, 1958

Foreword

In the broadcasting industry's quick strides toward maturity, the Columbia Broadcasting System has been a pioneer and leader. It has played a key role in the development of network broadcasting as we know it today. By the nature of the medium, television probably has more profound psychic impact on the individual and his emotions than any other medium of communication. CBS has used its great talents and facilities with discretion, taste, and a deep concern for the rights of all men.

CBS News reporters, foreign correspondents, and analysts have consistently maintained the highest standards of journalism. Who can forget such moving programs as "The Lady from Philadelphia," featuring Marian Anderson on her tour of Asia? Or such efforts as "The Great Challenge" on problems of education and democratic government? Who can forget the drama of the "Look Up and Live" series; the searching, revealing qualities of "Face The Nation"?

Again and again, there have been the fine dramatic series—"Studio One," "Playhouse 90," yes, and "Have Gun—Will Travel" and others—which have dealt directly with problems of prejudice and discrimination. Some of these have had a dramatic intensity, a clarity and impact that must have made thousands of

persons realize, as never before, the responsibility of each man to his neighbor, to know and understand him.

In recognition of CBS's skillful and intelligent treatment of such pressing issues of our time, on December 7, 1958, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith awarded the Columbia Broadcasting System its 1958 America's Democratic Legacy Medal "For Distinguished Contributions To The Enrichment Of America's Democratic Legacy."

At the Anti-Defamation League Freedom Forum, December 6, Dr. Frank Stanton, President of the Columbia Broadcasting System, inquired into the destructive effect of bigotry and violence in America on our influence overseas and the degree to which mass media, particularly network radio and television, can help to cure these evils. His comments are so incisive and the issue so critical that the entire text of his remarks is presented in the following pages.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League

We are here tonight to consider what is perhaps the most important and the most difficult subject that faces us today: the vast problem of improving human relations, of enabling a better understanding among hundreds of millions of people of widely divergent heritage, religious beliefs and customs—each of them with his own set of prejudices.

My own assignment is to consider the extent to which mass media can help in meeting this problem.

I should like first to comment on the dimensions and significance of the need for improving human relations—if only because we may tend to look upon it as a localized problem. And then I want to explore with you the role that mass media might be expected to play in helping to resolve the problem.

Man's relations with his fellows cannot today be considered a sectional problem—or even a national one. It involves mankind all over the world, and in our time looms as the great frontier in the forward advance of the human race. And timidity in entering this frontier can result in retrogression.

We know, for example, that there is anti-Semitism in Soviet Russia today. Every Jew in Russia must have his passport—a necessary internal identification in the Soviet—stamped YEVREI, Jew. We know that the great subcontinent of India, with all its massive material problems, is still saddled with the

hatred of Hindu for Moslem and Moslem for Hindu. We know that North Africa has been torn between French and Algerian, South Africa between white and black, Cyprus between Turk and Greek, Ceylon between Singhalese and Tamil, the Middle East between Jew and Arab.

Human relations neglected

The fact that many of these continuing feuds are as old as the ages only emphasizes our tragic lack of progress in human relations. The great improvements in material civilization have penetrated to the remotest wildernesses and deserts of the world. The complex machinery of modern war is becoming the property of virtually every nation on the face of the earth. But there has been disgracefully little improvement in the emotional and unreasoned rifts between men. Indeed, it can be argued that they have become wider and deeper.

Meanwhile, we have devised both governmental and private corporate structures to develop even further the material resources of the world. We have established elaborate international mechanisms to control warfare among the nations and—hopefully—ultimately to eliminate it. But we have left human relations to the slow drifts of history, and we find ourselves now caught in a backwash.

This is a world problem. But we in the United States need to face one question—perhaps a determining question—with all the candor and forthrightness that we can discipline ourselves into commanding.

That question is this: How much are we in this country—by our own behavior—contributing to this epidemic of suspicion,

hatred and intolerance that afflicts the world? Must we not admit that here in America we are fanning a fire capable, in the end, of consuming all men everywhere? The long, slow progress we have made in trying to elevate the living conditions of people in the less developed countries is today in jeopardy. The painfully difficult efforts we have made to point to democracy as the road to the liberation of human beings from all forms of oppressions have come under suspicion.

Clearly, we seem to have worked ourselves into a corner where, very clearly, we must put up or shut up.

Where do we stand?

I am not suggesting here that we can control the conduct of the world's people solely by the force of example. But it does seem to me quite apparent that there is honest confusion about what we as a nation—and therefore the democratic experiment—really stand for, what we really mean by such phrases as "equality," "freedom," "opportunity."

At the same time, we have had—and still have—a far better chance to make realities of these phrases than any other people—and the world knows it. We are the only wholly heterogeneous nation in the world. We have lived in a self-starting democracy for nearly two centuries. We have been blessed with material resources that made it unnecessary for us to prey on or envy or fear our neighbors. And, from our first beginnings, we have been blessed also with the vision of liberty. If we in this country cannot make more significant progress on this troubled front of enlightened and constructive human relations, can we reasonably expect the rest of the world to show us the way?

The cause of world unrest

What is really behind the restlessness that besets the world today? Essentially, men everywhere are in quest of freer, fuller lives—not in terms only of material comforts, but more importantly in terms of the right to be unencumbered by old prejudices built upon the wreckage of the concept of the "white man's burden." This is the great, irrepressible compulsion behind the uprisings against colonialism, the surges of new nationalism, the bitter second looks at old relationships that are going on all over the world today.

Now one of the questions we face is this: Are we, the American people, on the side of this historic drive—or are we against it? Our philosophy, our traditions and our public utterances proclaim equality of opportunity for all men. The whole trend of our national legal history has been towards the breaking down of barriers. We became, long since, ideologically the "last best hope" of a world whose peoples—in Wilson's words—"saw this star in the west rising" for two turbulent centuries. This, more than anything else, gave America its leadership. This is the face of America that—from colonial times through the Revolution and the establishment of the Republic and the slow progress of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—has been a focus of hope and aspiration for other peoples.

But there is a second, and contradictory, face we present to the world today. It is a mosaic of prejudice, hatred and intolerance—even at times of violence and anarchy. It does not do much good to point out that these episodes of bombings and school closings and harassments are isolated and apart from the

main convictions and behavior of America. In themselves they shriek denial in other lands of everything we say we stand for, and add up to an ugly picture of intolerance and hatred.

How can we hope to enlist the peoples of the world on the side of democracy if such evils are paraded before them? It took ages of patience and endurance for the millions of India to free themselves from white rule. Are these people apt to fall in league now with a society that perpetuates second class citizenship because of color?

For centuries the peoples of Asia have lived under one form of imperialism or another. They have survived efforts of the West to rescue and to "civilize" them. Are they apt to be attracted to a society that reduces even the American Indian to a third-rate existence—that denies him the right to vote and buy beer while compelling him to bear arms to preserve a "way of life" denied to him?

For generations the destiny of the Middle East has been conditioned by Western material interests. Only now its peoples are beginning to achieve self-determinism. Are they apt to see our society as being on their side, on the side of progress and the whole human community?

Or are all these people to see us for our conspicuous pockets of intolerance and bigotry? It seems to me to follow logically that if we fail to recognize the international dimensions of this problem, we may face isolation from the understanding and confidence of whole nations of people whose confidence and understanding we want, and need, to have.

Reports from our CBS News correspondents overseas are unmistakable on this:

Effects on Europe

From David Schoenbrun in France we learn that Little Rock gave opponents of the Gaillard government the weapon that they needed to bring about its overthrow, by belaboring Premier Gaillard for accepting the good offices of a United States mission in resolving the North African conflict.

From Winston Burdett in Italy, where the Communist Party is the largest of any nation outside the Sino-Soviet bloc, comes this report: "Despite Mussolini's anti-Semitic decrees, problems of racial conflict and discrimination have never existed in Italian national experience and public opinion here has been shocked and bewildered by the segregation fight in the United States. Arkansas and other events are front-page news in both the anti-Communist and the pro-Communist press. The Communist theme is that a new wave of reaction is sweeping the United States and racism is triumphant throughout the country."

Ernest Leiser in Germany, where a greater guilt still lies painfully upon the national conscience, reports that front-page attention also is given to incidents of racial unrest in the United States. A German official sums up the feeling there in these words: "Your public men in America give constant expression to high moral values; but the people of America do not live up to these values in their actions."

The impact of Little Rock on Britain, Alexander Kendrick cables, was a real and unmistakable one. It expressed itself primarily in racial rioting in Nottingham and Notting Hill, London, in August and September 1958, when some of the white rioters swung into action with knives, clubs and tire

chains, shouting "Let's have a Little Rock!" This was indeed a doubly sorry day for the English-speaking people.

From Peter Kalischer in the Far East we have reports revealing ever-increasing resentment for American "intolerance and prejudice." Among the causes of the growing hostility in those teeming nations, of course, is the massive Communist propaganda crusade against alleged attitudes of white Americans toward Asian peoples. And the Red campaign, which is very skillful and both hard and soft, is difficult to parry, particularly when buttressed by their versions of recurring incidents of discrimination in the United States.

Frank Kearns, our Middle East correspondent, cables from Khartoum, Sudan: "Integration problem provides priceless and unlimited ammunition for big Moscow, Peking and Cairo propaganda guns, which blast away consistently at the West generally and at United States targets in particular.

"Moscow Radio usually contents itself with playing integration news straight. But it's always negative and included in a fast staccato series of news items designed to build up a picture of the United States as the warmonger nation plagued by everything from race violence and recession to teen-age delinquency, crime and degeneracy.

"It's noteworthy that in the Middle East today the Chinese Reds are the ones who most consistently play up 'white peril' as evidenced by integration troubles in the United States.

"Cairo's controlled press never misses a chance to headline integration problems and sometimes intensifies the attack with editorials. Strangely, Moscow, Peking and Cairo rarely touch on the most extreme violent race troubles in the world today:

South Africa. The net result of all of this leaves many Arabs and Africans with a deep, vague impression that the United States is the citadel of the 'imperialist' white man and, if not the enemy, certainly is not the friend of non-white peoples in the underdeveloped nations which form a majority of the population of the world."

We come then to what we can do about conditions here at home that give rise to these attitudes around the world. If we are to consider the role of mass media toward any such goal, we must keep constantly in mind what mass media are and what they are not, what they can be expected to do and what they cannot be expected to do.

The role of mass media

Mass media are basically instruments of communication. In a democracy the powers of mass media in the fields of social ideas and political attitudes are not persuasive, but stimulative. They nourish the opinion-forming process. They do not dictate public opinion; and if they were to try to do so they would soon cease to be mass media.

Within the practical limits of journalistic choice, mass media can, to some extent, help condition the atmosphere in which events take place, leadership arises or trends begin. But no mass medium can, of itself, control events or establish leaders or induce trends.

Mass media can, however, do something about the twin negations of democracy: indifference and ignorance. Violence is done to the objectives of a democratic society only when its people do not care or do not know what is going on. Mass media

can reduce indifference by calling attention to consequences. They can reduce ignorance by a conscientious job of ascertaining and reporting the facts. Once this is done, if you believe in a democracy at all, you must have confidence in the will and the power of the people to stamp out evil.

I am sure that no section of our mass media would claim a direct causal relationship here. We would agree that no mass medium has of itself been able to convert people to a cause, although it can provide the rationale for actions that people themselves are prone to take. A citizenry so flaccid and passive as to be subject to molding by mass media is a concept repugnant to the American people and to the whole idea of American democracy. On the other hand, every American expects the mass media that serve modern society to be constantly and responsibly alert in giving the people the information they need to arrive at the verdicts from which actions spring. To have validity, such verdicts must represent the felt conclusions of the people—not merely the parroting of slogans repeated often enough by some mythical omnipotent mass medium.

The verdict of the people

I think it fair to say that mass media in general constitute a great link between the judgment of the people and action by their leaders—both government leaders and leaders of private institutions. It is probably true that there can never be workable government action on a moral front unless there is first a popular moral judgment. Lincoln knew this when he made clear that in 1861 the preservation of the Union was the issue of the Civil War. It seemed clear to him that there was a popular verdict

that somehow the Union ought to be kept together. Similarly, we know that, in the absence of any widespread moral conviction regarding liquor, all the exhortation in the world could not give social validity to the Eighteenth Amendment, and it failed.

This is the real danger, then—that we may fail to cope adequately with this present problem by default, by not enabling enough people to become sufficiently knowledgeable, sufficiently concerned, sufficiently determined to act. As they consider this possible danger, mass media know that they cannot directly induce action; but that they can contribute importantly to a climate in which wise action is more likely to occur.

I have commented at this length on the nature and capabilities of mass media because I want to puncture any legend that any massive campaign of slogans or exhortation from the mass media can eliminate bigotry or social violence in this country, or anywhere else. But mass media can, and should, perform to the limit their duty to inform the people, to bring about wider and fuller recognition of the problem, and to stimulate public discussion of its nature and possible cures.

This, in general terms, is a job for all mass media. There are aspects of it that only the newspapers can do; others that only magazines can do. My own field, broadcasting, can bring immediacy to it—perhaps the closest thing to the actual experience or participation that ultimately changes men's minds or stirs them to new thoughts, decisions and actions.

I am not satisfied that the mass media have done all they should in this regard. I am sure that we at CBS have not. It is true that all the mass media have done a fairly effective and thorough job of reporting the events that have resulted from

racial and religious intolerance. A year ago, for the first time in a decade, according to the American Institute of Public Opinion, world peace and foreign policy were replaced by discrimination as the top problem of the nation in the minds of the people. It was considered, by the astonishing ratio of five to one, as more critical than the then new Sputnik, and by two to one as more important than the state of the domestic economy. It seems to me unlikely that this would have been the case unless the public were pretty well informed.

But if we have learned anything in modern journalism, it is that we have to stay on top of the news in more than one sense. It just isn't good enough to rush out the stories when things happen. We must *go after* the story, and go after sufficient background to illuminate the story and give it meaningful substance.

The true substance of history

Before World War II and during the rise of the dictators, we in broadcasting learned how to go after and cover political relations in the world in ways peculiarly fitted to electronic journalism. During the war we learned how to cover military events all over the globe. Since then we have gone ahead with increasing thoroughness and effectiveness, on the whole, in diplomatic relations, economic developments, scientific and technical news. But I am not at all convinced that we have done our best at reporting human relations—which is, in the end, the true substance of history.

We—all of us in the mass media—haven't probed deeply enough into causes of tension, into the exploiters of tension, in ways adequately to reveal the scope of the problem. We have not

reported enough on the hatemongers, revealing them for what they are and helping the public to recognize the consequences of their actions both here and overseas. In shortcomings here we may have contributed toward the mistaken notion that the only problems we have are those spotlighted in the South.

We need to reveal and consider quieter patterns of segregation in the North, the dull blight it puts upon thousands of lives. We need to go into the epidemic of bombings that range from Boston to Tennessee, to bring to bear upon this disturbed behavior the full light of modern science so that the public can understand what is happening and get it into perspective. We need to report the negative side of the story—sometimes a daring venture. We need also to report more fully the positive side of the story, the places and cases where men of good will have solved these problems and moved forward—and we need to get some of this before the world.

But to point out the needs is one thing and to turn talk into action quite another. Since I have painted here tonight an ominous and dismal picture, you are entitled to know what CBS with its ability to reach vast audiences plans to do.

The great need: exposure of the facts

We have concluded that rational, non-moralistic exposure of the facts in the race relations situation provides a basis for people to see a little more clearly what they are doing *to themselves,* and thus point the way toward improvement. We do not expect to convert the hatemongers. We do think it reasonable to expect that we may help stimulate enlightened public opinion in the job of trying to deal rationally with a serious problem of national

This is important

and international ramifications.

To this end, CBS News will undertake a searching examination and a continuing assessment of human relations and their implications in the struggle for men's minds.

CBS News special reports

We hope to deal in specifics and not in preachments. We will not sermonize; we will report. For example, we are already researching such special reports for the CBS Radio and Television Networks as:

The South in Crisis: This is the working title of an objective, penetrating survey of the South in order to lay out the breadth and depth of the race relations conflict as focused on school integration: who is involved, what positions are held, the segregationists, the integrationists, the "unspoken middle," and the possible future direction the crisis can take.

Next is what we are tentatively calling *North of the Mason-Dixon Line:* The smug satisfaction of the Northerner and condemnation by him of the Southerner are unjustified. In his own backyard is a pattern of segregation just as real as that in the South. This, then, will be a report on northern human relations, practices and protestations.

Then there is *The Hatemongers:* This will be an examination of the extremists who exploit racial or religious differences to indulge their private hatreds. This is a study in depth of the disturbed personalities who live off human discord; this is the rabid minority responsible for the bombings and other extremist acts, who are not accepted by the vast majority of citizens, but who may set off the sparks to burn down the whole house.

Another will be *The Price of Discord:* This is to be a report on the two aspects of this subject: First, the domestic price we pay for bad race relations in terms of lowered purchasing power, crime, human misery, the economic, political, and social costs of segregation. Second, the international price we pay for segregation—the battle for the uncommitted, non-white countries of the world, and the strides Russia is making by playing big the American dilemma.

Finally in this group of five projects is *Case History of Progress:* This is an optimistic story of how some progress is being achieved slowly in human relations—a study of the gradual, painful steps that have been taken in a series of representative cases where conditions have been improved—for example, the work of Fisk University's Race Relations Institute. The situation is not entirely negative, and we hope to give a blow-by-blow account of achievement, a how-to program that documents the pre-conditions for change.

Democracy and progress

In the end, despite all the initial advantages of dictatorship, democracies are the most powerful social entities on earth. But, like great turbines, they are slow to start. The mass media cannot run them. The power they generate must come from the people. But the mass media can provide the fuel—even, at times, the spark of ignition. This is the responsibility and opportunity we in mass media constantly face.

But, in closing, I must emphasize again that the mass media in themselves cannot do what must be done, and it is folly for American leadership to assume that they can. In its Fortieth

Anniversary Statement on realities facing the United States, the Foreign Policy Association best summarized the crux of the matter in these words:

"Americans often ask themselves: Why it is that, with all our communication facilities—newspapers, radio, TV, movies—we seem unable to convey to other people a true image of the great qualities and achievements of the United States? But the most skillful advertising cannot create the product it promotes; the product must already be in existence before it goes into the hands of advertisers. If we are to convey the image of greatness, we must determine to act greatly—not only on occasions of crisis, such as Pearl Harbor or Korea, but day in, day out; not only in Washington, but from Maine to California, from Texas to New York."

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September 25, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is observing its 40th anniversary this year. In connection with this commemoration, the Anti-Defamation League has dedicated itself toward focusing public attention upon the problems and progress in the field of human relations during the past four decades.

Formal observance of the 40th anniversary of the ADL will be held at the time of the annual Commission meeting of the League and special functions, which we expect will have national significance, will be held on Saturday evening, November 21, and Sunday afternoon and evening, November 22. At that time we plan to hold three public forums at which outstanding personalities in American life will discuss the important problems affecting human rights in America.

We plan that each session shall consist of addresses by several notable leaders in the field of human relations endeavors, to be followed by discussion involving a panel of authorities in this field.

It is our hope that we can, by drawing attention to the problems of human relations, bring a vast body of knowledge and understanding before the people of America. We hope, also, to evaluate the progress of the past 40 years and to show the direction of future trends.

The session to be held on Sunday afternoon, November 22, will deal with the subject "Toward Equality For All". We have had acceptances from the Honorable William Hastie who will speak on the problem of segregation and Dr. Lewis Webster Jones who will speak on the problem of schools and education. Invitations have been extended to one more speaker to speak on a related subject. At the conclusion of the addresses, a distinguished panel will explore the problem.

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We hope to be able to publish the addresses as well as some of the comments of the panelists in a volume which we think will be of assistance in promoting the objectives of fuller democratic freedoms in America. The staffs of the ADL will be available to undertake any research or secure any information desired by our speakers. Of course we would provide transportation of your choice and pay all expenses. We would be honored if you would be a member of this panel.

On Monday evening, November 23, our Commission meeting will close with a dinner at which there will be a national television presentation of an hour's duration. The television show will dramatically present the progress in the field of human relations in America during the past 40 years. The highlight of the television show will be a presentation of the annual America's Democratic Legacy Award of the Anti-Defamation League to President Eisenhower and President Eisenhower's remarks. The President has graciously accepted the Award and will be present at the dinner. We would hope that you would remain over in Washington and be our guest at this dinner.

Finally, we would be grateful for your acceptance of this invitation and I do hope that we will have the privilege of having you with us on November 22-23.

Yours very truly,

Henry E. Schultz

Henry Edward Schultz

HES D

September 29, 1953

Mr. Henry Schultz
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Schultz:

Very kind of you to ask me to be one of the panelists for the meeting Sunday afternoon, November 22 and to stay over for the dinner Monday November 23.

I am delighted, of course, to accept and look forward to the opportunity to be with so many friends.

If you will be good enough to have the hotel to save me a room for the night of November 22 and 23, I will be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

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October 8, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Henry Schultz, our National Chairman, has referred your letter of September 29th to me. He has asked that we make hotel reservations for you for Sunday and Monday nights, November 22nd and 23rd. We are reserving a single room for that time in your name at the Mayflower Hotel. We are asking the hotel to send a confirmation of the reservation directly to you. If these accommodations are not satisfactory, will you please inform us so that we can make whatever correction is required.

We are delighted that you will participate in our Freedom Forum and we are looking forward to seeing you in Washington at that time.

Sincerely,

J. Harold Saks

J. Harold Saks

JHS:mfh

167

October 16, 1953

Mr Alex Miller
A D L
11 Pryor Street, S W
A t l a n t a

Dear Alex:

I looked through the draft of the report of the Commission on Other Civil Rights for NAIRO. This is one you and I put some pages into.

You know, it would be a good thing if that paper could be looked at by Southern police chiefs and sheriffs.

If you agree, will you think over possible ways to get distribution of it?

It is always the best tactic to pat people on the back for what good they do - it is not always you can use such tactics but nice when you can; and what you and I had to say was that the police are doing better. Anyway, the whole thing would educate them quite a lot.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t

November 10, 1953

Mr Oscar Cohen, Director
Community Service Division
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue,
New York 10, N Y

Dear Oscar:

Many thanks for your letter of October 30. I look forward to the two days as a great occasion.

They have already set aside a room for me at the Mayflower and I will be getting in by car Sunday morning in ample time to be present for the noon luncheon November 22 and for previewing the afternoon's meeting. And I am most assuredly staying over for the banquet on Monday evening, November 23.

It would of course help me if I could get to look over several of the major papers a few days before the meeting. But I know how slow these speech writers are and I will try to make up with nimbleness for whatever advance assimilation may not be possible.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

1913-1953

Fortieth Anniversary

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

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NOV 1
Southern Regional Council

October 30, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The Chairman of the Anti-Defamation League Commission, Henry Edward Schultz, has asked me to communicate with you in connection with your participation in our Freedom Forum taking place in Washington, D.C. on Sunday, November 22nd, at 2:00 p.m., at the Mayflower Hotel. I have been appointed Recorder for this session and I am offering my services to you in any manner which may be of assistance.

The discussion theme for this session of the Freedom Forum will be "Race Relations in the United States." The Chairman of this Forum is Joseph Cohen, of Kansas City, Kansas, who is Chairman of the National Community Service Committee of the ADL. Following the addresses there will be discussion by those delivering addresses and the panel, of which you are a member. It is our hope that the addresses and panel discussion may be published at a later date. For this purpose we will have either a tape recording or stenotype account of the proceedings. We are also considering the possibility of utilizing the tape recording for radio broadcast purposes.

We plan upon approximately 15 minutes for each of the addresses and in the neighborhood of an hour and a half for discussion. Attached herewith is a list of the participants for this session and the subjects of addresses. We would be happy to place at your disposal our research facilities and, upon request, we will endeavor to supply you promptly with any data which you may require.

We are planning a luncheon meeting for session participants at the Mayflower Hotel at 12:00 noon on Sunday, November 22nd, at which time the procedure for the afternoon session can be discussed.

I would appreciate your advising if I can be of any help in making transportation arrangements for you to Washington. I also would be grateful for information as to when you will arrive so that we can make hotel reservations for you. Will you be staying for the banquet on Monday evening, November 23rd?

With warmest greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen
Director, Community Service Division

OC AW
Att

November
Seventeen
1953

Mr Oscar Cohen
A D L
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

Many thanks for your letter of November 12. I will arrive at the Mayflower in the early forenoon of Sunday, November 22, and I am looking forward to the meeting I am to take part in Sunday afternoon and to the banquet on Monday evening.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

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NOV 14
Southern Regional Council

November 12, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This is to advise that we have made reservations for you at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. beginning Sunday, November 22nd. We are happy that you will remain for the Monday evening banquet (black tie).

The participants in the Sunday afternoon Freedom Forum session will meet for lunch at 12:00 noon in the North Room of the Mayflower Hotel, Sunday, November 22nd.

I will be registered at the Mayflower and if I can be of any assistance to you I would appreciate your calling upon me. I am looking forward to seeing you in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC AW

1913 *Fortieth Anniversary* 1953

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November seventeen, 1953

Mr Henry Edward Schultz
National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr Schultz:

The Southern Regional Council sends its admiring greetings to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith on the occasion of its FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY.

For seven of those forty years, our Council has been honored with a closely collaborative arrangement with your Southern offices. We could go to your local people and get advice on problems to be solved, comfort in times of failure, and comradely rejoicing over small successes; and I assure you we have used the privilege to the full!

The two organizations pursue a common goal of full democracy for all of the people of the South. Your members and officers all over the South, in pursuit of this end, have been generous of interest and wisdom in a way that has been a joy to know.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

November 10, 1953

To: G S M

From: Harold Fleming

In your absence I was told by our friends at ADL that a letter from you extending congratulations to ADL on its Fortieth Anniversary would be most welcome. The letter should be addressed to Mr Henry Edward Schultz, National Chairman, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE FREEDOM FORUM

Sunday, November 22nd, 2:00 p.m.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

Chairman, Joseph Cohen, Kansas City, Kansas
ADL National Community Service Committee
Chairman

The Problem of Segregation

Judge William H. Hastie
U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals

The Problem of Schools and Education

Dr. Lewis Webster Jones
President, Rutgers University

Civil Rights Legislation

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Senator from Minnesota

Discrimination in Employment

Victor Reuther
Assistant to the President, CIO

Panel Participants

George S. Mitchell, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President,
Fisk University
Julius A. Thomas, Director of Industrial
Relations, National Urban League

Recorder: Oscar Cohen, Director, ADL Community
Service Division

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
GEORGE S. MITCHELL

Stony?

bll

December 2, 1953

To: K S

From: G S M

If Oscar Cohen has done nothing about my expense to the Fortieth Anniversary Celebration by December fifth, I should let him know.

Railroad fare up and back would have been about $78.00 and the hotel, in addition, was $21.50.

December second, 1953

Mr Alex Miller
11 Pryor Street S W
A t l a n t a

Dear Alex:

I am grateful to you and to Oscar Cohen and the whole A D L for the privilege of being present and taking part in that wonderful Fortieth Anniversary Celebration. The whole occasion was a landmark in American growth.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

December second, 1953

Mr Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, N Y

Dear Oscar:

My lasting gratitude for your kindness and that of the whole A D L in giving me a part in the Fortieth Anniversary celebration.

It was a memorable occasion in every way and certainly the noble dinner was the experience of a life time!

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

December four, 1953

Mr Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

All of us live in a haze of pleasurable remembrance of the Fortieth Anniversary dinner.

As to expenses: Actually I drove up, for my own and the Council's convenience; but I adopt the proper Government habit in stating travel in terms of common carrier.

Atlanta and return with Pullman	$68.54
Hotel	20.00
Meals	3.00
Tips	.95
Taxi	1.00
Total	$93.49

It was extremely kind of you and the whole ADL to invite me in any case and to invite me and cover my travel and put me up so splendidly at the MAYFLOWER was luxury itself.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

Oscar Cohen

Dear Mr. Cohen,

Alex Miller says I should send to you a statement of expenses in ~~attending the grand celebration~~ getting to and from the Great Occasion. I am reluctant to do that, but couldn't have gone without the prospect of help on the travel.

Actually I drove up, for the Council's convenience; but I adopt the proper Government habit of stating travel in terms of common carrier.

Atlanta, Wash., and ret, with	
Pullman	68.54
hotel	20.00
meals	3.00
tips	.95
taxi	1.00
Total	93.49.

Hope that's all right!

Appreciatively,

GSM, etc.

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DEC 3
Southern Regional Council

December 1, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We are deeply grateful for your participation in ADL's 40th anniversary commemoration Freedom Forum session on November 22nd. We have had many fine comments concerning your presentation and we are deeply grateful for the positive contribution which you made towards our efforts to focus national attention upon the problems of human relations in America. We feel that this was accomplished, not only because of the lasting impression that was made upon the distinguished audience present, but also because of the wide national press coverage which was accorded the Freedom Forum sessions.

I should also like to indicate, in a personal vein, how much I enjoyed this association with you. I hope to be able to send you shortly a photograph of the participants in our session. It is my hope that I shall have the privilege of further collaboration with you.

We would appreciate receiving from you the amount of expenses incurred in connection with your participation in the Washington session.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC AW

1913 *Fortieth Anniversary* 1953

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of B'nai B'rith

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DEC 10
Southern Regional Council

December 8, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

My colleagues and I are deeply appreciative of the magnificent contribution you made to the Anti-Defamation League's 40th anniversary Freedom Forums held in Washington recently.

We have been delighted at the overwhelmingly favorable response on the part of the distinguished audience that was present at the time of our Freedom Forum sessions and the subsequent reactions in the press of the nation. It would appear that the Freedom Forums focused the attention of the nation upon some of the difficult and urgent problems of civil rights and civil liberties and made a substantial contribution to the cause of human dignity and freedom.

The National Commission of the ADL has requested me to extend to you a formal message of gratitude and of thanks for your participation and assistance.

With cordial greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Schultz

Henry Edward Schultz

1913 *Fortieth Anniversary* 1953

1913-1953

Fortieth Anniversary

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

December 10, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 14
Southern

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 43 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith are grateful indeed for your cordial message on the occasion of our 40th Anniversary.

The words of encouragement and appreciation which have poured in from friends like you, who are engaged directly in the fight against prejudice and bigotry, have given us courage and increased determination to go forward in our task. With so many working in a common cause, we believe we can jointly achieve the goal we have set for ourselves.

The response to our Freedom Forums, the 40th Anniversary meetings and the dinner to President Eisenhower, has exceeded our fondest expectations. This response reveals an ever-widening realization of the dangers to our country inherent in the patterns of discrimination and bigotry that still exist and the need to eradicate these patterns if we are toachieve the ultimate goal of American democratic life.

May I again express to you our grateful thanks for your message.

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Schultz

Henry Edward Schultz

HES/sg

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

RECEIVED
DEC 21
Southern Regional Council

December 17, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
432-63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $93.49 as reimbursement for expenses incurred in connection with our Freedom Forum sessions in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

Mildred Holt

Mildred Holt
Sec'y to J. Harold Saks

Enc.

1913 *Fortieth Anniversary* 1953

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
205 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

RECEIVED
FEB 3
Southern Regional Council

January 29, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

reports to file 8/28/56

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As a participant in the Freedom Forum and the 40th anniversary celebration of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, I thought that you would be interested in receiving the enclosed report which reviews the public response to these events.

This public response has been most gratifying to us, particularly because we were able to focus public attention upon the democratic progress that has taken place during the past four decades and upon the problems which are still with us. I would greatly appreciate any comments you may wish to make.

We are planning to publish one or two other items bearing on the Freedom Forum; one is a pamphlet of the keynote address delivered by Professor Archibald MacLeish. The second is a volume which will contain a complete record of all the addresses and discussions at the Freedom Forums. These will be sent to you when they come off the press.

Sincerely yours,

Henry E. Schultz

Henry Edward Schultz
National Chairman

February 9, 1954

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
11 Pryor Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Alex:

Recently, in conversation with a minister - for the life of me I have forgotten whom, but the idea has grown with me since - it was pointed out to me that those of us who have studied human relations in the South have perhaps too easily assumed that wherever unsegregated schools appear, the children themselves can be trusted to make a prompt and pleasant atmosphere of welcome. My advisor said: "In the South in many places it is going to be difficult. Many children will reflect the attitudes of their parents."

I, myself, still hold to the doctrine that after a brief initial period the children will make a workable adjustment. But I see much advantage in trying to get parents in the South to give their children a little positive steering ahead of time toward cordiality instead of suspicion.

It seems to me this could only be done through religious organizations. I know that of course doctrine of this kind is implicit right through the major religious bodies, but I do not think that locally a positive connection between doctrine and parental instruction to children has been achieved.

With a view to getting the matter considered, I have written the appropriate persons in each of the major religious organizations having strength in the South and urged that maturely and carefully this area of interest be explored.

If you would take on a responsibility for getting the idea discussed in Jewish circles, I am sure you would perform a helpful service.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh

Cancelled

February 18, 1955

Miss Gertrude Noar
Director
Department of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Noar:

Many thanks for your own and everybody's effort to scare up travel money to let me get up to the meeting April 29-30.

We have budgeted our money most tightly to do the job of setting up a dozen state shows, and there just isn't any margin in the central office administrative budget for extra travel. So, I have made it a rule that I only go to distant points if the people who want me can find the expense money involved. I am mighty sorry to miss the Conference, but under our own steam I just can't make it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

FEB 18 1955

February 16, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Epstein has asked me to answer your letter of January 27th. I wish we could underwrite your travel expenses and have explored every possibility without success. Your contribution to discussion would be of great value to participants, so I am hoping that you will be able to find some way of assuring your attendance.

Meanwhile, I have enrolled you tentatively in group #2 with #4 as an alternate.

Sincerely yours,

Gertrude Noar

Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education

GN:gs

7B12

Paper Delivered by

Oscar Cohen

National Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

before

The Second Joint Meeting

of

The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues
and
The Society for the Study of Social Problems

on

Applying Social Science Findings at the Community Level

Henry Hudson Hotel
New York City

February 27, 1954

APPLYING SOCIAL SCIENCE FINDINGS AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

The focus of these remarks will be somewhat more limited than is indicated by the title. Specifically, I would like to discuss "Applying Social Science Findings in the Field of Intergroup Relations at the Community Level." In presenting the thinking of a worker in the field of intergroup relations, I make no pretense of speaking on behalf of all the practitioners in this field. I can speak only for myself and draw only on personal experiences. While much of what follows would meet with a substantial amount of agreement from practitioners in this field, I make no claims that these assertions are generally accepted.

In the early days of the aviation industry, flyers, when visability was poor, talked about "flying by the seat of one's pants." Instruments were crude and radio not too reliable or non-existent. Frequently the possibility of the plane's safe arrival at some destination depended upon the intuition of the pilot. Moreover, many will recall that airplanes at one time were sometimes built "by rule of thumb." We have heard of a number of instances where the intuition of mechanics was so sure that they could tell, merely by looking at it, whether or not a new plane would fly properly.

There is something brave and wonderful about those enterprising days. Unfortunately, however, intuition was not always sound, and miscalculations too often ended in sudden disaster.

In aviation today the situation has changed drastically. The "rule of thumb" and "seat of the pants" flying are gone. In their place are the drawing boards and slide rules of the engineers and the certainty of modern instruments.

This illustration has relevance to the field of intergroup relations. Are we in the rule of thumb era or are we in the slide rule stage? In my opinion we are much nearer the former than the latter, and I shall try to point out why.

It was not too many years ago that those of us working in the field of intergroup relations entertained great expectations for the social sciences. It was generally thought that in a comparatively few years there would be created a positive body of doctrine which could give definitive answers to the problems facing those who were trying to affect social change at the community level. I recall distinctly some seven years ago listening to the address of a social scientist who was responsible for spending a considerable sum of money on research in our field. He indicated very dramatically that we were on the threshold of finding positive answers to all our questions. It might be well, he said, if we were to bring our work at the community level to a standstill and wait for the revelations of the social scientists. We might find, he pointed out, that present activity was doing harm or much of it at best was wasted. If I can recall correctly, he said something to the effect that, "In the meantime, a few houses might burn down, but in the end the city is sure to be saved."

It was an exciting statement and gave us a glow of hope and also a sense of uneasiness. For, if all the answers were at hand, we felt we could be at fault in continuing full scale programs which might be found to be undesirable.

Now practitioners in the field of intergroup relations were not the only ones who were thus advised. There was a somewhat similar statement made by Shaffer in 1947, with regard to psychotherapy (1). He wondered if psychologists should not stop therapeutic counselling for the next few

years and devote their entire attention to research.

If a considerable gap between the social scientist and the practitioner existed up to this time, statements of this kind only widened it. For indeed, we found that instead of reaching the pot of gold just beyond the horizon, the horizon kept getting further away. Among practitioners, there has been some disillusionment about the usefulness of social science knowledge. I believe this stems from four factors: the lack of relevance of research; difficulties of communication; loss of confidence in social science and the fact that social science had been originally oversold to community workers.

The practitioner who becomes aware of some of the conclusions of research in his field is frequently bewildered. He finds it difficult to discover any practical application in what appear to be substantial and worthwhile research projects. There is not much research that seems to have any relevance to his day-to-day activities. He looks at a treatise on the authoritarian personality and wonders how he can use it. He reads of evidence concerning the relation between frustrated individuals and prejudice. Does this mean that the practitioner should set about trying to eliminate the frustrations of individuals? Moreover, the practitioner soon notes that a good deal of research takes place with small and controlled groups in which personality factors are not considered. For example, Rosenthal found that it was not possible to apply results obtained from student groups at Harvard to student groups at the University of Chicago (2). If this is the case, how can one generalize from group studies. The practitioner wonders how to apply such research results to the political and organizational atmosphere in which he lives. Again and again, I have heard comments about research to this effect, "Interesting -- but what do I do about it?"

The problem of communication between the social scientist and the practitioner in the intergroup relations field is a serious one. It is impossible for the practitioner to read the tremendous volume of material produced by social scientists bearing on the field of intergroup relations.

Moreover, when he does get time to read, he is plagued by the difficulty of understanding the language of the social scientist. He perhaps reflects my wish that all of them would read carefully the brilliant paragraph on "Pretentious Diction" by George Orwell (3). Apart from the difficulty of language there is no medium by which the practitioner receives notice, via reprints, digests or summaries, of the research taking place in this field. Even if he can look at an occasional article, he has little time to read all the articles required so that he can intelligently follow the one article he is reading.

I have indicated that undue optimism on the part of social scientists may have resulted in the practitioner's loss of confidence. There is also the professional's disappointment in the practical benefits he feels should derive from the many volumes and treatises now appearing. The results of research are frequently inconclusive or conflicting. The practitioner is tempted, under the pressure of daily exigencies, to look upon social science findings with varying degrees of interest and intellectual curiosity. But he will, very likely, go about his business without giving the social sciences much thought.

At this point, it might be well to take a look at the practitioner. What kind of a person is he? And why does the nature of his work sometimes throw roadblocks between himself and the social scientist?

The practitioner in our field is not usually graduated from a course in intergroup relations. He doesn't, as a rule, enter this field by virtue of a diploma. Intergroup relations in this respect is vastly

different from the social work field. Practitioners in our field have widely divergent backgrounds, and my own acquaintances in this field include men and women who have come from such occupations and professions as law, journalism, teaching, salesmanship, music, dentistry, parole work, public relations, radio, the clergy, social work and organized labor. However, despite this difference in background, a common core of understanding develops.

Community intergroup programs will vary greatly and depend upon the skills and predilections of the individuals concerned. This takes place even in national organizations which try to establish a fairly high degree of uniformity of objectives and programs. Even national organizations must recognize the personality of local directors and the effect of local conditions.

The ideal practitioner is a combination of Superman and Mr. Belvedere. In many cases, he must be able to stimulate and assist in the introduction of intercultural education in local school systems. He must master the techniques of mass communication. He must be a superb organizer. He must be able to work with interfaith groups and understand their language, and to work with social scientists and to understand theirs. He should be able to address the local Elks and the state mental health association. He should be able to influence the chamber of commerce, the trade unions and the American Legion.

Added to these modest demands upon him is the heavy burden of organizational problems of the group which may employ him. There are the complaints of discrimination which always pour in, the crisis situations which arise, the legislation he is trying to secure or to have enforced and the investigations which he must always carry on.

Most practitioners are oppressed by the overwhelming pressure of their jobs. They are constantly involved in practical situations which require decisions, situations in which organizational ability is more important than intellectual depth. So when there may arrive on his desk a three or four-hundred page volume which contains considerable discussion of displaced aggression, it is not difficult to see why the practitioner may become a little dismayed.

Having said this, I would now like to point out as emphatically as I can that social science findings have had a considerable effect upon action in the field of intergroup relations.

There has been a marked evolution in thinking on the part of the practitioner in this field, and, in fact, over the past twenty years, there has been a dramatic change. In the 1930's, when work in the field of intergroup relations was tremendously accelerated, techniques were fairly simple and few in number. They were confined largely to the areas of mass communication and the protest meeting. Since then, there has been a marked change in the basic assumptions which underlie activities on the community level and, in addition, in the techniques which have stemmed from these assumptions. There is no doubt that the social sciences have contributed greatly to the changes which have resulted in increased effectiveness. While it may be difficult to credit specific findings of the social scientists with having effected certain changes, I should like to outline some of the probable effects of the social scientist upon the work of the practitioner.

In the first place, practitioners have drawn heavily upon the work of many social scientists in establishing public recognition of the fact that Negroes are not an inferior race.(4). The practitioners' effort to destroy widely accepted but fallacious notions about racial inferiorities have been immeasurably assisted by their ability to refer to authoritative and scien-

tific sources.

There has been a very marked trend away from speeches exhorting audiences toward brotherhood. The trend now is toward the use of the discussion group as a device for affecting the attitudes of individuals. The hortatory speech, which was the accepted device of the 1930's, is no longer generally regarded as an important part of the struggle for social change. However, the practitioners had been impressed by evidence that group discussion can materially assist in behavior and attitude changes.

The motion picture became a very widely used device in the presentation of intergroup themes to wide varieties of audiences. The emphasis upon group discussion rather than exhortation led to the practice of encouraging discussion after the presentation of motion pictures. This is an important change, and the technique is now widely accepted in the intergroup relations field.

At one time the belief was current among practitioners that understanding would be promoted if "only people knew each other." For this reason, efforts were made to achieve situations in which people of different races and religions would meet together as in Tredwell Smith's classic study. (5) The situations were frequently artificial and sometimes highly contrived. Social scientists found that the artificial juxtaposition of individuals of different faiths and races does not necessarily bring about understanding. Social scientists have indicated that personal contact is not the only consideration, but that equality of status is an all important factor in bringing together diverse groups whose understanding of each other was to be promoted. These findings on the part of social scientists have been very helpful and probably have increased the effectiveness of the efforts on the local level. They undoubtedly have prevented considerable damage from being done.

Another important contribution to the practitioner has been the finding of the social scientist that recognition of racial and religious differences, and inculcation of prejudices, begin at a much earlier age than was previously thought possible. This resulted in the encouragement of intercultural educational practices in the schools, at lower grade levels than had previously been thought desirable.

Still another contribution of the social scientist has been the finding that integration of white and colored individuals in specific situations can be achieved amicably and with benefit to all concerned. The work of Deutsch and Collins (6) in the field of inter-racial housing, and Stouffer on the American soldier (7), have helped in lending support to efforts to fight segregation in housing and in the armed forces.

The study of such techniques as group dynamics and socio-drama have had considerable effect upon practical work at the local level. There is evidence that the techniques based on studies of group dynamics are being generally utilized. In particular, socio-drama has become a highly regarded and much used technique in study groups, workshops and as a prelude to group discussion.

Perhaps one of the most widely used educational devices in the intergroup relations field is the Rumor Clinic, described in Allport and Postman's Psychology of Rumor (8). Slides have been made from the drawings utilized by Allport, and the Rumor Clinic has been presented many thousands of times before audiences in all parts of the United States. I know of one volunteer in an eastern community who personally has presented the Rumor Clinic more than 150 times.

Many of you are familiar with the Rumor Clinic, I am sure. It is based on the device of selecting people from the audience, the first of whom sees the slide projected, after which his impressions are transmitted to the others, one at a time. During this presentation, the audience sees the projected slide, but those describing the message they have received do not see it. The most frequently used slide depicts a subway car in which a poorly dressed white man with a razor in his hand stands talking to a well dressed Negro. It is remarkable how the third participant in the Rumor Clinic generally passes the razor from the hand of the white man to the hand of the Negro. I recall several impressive instances which I witnessed. In one case the third participant happened to be a Negro professional worker and to everyone's amazement, including later her own, she transferred the razor from the hand of the white man to the hand of the Negro. In another instance, a group of teachers taking graduate work ended up with the white man and the Negro plotting to sabotage the city while a woman sitting nearby in the subway car held an atomic bomb in her lap! The visible effect upon audiences of such distortions is usually very impressive. It is quite possible that Dr. Allport himself is not fully aware of the extent to which the Rumor Clinic is used, and the extraordinarily useful purpose it has and is serving.

I should also mention very briefly the work done in applying human relations to police training which has proved extremely helpful to practitioners throughout the country. (9)

Finally, there is an increasing awareness on the part of practitioners of the importance of the reference group in affecting the attitudes and actions of the individual. The change in thinking and emphasis which previously was centered upon "reaching" the individual is now being increasingly directed toward the group. The pioneering work of Kurt Lewin in this connection is bearing fruit, and I believe that the work of social scientists in this area will be accorded increasing attention and response.

One of the practitioners' great problems is to find enough time to do those things which appear to need doing and to seize those opportunities for progress which present themselves. Since he can achieve only a fraction of the things he would like to do, it is natural for him to engage in those activities which are easiest. The question of priorities is one which greatly troubles him. There is no question that the practitioner makes mistakes, that techniques are utilized which are harmless at best. The practitioner may not infrequently succumb to the quantitative approach so that there may be an illusion of great activity and achievement. In order to help the community level practitioner achieve quality as well as quantity, it might be useful to suggest some of the areas in which further research is needed.

The question of the use of mass media continues to be a troublesome one for the practitioner. The problem is not whether mass media will be used. Mass media are here to stay. They are imbedded in the American way of life, and the newspaper, carcard, radio and television are as American as Coca-Cola. We may not like the singing commercial, but it works.

The problems of mass media are not "if" but "how." The use of mass communication can have a boomerang effect. I recall vividly the action on the part of a large motor corporation in Detroit which tried to head off a strike by taking full page advertisements in the Detroit press indicating to the workers how well off they were and how foolish they would be to strike over demands which they considered trivial. It took no scientific survey on the part of some of us familiar with the labor movement to predict immediately that these advertisements made the strike a certainty, which turned out to be the case. Some of the ill effects of the use of mass communication can be readily predicted but others are more subtle and obscure. Leo Srole has made some helpful initial explorations in this regard in a study sponsored by the Anti-Defamation League. (10)

Another aspect of the use of mass communication which has not been adequately explored is its effect upon the already convinced, especially when such people hold unpopular opinions. The effect upon the individual of his social milieu is very great. He is under constant pressure of one kind or another to conform to the prevailing community climate of opinion. We suspect that the encouragement provided by mass communication devices is an important factor in reaffirming and maintaining wholesome intergroup attitudes.

Finally, mass communication techniques can be extremely useful devices in involving individuals and groups in the achievement of common objectives. More exploration is required in this connection. It has been found that such devices as blotters or carcards are effective "door openers." There has been experience with groups hitherto uninterested or even opposed to intergroup progress, who have started by using blotters with human relations messages and progressed to working for FEPC.

I would suggest that the remarkable social change which has taken place in the South needs investigation so that social change can be studied in a living laboratory. When can the social engineer again expect to see such major transformations? Almost daily there comes fresh evidence of crumbling barriers. It is gratifying to note that the restrictions are being removed and sometimes without the necessity of litigation. Although these great changes are taking place in the South, there is a very much smaller concentration of professional workers in intergroup relations working in the South than in the North.

While on the subject of social change and social movements, it seems to me that we could profit by scientific analysis of some of the great movements of our time. In my opinion we do not know nearly enough about the Communist phenomenon. Brain-washing in Korea may seem somewhat remote but has not America had a kind of brain-washing process which has enabled apparently intelligent individuals to believe fervently in propositions as preposterous as

the germ warfare charge? It is unfortunate that this phenomenon was not studied while the Communist Party was more active.

There is another remarkable movement which should receive examination. This is "mccarthyism." Whether Senator McCarthy knows anything about group dynamics or has read about the authoritarian personality, I don't know, but I suspect he has not. However, I think it will be agreed that he has been a remarkable "engineer of consent." Here is an opportunity to build a case history of how public opinion has been formed, the role of manipulators like Senator McCarthy, and of the American press and other channels of communication.

I would suggest there are other movements which might be studied. For example, the citizens' army has been called "the great leveler" and a democratic bulwark. It might be interesting in this context to explore the origins, functions, policies and effects of the American Legion.

Practitioners are constantly concerned about the extent of the areas in which they should work. A concept rather widely held in the intergroup relations field is that the fate of the members of minority groups is inexorably bound up with the health of the democratic way of life. Logically stemming from this concept is the program of "building democracy." Now, building democracy is quite an order and if human relations practitioners are going to strengthen democracy in all its aspects they must concern themselves not only with positive aspects but must combat any factors which would weaken democracy. If this logic is followed to its conclusion, would not human relations agencies become involved in the fight against unemployment, juvenile delinquency, dishonesty in government? In effect, would not the human relations practitioner find himself involved in the election of candidates and in political parties?

On the other hand, does special interest activity on behalf of minority groups generate greater democracy? Or can special groups be helped only by achieving greater democracy for all?

A related question is the peculiar nature of anti-Semitism in the United States and Canada. For in these countries anti-Semitism, both in its dimension and intensity, as manifested by discriminatory practices, is more intense than in any of the nations of the world except the Arab and Iron Curtain countries. This deserves considerable investigation.

An assumption generally held by practitioners is that knowledge promotes tolerance. In other words, if people only knew more about Jews, they would be less prejudiced against Jews. If people knew more about Negroes, there would be less race prejudice. This is the basis for a tremendous amount of activity, particularly of the interfaith variety. Whereas knowledge may promote tolerance under certain conditions, what are the limits of the validity of this generalization?

Much has been written about the effectiveness of legislation in the field of intergroup relations. I think legislation and litigation as techniques for combatting discrimination are now solidly accepted. However, there is a long way to go in the field of legislation both on the federal, state and local levels. Investigation could be helpful in ascertaining the preparatory steps of an educational and social action nature necessary to insure the passage of legislation. In addition, we need to know more about those steps which are necessary after the passage of legislation in order to assure public acceptance. Much has transpired in this field since the unsung hero of FEPC, A. Philip Randolph, faced the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and demanded FEPC on threat of a march on Washington. Out of the successes and failures of the past could come guidance for the future.

A sensitive area in which research could be tremendously helpful is the study of the reactions of minority groups. If, as a number of researches indicate, the attitude of a minority group toward itself will affect the attitude of a majority group, we have here an important area of concern. The phenomenon of self-hate on the part of a minority group is not uncommon. Moreover, it might be very helpful if we knew more about how members of a minority group should handle incidents of prejudice and discrimination. The Incident Control technique of Chein and his associates is a helpful beginning (11). There is more work required here, particularly in the assistance that parents require in counselling children who meet with racial and religious prejudice. The work of Lewin and Bettelheim constitutes at least an initial step.

An emormous amount of activity is taking place in the field of intercultural education and increasingly, schools and school systems are adopting intercultural education techniques. Lynd (12) and others have pointed up the dichotomy between what youngsters are taught in school and what actually faces them in the world outside. This involves a study of the inter-relationship of the school and community with particular focus upon intergroup relationships.

A study might be made of community self-surveys. Varying claims have been made for the efficacy of the community survey. Some have maintained that these surveys are full of sound and publicity with no significant change following in their wake. It might be found, for example, that techniques of community surveys are faulty; that the involvement in a survey covering a multitude of problems so exhausts the participants that no energies are available for remedial action. It might be found that a

community survey is largely useless unless there is understanding and determination at the outset that remedial action will be taken. There are many aspects of this problem which, if explored, would be very helpful to practitioners who are lured into the monumental task of a community survey with sometimes disappointing results.

Finally, I would urge that a great deal more attention be given to the study of power and power structure as a basic consideration in the efforts toward social change. The work of Lasswell (13), and Floyd Hunter (14) are important contributions to this somewhat neglected field. It may well be that social change can be greatly accelerated by concentration upon certain community elements. Sometimes we have the disconcerting suspicion that social changes can be (and are being) achieved very rapidly on a local level by a relatively small number of people, none of whom have had a course in group dynamics.

I have tried to demonstrate both the relevance of social science findings and the substantial gap which exists between the social scientist and the practitioner. This should constitute a valuable research project. There are a number of ways in which the relationships between the practitioner and social scientist could be improved. For one thing, means will have to be found of bringing to the practitioner an understanding of the practical implications of research. There are difficulties here - difficulties of language, difficulties in the sometimes incredible delay in publication of research findings, and in the volume of materials being published. Moreover, it would be greatly helpful if some social scientists would themselves get into the field, temporarily, at least, in order to gain first-hand experience of action at the community level. In learning

the practical problems of efforts toward social change, there is no substitute for the rough and tumble of the workaday world.

The intergroup relations field needs not only the psychologist and sociologist, but authorities in other fields -- political science, government, communication. It may be found, for example, that economic factors are of major importance in the elimination of discriminatory practices. Or it may be found that one of the greatest barriers to social change is the rural domination of state legislatures such as that found in the infamous Georgia County Unit System.

A quotation from Robin Williams may be relevant: "...systematic research in race relations has had conspicuously little direct application to meaningful practice." (15) This is a pretty harsh indictment and I am not sure it is entirely earned. But I would suggest that the problem does exist, that it is a serious one, and that something should be done about it. For my own part, and I think on the part of the agency with which I am associated, there is a desire to help if we can. The field of intergroup relations presents an exciting challenge, and we have before us the intriguing possibility of bringing to this field an approach which has some of the precision of the drawing board and the slide rule. There is no question that the tremendous abilities of the social scientist and a closer relationship between science and practice can greatly expedite the arrival of the "good society."

1. L. Shaffer, The Problem of Psychotherapy, American Psychologist, 2, 1947, p. 461.

2. B. Rosenthal, at 1953 Cleveland meeting of American Psychological Association.

3. Paragraph on Pretentious Diction in "Politics and the English Language," from Shooting An Elephant, p. 81, N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace, 1950.

4. Cf. the material summarized in G. Myrdal, An American Dilemma, New York: Harper, 1943, pp. 137 - 153.

5. F.T. Smith, An Experiment in Modifying Attitudes Toward the Negro, New York: Teachers College, 1943.

6. M. Deutsch and M.E. Collins, Interracial Housing, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951.

7. S.A. Stouffer et al, The American Soldier, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949.

8. G. Allport and C. Postman, Psychology of Rumor, New York: Henry Holt, 1947.

9. For instance, J.D. Lohman, The Police and Minority Groups, Chicago: Chicago Park District, 1947.

10. L. Srole and C.Y. Glock, A Controlled Study of the Impact of Anti-Discrimination Car Cards, New York: Anti-Defamation League and Bureau of Applied Social Research, 1953.

11. A.F. Citron and J. Harding, Answering the Bigot, New York: Commission on Community Interrelations, no date.

12. R.S. Lynd, Knowledge for What, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1937.

13. H.D. Lasswell, Power and Personality, London: Chapman and Hall, 1949.

14. F. Hunter, Community Power Structure, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

15. R. Williams, "Application of Research to Practice in Intergroup Relations," American Sociological Review, 18, 1953, p. 79.

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March 12, 1954

RECEIVED
MAR 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

I wish I could write individually to each of you but unfortunately I just don't have the facilities.

I did want to let you know that on March 15th, I am moving to the national office of the Anti-Defamation League to take over the job of National Community Service Director. I will be located at 212 Fifth Ave. I do hope that if you ever get to New York you will take the time out to say hello. In the meantime, if there is ever anything I can do, please don't hesitate to call upon me.

The past decade has been an exciting and fruitful one in the South. That such a measure of progress has been achieved is due in large part to the efforts of individuals like yourself. I do want you to know what a stimulating and satisfying experience it has been for me to have been associated with you.

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

Alexander F. Miller

afm/bw

1913-1953

Fortieth Anniversary

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

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RECEIVED
APR 15 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 13, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Delighted and thrilled with the news that the Southern Regional Council received a grant. Not only is this a wonderful tribute to you, richly deserved, but it will mean a great deal to the advancement of good human relations in the nation.

I congratulate you and extend my best wishes and offer whatever services we can to assist you in your noble work.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:LSF

Avail apr in 154 all

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APR 22 1954
Southern Regional Council

April 20, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

It occurs to me that you will now be involved in many aspects of the field of human relations in a more intensive way than was possible in the past.

I wonder if you are going to get into the field of intercultural education and work with the schools. We have a vast body of experience in this connection, and the head of our Education Department, Miss Gertrude Noar, is to our mind one of the most skilled and expert people in the field of intercultural education in the country.

We will be very happy to consult with you if you feel that our services can be of help.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ML

cc: Alex Miller

May 3, 1954

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

I want to come and talk with you at some early date about ways of tieing in inter-cultural ideas with what we will be doing.

I had a letter from Ken Douty, now at Asheville, and I have written him that there does not seem to be any s ot in our show that would fit. We expand this Atlanta office hardly at all.

The money goes into twelve state programs to enable each one to take on full time paid staff. Those state staff people are going to have to be men or women with deep roots in their own states. And most of the states, I suppose, will pick people with pretty strong relationships with the church.

Ken is a man of great ability, and I am flattered by the thought that I could run a program that could attract Ken. The truth is that Ken ought either to be back in the law or he should go on up in the government.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

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Executive Assistant

April 30, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I was in Washington the other day, and Victor Reuther and I were discussing with great enthusiasm the new horizons which have opened for the Southern Regional Council.

It occurred to us that a person who might very well fit in your expanded program would be Ken Douty, whom both of us know and admire greatly. I am sure you know him too. It seemed to us that his experience, particularly in the past few years, and his knowledge of the south, together with his abilities and qualities as a person, would make him a valuable adjunct to your program. I have not discussed this matter with Ken, and I do not know his plans at the moment. My motivation in sending this to you is not only because I would like to see Ken placed in a job in which he would be happy, but also because he would be very helpful to your program.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

OC:ML

Oscar Cohen

RECEIVED
MAY 3 1954
Southern Regional Council

ADL

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MAY 10 1954
Southern Regional Council

OPEN HOUSE

It will be our pleasure to have you as

our guest at the new quarters of the

Southeastern Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Wednesday, May 12th 3 to 5 p.m.

Arthur J. Levin, Director
Bee Wild
Gous Ritter
Frank D. Westbrooks

41 Exchange Place, S.E.
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across from the Atlanta
Division, Univ. of Ga.,
and the Hurt Bldg. --
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Executive Assistant

June 16, 1954

Gentlemen:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is an organization interested in promoting better human relations among all Americans. Operating through a national office in New York and 25 regional offices located in key cities throughout the United States, it cooperates with religious groups, educators on all school levels, youth organizations, business and labor groups, civic and fraternal groups, etc., in working for the establishment of those basic attitudes on which good human relations are founded.

We are bringing up to date our inventory of community organizations, and should appreciate your furnishing the information requested on the attached form. If you have available any pamphlets describing your organization and its functions and/or periodicals, your sending copies will be appreciated.

We shall be grateful for any courtesies you may extend.

Sincerely,

Frederick M. Kraut
National Director
National Organizations Department

Form sent 6/22/54

Att.

RECEIVED
JUN 1954
Southern Regional Council

File

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

ATLANTA REGIONAL OFFICE 11 PRYOR ST. S. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

NEW ADDRESS:
Southeastern Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

August 14, 1954

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Miami, Fla.

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

Thank you very much for your letter of August 10th calling my attention to your latest pamphlet, "Schools in the South".

National ADL has already ordered 100 copies for distribution and we have used 40 here locally. We will undoubtedly be calling on you for many more copies in the next several months.

I appreciate your making this available to us at the reduced price.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

RECEIVED
AUG 16 1954
Southern Regional Council

August 10, 1954

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

You were in on all the cuttings up of this one. Can ADL, either your local office or out of New York, use a stack? It goes at $15.00 a hundred.

You will recall that it squeezes together much of what is in the Ashmore report; gives the whole Decision; tells things to do; and prints the famous map. Few praises to the printer for his choice of colors on this edition, but in the course of time when the first 20,000 have been exhausted, we will fit the colors in more effectively.

Warmly,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

November 29, 1954

RECEIVED
12-1-54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You will recall our little chitchat at NAIRO about whether or not the Mississippi Synod of the Presbyterian Church had voted to reject the action of the General Assembly on the segregation issue. to A.H.

Attached please find copy of an editorial which appeared in the Jackson, Mississippi, Clarion Ledger on November 7th indicating that it was the Synod which acted in this matter.

With all best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM AW
Att
cc: Frank S. Loescher

MEMO

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

212 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10, N.Y. MUrray Hill 6-8010

To: George Mitchell

The attached just came back to us. Guess it didn't reach you in New York.

JAN 17 1955

Oscar Cohen

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

December 16, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell
Abbey Hotel
151 West 51st Street
New York City

Dear George:

I did not have a chance to call you since I had to leave town.

I will be in touch with you further about the Mississippi matter we discussed.

As always, it was good to see you.

Sincerely,

Oscar

OC:ML

Oscar Cohen

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

RECEIVED
DEC 9
Southern Regional Council

December 7, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 4th. I am glad you enjoyed our 40th anniversary shindig.

Our bookkeeping department will shortly send you a check for your expenses.

Again, many thanks to you for your kindness and help.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC AW

1913 *Fortieth Anniversary* 1953

December 29, 1954

Mr. Alex Miller
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

I will arrive in New York in the late afternoon of January 4th -- that is if the plane flies -- and will have two days in the city. I will call your office for I certainly want to see you while I'm there. I will be registered at the Prince George Hotel.

Best wishes to all the Millers.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. M.E. Tilly
In Charge of
Women's Work

MET/rnf

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

January 4, 1955 S

Rev. William Holmes Borders
24 Yonge Street, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Rev. Borders:

Thank you for your letter of December 24th, to which I was not able to reply until now because of absence from my office.

I think it was in keeping with Bill Crawford's lifetime philosophy that he invited you to preach at his funeral before he died. He no doubt conceived of his funeral as another opportunity for instilling the idea of brotherhood by which he lived.

It was for this reason that I was shocked by your sermon rather than for any of the reasons which you mentioned as possibilities in your letter. To refresh my memory, I read through Matthew 19:16-23 for the incident of the rich young man, and Luke: 10:30-37 for the parable of the good samaritan. In neither place was the word "Jew" mentioned -- indeed, it is my understanding that all of the individuals involved, with the exception of the samaritan, were Jewish. I find it most disturbing that you did embroider a simple and beautiful statement of scripture with such offensive stereotypes as "arrogant Jew" - "mocking Jew" - and even more disturbing that you cannot understand the basis of my objection.

It is hard to understand how a man of your background and outlook can be so insensitive to the damage of this kind of stereotyping of Jews, when you realize so well how much it has harmed your own people.

Great harm is done to the ideal of brotherhood when one evil individual is identified by a racial or religious label so as to reflect on the entire group. Perhaps my feelings would be more understandable to you if one of the other ministers had used certain other Biblical texts to portray offensive Negro stereotypes. I would have been equally shocked at this and would have protested just as instantly.

The point is that we were all present to do honor to the memory of a man who loved all of his fellowmen. Using such an occasion to vividly picture any group in an evil light was less a matter of poor taste than loss of a golden opportunity. Certainly, I have no desire to sit in judgment on your motives, but when such a breach of principle occurs, I believe that any individual has the obligation to protest.

Sincerely yours,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

January 11, 1955

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

Here's the Richard Rovere article. I wrote Mr. Epstein and people in two or three other organizations in praise of this achievement.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL DIRECTOR
BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

JAN 19 1955

January 17, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George Mitchell:

Your gracious letter of January 11, coming as it does from a professional in the field, is a source of personal gratification to me.

We love you, too, George.

Cordially,

Ben Epstein

BRE
ehp

January 11, 1955

Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein
National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Epstein:

The January, 1955, issue of the Progressive has a nice two-page article by Richard Rovere called "Of This I Sing." He simply notes that prejudiced talk is less heard than it used to be; and he suggests that various organizations, unnamed, have had a hand in bringing this about.

I would like to put in my two cents worth that I think the Anti-Defamation League and other organizations, particularly the Jewish organizations, have done a magnificant job on this whole matter.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

JAN 25 1955

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Joseph Cahn, Executive Secretary

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January 24, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I received the two copies of "Answers for Action" today. Thanks a lot. I am enclosing 40¢. KS

Your brother Morris is a good friend of mine. He used to live in Florence, you recall, and he has been here on visits since he left. I have had the opportunity of dropping in to see him at Putney once, too. I value his friendship most particularly. I hope to have the opportunity of meeting you some day.

Sincerely,

Stanley Rosenbaum

SR:df
Encl:

Membership is everybody's business!

January 26, 1955 Air Mail

Mr. Gilbert J. Balkin, Dir.
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith
330 Seybold Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Gil:

George Mitchell has turned over to me your letter to him of January 21st, regarding the development of the Florida Council on Human Relations, because I'm the guy from the central office assisting the states in developing their organizations and programs.

The Florida Group is headed by Davisson Dunlap, Barnett National Bank Building, Jacksonville (he is chairman of the Board). The plans are to broaden the representativeness of the Board of Directors of the state organization so that it will represent the many facets of the state's population and the various geographical areas of the state. The group has adopted a new set of by-laws which are compatible with the purposes of the Southern Regional Council. A Personnel Committee has been appointed to consider applications for Executive Secretary. A nucleus of the Board has been elected from the four areas into which the state has been divided and they will be asked to consider further nominations from their own areas to the Board.

The work of the Council will be to complement and supplement the work of agencies already existing in the state. The state organizations were made possible because of a grant from the Fund for the Republic of the Ford Foundation to the SRC to establish in each of twelve Southern states ongoing self-sustaining (in the future) human relations agencies with a special emphasis on race relations. The state budget is $15,000 and the Executive Secretary will travel over the state seeking to work with existing agencies and our own SRC members in the general field of human relations. The Board of Directors is looked upon as a working group rather than just a formal policy making group. As you know, the Council believes deeply in process rather than in "push button" solutions to social problems.

I hope that your state ADL conference in West Palm Beach goes well and I only wish I could be there. I will be down in Florida in the next few weeks and will certainly get together with you when I am there. Best regards to all my friends there.

Warmly,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

P.S. Regret that you were not informed of the previous Florida meeting. Will see that you are in the future.

F.R. To Answer
G.S.M. did FBR

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE • 330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

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Director

January 21, 1955
AIR MAIL

JAN 24 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have heard something of your plans to form a Florida Council on Human Relations with headquarters in Orlando and branches in other Florida communities.

We are having our Florida State ADL Conference in West Palm Beach on Sunday, January 30, and I would like very much to be able at such time to report in connection with current developments in Florida on the plans for the formation of the Florida Council on Human Relations. I would accordingly be very much appreciative if you would send me as soon as possible an outline of such plans as they have progressed to date, and I would also be very much interested in knowing for purposes of our State ADL Conference and any follow up which may be made therefrom, the names of the leaders of the various Florida community branches as such leaders are known to date.

At our State ADL Conference we have representatives of the various Florida communities, and I accordingly believe that this information will be of interest to them.

I also understand that you held a Florida State meeting in Jacksonville on the weekend of January 15-16. I regret greatly that I did not have any advance notice of this meeting as I would have liked very much to have attended.

As you may know, our office services the entire State of Florida and we carry on human relations programming through the B'nai B'rith Lodge and Chapter ADL Committees and various contacts in the communities throughout the State. The only information I had of the Jacksonville meeting was a call which I received at our office at 5:15 P.M., on Friday, January 14, from Rev. Caxton Doggett, advising me that your meeting was going to be held in Jacksonville the next day. I had, of course, already made plans for the weekend, with meetings already scheduled, and could not possibly attend the meeting in Jacksonville on the basis of such last minute information.

In the future, if you believe such would be advisable, I would appreciate being advised in advance of any statewide meetings which the Florida Council on Human Relations or Southern Regional Council may be holding in Florida. If I am unable to attend such meetings personally, I can always make an effort, with advance information, to have persons from the community in which the meeting is being held present.

I also regret that it was not possible for us to talk at least on the telephone when I understand you were in Miami on Sunday, January 16. Again I received word of your being in town on that date on such a last minute basis that it was not possible to get together.

With appreciation for the information about the planning of the Florida Council on Human Relations, and best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Gil

Gilbert J. Balkin

GJB:LA

January 27, 1955

Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein
National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Ben:

How very nice to be asked to the April 29-30 Conference. Of course I will be there.

New York is off my beat on travel, and I would hope that there would be some way for ADL or somebody else to float the cost of a trip, but as far as the days are concerned, they are held.

I would like to be part of #2, but my highest duty is to #4.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

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January 24, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear ~~Dr. Mitchell~~: George —

Many leading educators have frequently expressed their need for an opportunity to sit together long enough to clarify concepts, exchange experiences and, in some measure, chart the road ahead for education in Human Relations. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith plans to offer that opportunity to representative leaders across the country. We extend to you a personal invitation to attend a two-day working Conference on Human Relations Education to be held in New York City, April 29 and 30, at the Commodore Hotel.

Registration will take place on Friday morning, April 29, at 9:00. Discussion groups, limited to invited guests, will meet on Friday and Saturday, April 29 and 30, and will be organized to deal with the following five problems:

1. The role that education plays in creating intergroup attitudes and patterns of behavior.
2. Desegregation.
3. Religion in the schools.
4. Teacher education with respect to intergroup education.
5. Materials and resources in the field of intergroup education.

We do hope that you will be able to participate in our deliberations. If, because of budgetary limitations, attendance seems at the moment to be impossible, will you hold the date and let us know? We can secure reservations for you at the Commodore Hotel, if you so desire.

In order to facilitate organization of the discussion groups, we would appreciate knowing your first choice and your second preference. We also would like to have your suggestions for a preliminary list of discussion topics.

We look forward to having you with us.

Sincerely yours,

Ben

Benjamin R. Epstein
National Director

BRE:AMS

"New Neighbors in old Neighborhoods"

adl

3-10

eleven pryor street, s. w.
atlanta, ga.

dear Dr. George Mitchell

I thought the attached would be of some interest.

Please look me up when you get to New York.

My address starting Monday will be 212 - Fifth Ave.

Best regards

alex miller

April 18, 1955

Miss Gertrude Noar
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Miss Noar:

I am mighty sorry I cannot get to the April 29-30 Conference.

I admire what you and ADL do. And I am sure that we will all benefit greatly from the results of the Conference.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

212 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

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Executive Assistant

APR 14 1955

April 11, 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

When you replied to our invitation to attend our National Conference on Human Relations Education, scheduled for April 29th, 30th at the Commodore Hotel, New York City, you were not entirely sure that you would be able to come.

As we approach final arrangements, it becomes important for us to know for how many people we should plan. I would appreciate, therefore, knowing whether or not you want us to hold a room reservation at the Commodore for you and in which group you wish to be enrolled.

You recently received the tentative program and the list of people who will attend. May we add your name to the final list?

Sincerely yours,

Gertrude Noar

Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education

gn:sgm

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE • 330 SEYBOLD BUILDING • MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

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Florida State Chairman
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Director

May 11, 1955

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director for State Organizations
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks very much for your letter of April 29. It was certainly good hearing from you, and I hope that we will be able to keep in touch with each other from time to time. I am very pleased to learn that things are going along so well in the program to get state organizations going across the South. I will certainly be interested in keeping apprised of progress made in connection with the state organizations, and, as you know, if there is any way in which I and our office can be helpful in this regard, I certainly want you to call on me.

I appreciate greatly your invitation to join NAIRO. I believe that I am a member of NAIRO, through memberships having been taken out by our National Office for our various Regional Offices. I am checking on this, however, and in the event that our National Office has not taken out a membership for me, I will get in touch with you and join.

Things are going along quite well here. You would have been happy to have attended earlier this week a beautiful appreciation dinner tendered in honor of Rev. Ed Graham by his church. It was truly a splendid event.

Thanks for the good wishes to my wife, who joins me in sending you our best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Gil

Gilbert J. Balkin

ADL
SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

May 19, 1955

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
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Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is by way of a belated expression of appreciation for the part you played in regard to the Southeastern Regional Board meeting.

Despite the excellent presentation of Telford Taylor, many people told me that they thought the most valuable portion of the Board meeting was the panel concerned with school desegregation, on which you served. Those present felt that the panelists dealt realistically with this difficult subject, were most enlightening in regard to the very real problems which are of concern, and were most intelligent in their suggestions of how these problems may be dealt with on both a short term and long term basis. Therefore, you may accept as a personal evaluation of your presentation the description realistic, enlightening, and intelligent.

You know how deeply I appreciate your help, and the contribution of your time and effort on this matter which is of utmost concern to my Board members. Please again accept my sincerest thanks and best wishes.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Art

Arthur J. Levin

AJL:sja

August 5, 1955

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Alex:

I am just back from two and a half days of the National Seminar of Methodist Women at Kansas City.

ADL sent out from its Philadelphia office, Mrs. Harrison.

I thought you would like to hear that, in my judgment she handled herself with outstanding tact, informativeness, and persuasiveness. There were one or two spots at which she was under pressure, and she was effective and winning in her courtesy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
1101 BLODGETT STREET
HOUSTON 4, TEXAS

Anti-Def League General

Charles Winick

Ted Freedman

August 11, 1955

I believe you will be interested in the attached copy of a letter from Dr. Case. Frankly, it is regrettable that he will be leaving Oklahoma A & M because, as he puts it "the desegregation studies." I don't know what might be available either in the agency or elsewhere, however, in VIEW of his request for information as to opportunities in ADL or elsewhere, I would appreciate any suggestions that you might have.

Kindest regards.

TF:eg
attach.
cc: Alex Miller ✓
Oscar Cohen

Ted

COPY

OKLAHOMA
Agricultural and Mechanical College
Department of Sociology and Rural Life

July 22, 1955

COPY

Mr. Theodore Freedman, Director
ADL Southwest Regional Office
1101 Blodgett Street
Houston 4, Texas

Dear Ted:

Thanks for clearing up the survey manual "problem"/. I certainly hope I haven't been imposing on you in this matter.

It looks like I'll be leaving A & M. I had planned this move for sometime. However, I'd like to pass on to you a little intriguing side light which confirms my "need" to leave this place.

I got word the other day from Dean Schiller Scroggs (School of Arts and Sciences) that he didn't think he could give me tenure here. He'd be willing to have me stay without tenure, but essentially he felt that "I didn't fit into the institution, that I'd always be unhappy here, and that a parting of the ways might be best". I finally got him to disclose the basic source of his displeasure—the desegregation studies! He was, I knew, unhappy about my doing them, Arkansas hick that he is. But, I never knew he'd carry this displeasure so far. He gave me the pretext that I had released these "touchy" studies without proper administrative clearance and that I seemed unwilling to generally abide by administrative "policy"! He had the gall with all this to praise my work here as above average and beyond the call of duty. I fully realize now that, at A & M, the wages of honest work is death.

If you hear of any opening in your organization or elsewhere in which you think I would fit, I certainly would appreciate hearing about them.

I'll be vacationing during August, but I can be quickly reached c/o this department.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Hank
Herman M. Case
Assistant Professor
Sociology and Rural Life

enclosure

August 19, 1955

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

I am coming to New York September 27th, 28th, and 29th. Will be in the custody of Clifford Earle, Presb terian Church in the U. S. A. But will infallibly come to see you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

AUG 19 1955

August 16, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Many thanks for your very gracious note with regard to the splendid impression made by Mrs. Beatrice Harrison at the National Seminar of Methodist Women. Bea is one of our most valued and valuable people and over the years has made a significant contribution to the work of the League.

I am certain that the story you had to tell and the suggestions you made for action by the Methodist Women was one of the highlights of the seminar. In the final analysis, the church women of the South will play a very important and decisive role in the struggle now going on over desegregation.

John Ramsay called me a few minutes ago and I am having lunch with him.

I do hope that before too long you will be in this vicinity with a few minutes to spare. If so, I will really appreciate your calling me and allowing me to be your host at lunch or dinner. As a matter of fact, if it would not be imposing too much on you, I would like to have some of our own staff join us so that they, too, might be brought up to date on the current Southern scene. I am convinced that just by reading the New York newspapers - even the holy New York Times - you don't get a picture that is either in true perspective or focus.

Please send my best to Alice and your two lovely daughters. Suzie wants to be remembered especially to Charlotte. Suzie has a job as

a counsellor this summer and is quite active and happy. All in all the Millers have adjusted pretty well to New York; mainly I guess, because they haven't lived in New York since coming North. Suburban living up here is not too different from life in Atlanta.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp

September 19, 1955

Mr. Alexander Miller
The Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Alex:

It really is so that I am coming to New York September 27th, 28th, and 29th. My most free time seems to be on the 27th and the morning of the 28th. I have to go to work for something Clifford Earle in the Northern Presbyterian Church wants done from Wednesday afternoon through Thursday evening.

If you will name a time when I could come to see you at the office, I would love to.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated September 9th)

HCF

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

SEP 26 1955

September 19, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am bringing to your attention Youth's Attitudes In Action, a guide to the use of role playing in human relations which is just off the press. In handy readable form the booklet explains the whys, whats, and hows of role playing. Of particular value are the four detailed problem situations which groups can make convenient and effective use of. The pamphlet was prepared by the Youth Advisory Board of the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights, and published in cooperation with the ADL.

The Wisconsin group received the Parents' Magazine 1954 Youth Achievement Award "for demonstrating the ability of young people to assume vigorous responsibility in government."

Enclosed is a complimentary copy; additional ones can be ordered at $7.00 per 100. We should welcome a notice announcing the pamphlet in your agency newsletter, bulletin or magazine.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Israel

Israel Moss, Director
Dept. of National Organizations

IM:CF
Enc.

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of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

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SEP 24 1955

AIRMAIL

September 23, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am delighted that we will be able to see you next week.

I do hope that it will be possible for you to get up to see us at our office about noon on Tuesday, September 27th, and I would then like you to have lunch with Ben Epstein and a number of other members of our staff. I look forward to seeing you.

Please note our new address which is 515 Madison Avenue, corner of 53rd Street - third floor.

With all best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM AW

GSM/eab
Encl.

October 31, 1955

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Alex:

You will have heard that the Attorney General of Georgia jumped on us. Here is what Harold turned out. We haven't treated it as a direct reply, but we want our friends to be reminded of these facts.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

November 11, 1955

Mr. Philip E. Lerman
Anti-Defamation League
1003 K Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Phil,

I have a copy of a letter to you from Dick Bennett which I have had difficulty interpreting but I take it to mean that you don't know what to do with 200 copies of the Washington AFSC report. You asked for them in a burst of enthusiasm when you heard it was coming out; you said you'd take 200 copies, sight unseen, and knew you were not taking a pig in a poke. This was doubtless an inspiration on your part due to the fact that we were being nostalgic over my departure from the city. If it turns out to be an impractical idea, return what you can't use. The sentiment was still appreciated.

The south makes me sentimental anyway. I've recovered from home and mother and now shed my pretty tears for the dome of the capitol, the Nanking, the Joint Committee (God rest its soul), and Herblock. I trust you are able to see yourself in these references.

Thank you and greetings and best regards and all that.

Sincerely,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf
cc: Richard Bennett.

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK
PRESIDENT

MAURICE BISGYER
SECRETARY

B'NAI B'RITH
1003 K STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

RECEIVED
NOV 13 1955
Southern Regional Council

No. 395

Dear Friend:

Please find enclosed admission ticket(s) for the B'nai B'rith Board of Governors' Dinner in observance of the 40th anniversary of the Anti-Defamation League, at which President Dwight D. Eisenhower will receive the League's 1953 America's Democratic Legacy Award.

The dinner will be held at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., Monday evening, November 23. All guests must be seated at 6:30 p.m., prior to the entrance of the President and his party. A nation-wide one-hour television broadcast will begin at 7 p.m.

Please present the enclosure at the door of the Grand Ballroom. We look forward to the pleasure of seeing you.

Sincerely,

Maurice Bisgyer

Black tie

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED DEC 9 1955

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: November 14, 1955

SUBJECT: Minnesota Attorney General ruling on Municipal FEP Ordinance

DIGEST: The Attorney General of Minnesota rules that the passage of a state law banning discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, or national origin does not necessarily preempt the field of regulation so as to make ineffective a municipal ordinance prohibiting the same conduct.

On October 20, 1955, the Attorney General of the State of Minnesota handed down an opinion in response to a question asked by the city attorney of Minneapolis as to whether the adoption by the state of Minnesota of a state FEP law rendered invalid a previously adopted Minneapolis municipal ordinance barring discrimination in employment. The specific questions put to the Attorney General were: (1) Was it the intention of the state legislature to preempt the field of legislation against discrimination in employment to the exclusion of any existing or future local regulation; and (2) If this were not the legislative intent, was the local ordinance rendered invalid by the difference between the state law and the local ordinance with regard to the legislative machinery set up to enforce each law?

After reviewing existing cases dealing with instances in which a city ordinance dealt with a subject also covered by state law, the Attorney General concluded that the mere passage of a state law does not preempt the field of regulation so as to exclude a municipality from prohibiting the same conduct.

The Attorney General next considered whether the legislative intent had been to render municipal ordinances dealing with the same problem invalid and concluded that since the state law contained no express provision as to the invalidity of municipal ordinances dealing with discrimination in employment, it could not be concluded that the legislature intended to restrict the right of a municipality to regulate such conduct.

The Attorney General also noted that the passage of a state law did not remove the need for the continued existence of local fair employment practices ordinances because there are often problems existing in local areas which may be more effectively dealt with by an ordinance supplementary to the state law.

With respect to the second question as to whether the differences in administrative machinery and the method of enforcement between the state law and the municipal ordinance constituted such an inconsistency as to render the ordinance invalid, the Attorney General found that these differences were not such as to invalidate the ordinance. After examining these differences carefully, the Attorney General stated that the law does not require that a statute and an ordinance dealing with the same general subject be identical in every respect. If the ordinance is a valid exercise of the police powers of a municipality it need not contain procedures which are precisely co-extensive with those contained in the state law regulating the same subject, so long as the ordinance does not create a standard of regulation different from that created by the state law, or inconsistent with the state law. The Attorney General then found that the ordinance in question met both of the above tests.

In view of the foregoing, the Attorney General found that the Minneapolis FEP ordinance was still valid. The opinion of the Attorney General was signed by Miles Lord State Attorney General and Robert Latz, Special Assistant Attorney General.

No. 137

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

17 Nov 55

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

JSM -

[AFL's Bob Sneiderman called - he had a visit from.

Harry Ross UAW-CIO -

Int'l Rep - Fair Practices & Anti Discrimination Dept.

8000 E. Jefferson Ave; Detroit -

This chap is interested in what is being done in the South especially re: [Gov't Contracts -

FBR -

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: November 18, 1955

SUBJECT: Further developments in Castle Hill Beach Club, Inc. vs. Arbury

Digest: Supreme Court Justice Martin M. Frank denies a motion by the Castle Hill Beach Club, Inc. to vacate the cease-and-desist order issued by the New York State Commission Against Discrimination against the Club on the ground that after the order was signed, the original complainant, Mrs. Anita Brown, filed an action in the Municipal Court of the City of New York against Castle Hill Beach Club to recover damages for violation of the New York State Civil Rights Law barring discrimination in places of public accommodation.

This is a report on a new development in the case of Castle Hill Beach Club, Inc. vs. Arbury. Previous memoranda dated December 14, 1953, January 11, 1955 and July 15, 1955, reported the filing of the complaint, the public hearings, the cease-and-desist order of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination and the action of the N.Y. State Supreme Court in upholding that cease-and-desist order against the Beach Club which insisted that it was a "private club" not subject to the provisions of the Law Against Discrimination.

On July 21, 1955 a new development occurred. Following the July 11 order of the Supreme Court compelling compliance with the SCAD mandate, the original complainant, Mrs. Brown, began suit in the Municipal Court of the City of New York against the Castle Hill Beach Club to recover the sum of $500 as a civil penalty for violation of the New York State Civil Rights Law, which authorizes both criminal prosecution and civil suit for damages for violation of the ban against discrimination in places of public accommodation.

The New York Law Against Discrimination which gives concurrent jurisdiction to the State Commission Against Discrimination over discrimination in places of public accommodation, contains specific language covering possible efforts by a person aggrieved to seek remedies with SCAD and by criminal or civil action. Section 300 of the New York State Executive Law reads as follows:

> "CONSTRUCTION - The provisions of this article shall be construed liberally for the accomplishment of the purposes thereof. Nothing contained in this article shall be deemed to repeal any of the provisions of the civil rights law or any other law of this state

relating to discrimination because of race, creed, color or national origin; but, as to acts declared unlawful by section two hundred ninety-six of this article, the procedure herein provided shall, while pending, be exclusive; and the final determination therein shall exclude any other action, civil or criminal, based on the same grievance of the individual concerned. If such individual institutes any action based on such grievance without resorting to the procedure provided in this article, he may not subsequently resort to the procedure herein."

It would appear from this section that the Castle Hill Beach Club had an obvious remedy under Section 300 against Mrs. Brown's action for damages and could have moved to dismiss the Municipal Court action. The Club failed to follow this strategy but tried instead to use the commencement of the Municipal Court action for damages as an excuse to terminate the action between it and the State Commission Against Discrimination. The Castle Hill Beach Club contended that when Mrs. Brown began her suit in Municipal Court she ousted the Commission and the State Supreme Court from jurisdiction over the case because of Section 300 quoted above.

In the same motion the Castle Hill Beach Club, Inc. sought as an alternative remedy the revocation of the cease-and-desist order of the Commission and the enforcement order of the Court and the remission of the case to the State Commission, for the submission of additional evidence by the Club.

Justice Frank, after noting that the only additional evidence referred to in the Club's motion was the filing of the civil action in Municipal Court by Mrs. Brown, denied the Club's motion. He found that no useful purpose could be served by the remission of the case to the Commission to establish an admitted fact.

Discussing Section 300 of the Executive Law, the Court decided that "the statutory scheme in creating the Commission was to give to a person aggrieved the right of election to prosecute either pursuant to the Executive Law (the Law Against Discrimination) before the Commission or by a plenary civil or criminal action for a violation of the Civil Rights Law, but not both". He concluded, therefore, that the Section in question should be interpreted as meaning that during pendency of a proceeding before the Commission, that should be the exclusive remedy, and a final determination by the Commission barred resort to any other forum. He therefore denied the motion.

COMMENT. The action of the Castle Hill Beach Club in seeking to use the civil suit brought by the victimized person to undo what the State Commission Against Discrimination had done may well be an indication of the comparative effectiveness of the two procedures involved in this matter. Even though the Castle Hill Beach Club could obviously have brought about the immediate dismissal of the civil suit for damages under the New York Civil Rights Law because of the clear language of Section 300 of the Executive Law, it preferred to go to trial on the civil suit and chance a judgment against it of an amount up to $500 in preference to a cease-and-desist order enforceable by contempt of court, the ultimate sanction involved in the proceedings before the State Commission Against Discrimination. It was willing to take a legal position that was most difficult to sustain in the face of the language of the statute, in an effort to end the involvement of the State Commission in the case.

November 21, 1955

To: Mr. Benjamin Epstein
212 Fifth Avenue
New York, 10, New York

For your information:
News story from Chicago Defender.
News story and editorial from Afro-American

HCF/jc

November 23, 1955

Miss Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Gertrude:

Thank you very much for your invitation to the eleventh Annual Conference of ASCD in March.

There is a slight difficulty involved in my attending the Conference--it is financial. George Mitchell says that he is "chinchey" about spending Council funds for travel outside the south. He recalled that he spoke for ASCD sometime ago and that somebody up there arranged a speaking engagement for him with another group or a large church group. The honorarium from this speech paid his travel expenses to and from the ASCD Conference. Could somebody do a comparable service for me. I would like to attend as you obviously know. This is the only difficulty.

I would want to participate in a variety of the subject matters listed and would hope to bring to them the "enlightened Southern Viewpoint". Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

[redacted] MADISON AVENUE
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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

November 9, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I know you will pardon the use of a mimeographed letter in connection with this invitation to you to participate as a resource person in a discussion group at the Eleventh Annual Conference of the ASCD, to be held in New York, March 19 - 23, 1956, at the Hotel New Yorker.

On the reverse side of the enclosed bulletin from ASCD you will find the study groups listed and will note carefully the extent of participation for which I am asking. If you accept this invitation you will be registered without paying the regular registration fee of $12, as a small token of the Association's appreciation of your contribution to the Conference.

Will you please let me know at your earliest convenience your first, second and third choices from among the 47 possibilities listed. It is important for you to realize, however, that because of the enormous organizational problem involved, we may be forced to appoint you to a group in which there might not be enough resource persons.

Please let me know your decision and choices as soon as possible so that your name may be forwarded and listed in the official program.

Sincerely yours,

Gertrude

GN:gs
Enc.

Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education
Member of ASCD Committee chaired by Dr. John Brooks, to secure resource personnel

IMPORTANT

Registration Information

ASCD's Eleventh Annual Conference

New York, New York March 19-23, 1956

Pre-register NOW to save time at the conference and to insure your assignment to the study-discussion group of your choice. A few minutes spent NOW filling out the enclosed registration form will mean you need only exchange your registration receipt for a packet of materials at the time of the conference.

While fixed assignments will be made only for the study-discussion groups, we are anxious that you indicate both the assembly and clinic sessions which you will probably attend in order that topics for which greatest interest is evidenced during early pre-registration returns may be assigned to the larger meeting rooms. Assembly and clinic topics are listed below; study-discussion group topics on the reverse side of this sheet. Please be sure to indicate second and third choices for study group topics to enable us to proceed with your registration in the event that the group on your first choice topic is already filled to capacity.

No pre-conference registration can be completed without being accompanied by the proper registration fee. Be sure to enclose your fee to avoid delay in completing your registration.

Care in filling out the registration form will help us in making your assignment and will help your group leader better understand the interests of and resources in that group.

Pre-conference registration closes Thursday, March 1. Do not mail forms to ASCD after that date but rather hold and complete registration at opening of conference.

REMEMBER, HELP ASCD AND HELP YOURSELF BY REGISTERING NOW! Mail Forms to: ASCD, NEA, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

CONFERENCE THEME: CREATIVE THINKING, LIVING AND TEACHING

ASSEMBLIES Centered Upon Exploring Creative Ideas (Monday, March 19, 7:30-9:00 p.m.)

1. What Are New Horizons in Teacher Education?
2. How Can Tests Be Constructed and Used Creatively to Help in Curriculum Development?
3. How Can Schools Encourage Creative Thinking in Boys and Girls?
4. How Can Schools Help to Develop the Potential of the Talented and of the Gifted Child?
5. What Are We Learning From Other Lands About the Community School and Fundamental Education?
6. What Can We Learn From Other Fields About Human Relations Training?
7. What Are Some of the Unique Values in Alternate Approaches to Curriculum Planning?
8. What Are Effective Trends in Educating for Responsible Citizenship?

CLINICS Focused On Creative Practices That Improve Education (Monday, March 19, 10 a.m.-12 noon and Tuesday, March 20, 8:00-9:30 p.m.)

Creative Approaches to Job Problems of:

1. Curriculum Directors, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Large County or City Schools — (Over 100,000)
2. Curriculum Directors, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Smaller County or City Systems— (Under 100,000)
3. State Department Personnel
4. Directors of Elementary Education and Elementary Supervisors of Large County or City Systems
5. Directors of Elementary Education and Elementary Supervisors of Smaller County or City Systems
6. Elementary Principals
7. Secondary School Principals, Supervisors, Department Heads
8. Supervisors of Small Rural Schools
9. Special Area Supervisors
10. Professors of Supervision and Curriculum Development
11. Classroom Teachers

Creative Practices in:

12. Getting to Know Children
13. Improving the Productivity of Committee and Staff Meeting
14. Reducing Racial, Religious and Ethnic Group Tensions
15. Experimenting With Core Teaching
16. Incorporating Discussions of Current Affairs Into the Curriculum
17. Involving Lay Persons in Curriculum Development
18. Designing Cooperative Curriculum Research

(over)

STUDY-DISCUSSION GROUPS (Tuesday, March 20, 3:00-5:00 p.m., Wednesday, March 21, 9:00-11:30 a.m. and 2:00-4:00 p.m., Thursday, March 22, 10:15-12:15 p.m.)

Groups Organized Around Creative Ideas in Current Literature: Each group will use one of the publications listed below as a beginning focus for its discussion. All participants will be expected to be familiar with the publication to be discussed in their group prior to the conference.

1. Text Materials in Modern Education, Lee J. Cronbach, ed. 216 p., $2.50, 1955, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois.
2. Modern Philosophies and Education, Nelson B. Henry, ed. NSSE Yearbook (54th), 2 pts., 374:397, each $4.00, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 37, Illinois.
3. Public Education and the Future of America, Educational Policies Commission, 104 p., $1.50, 1955, NEA, Washington 6, D. C.
4. Dynamics of Groups at Work, Herbert A. Thelen. 379 p., $6.00, 1954, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.
5. The Community Power Structure, Floyd Hunter. 297 p., $5.00, 1953, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
6. Studies in the Scope and Methods of "The Authoritarian Personality," Richard Cristie and Marie Jaboda, eds. 279 p., $4.50, 1954, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
7. The Emerging Self in School and Home, L. Thomas Hopkins. 336 p., $4.50, 1954, Harper and Bros., New York, N. Y.
8. Building a Philosophy of Education, Harry S. Broudy. 480 p., $5.00, 1954, Prentice-Hall, New York, N. Y.
9. On Education and Freedom, Harold Taylor. 320 p., $3.50, 1954, Abelard-Schuman, New York, N. Y.
10. Love is Not Enough, Bruno Bettelheim. 386 p., $4.50, 1950, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.
11. Tomorrow is Already Here, Robert Jungk. 241 p., $3.50, 1954, Simon and Schuster, New York, N.Y.

Groups Organized Around Reporting and Analyzing Significant Research Findings: Participants pre-registering for one of the groups listed below will receive prior to the conference a research paper of approximately fifteen pages in length, which they will be expected to study in advance of the sessions. Authors of the research papers are listed after each topic.

12. Research findings on human development (C. V. Millard)
13. Research findings on a theory of emotional needs (Robert Fleming)
14. Research findings on the developmental tasks concept (Robert Havighurst)
15. Research findings on the better utilization of teacher competencies (Charles V. Park)
16. Research findings on the education of supervisors (Johnnye Cox)
17. Research findings on school factors influencing juvenile delinquency (William C. Kvaraceus)

Groups Organized Around Sharing of Creative Ideas: These groups will emphasize new approaches, recent research and needed research on each of the topics below. Many of the groups will make visits to schools on Wednesday, March 21.

18. Creative approaches to planning and adapting school plants to facilitate learning
19. Creative approaches to utilizing informal testing and evaluating techniques
20. Creative approaches to developing educational leadership
21. Creative approaches to improving human relations through the school
22. Creative approaches to enriching school experiences through cooperation with other agencies
23. Creative approaches to informing the public on good educational practices
24. Creative approaches to orienting the new and the returning teacher
25. Creative approaches to evaluating the effect of classroom instruction on out-of-school behavior
26. Creative approaches to relating the work of special area supervisors to that of classroom teachers
27. Creative approaches to clarifying the rolls of principals and supervisors in instructional leadership
28. Creative approaches to building effective relations between instructional and administrative personnel
29. Creative approaches to providing for lay participation in curriculum development
30. Creative approaches to using comparative education experiences to assess our own school programs
31. Creative approaches to organizing the elementary school curriculum
32. Creative approaches to organizing the secondary school curriculum
33. Creative approaches to organizing the junior high school curriculum
34. Creative approaches to using TV in the instructional program
35. Creative approaches to developing a sense of community in boys and girls
36. Creative approaches to educating the retarded child
37. Creative approaches to educating the talented and the gifted
38. Creative approaches to fostering mental health in our schools
39. Creative approaches to building programs for bilinguals
40. Creative approaches to helping boys and girls develop their own values

Groups Organized Around Field Studies of Resources for Creative Living and Teaching: These groups will spend Wednesday in the field. Extensive use will be made of resource persons from community institutions and agencies.

41. Air age education in today's curriculum
42. Developing economic competence
43. Museums as tools for teaching and learning
44. Music in today's world
45. Art in today's world
46. Community approaches to combating juvenile delinquency
47. Creative approaches to education for international understanding.

(See other side for Assemblies & Clinics)

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515 MADISON AVENUE
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Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

November 28, 1955

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburne Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I was delighted to have had the opportunity of meeting with you when I was in Atlanta and I will be in touch with you further about the matters we discussed.

I have been in touch with Dr. Van Til at Peabody and negotiations are under way. I also hope we will be able to get co-sponsorship from the University of Oklahoma.

I am enclosing the paper I spoke to you about which I wrote on the subject of the practical application of research.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Paper in FBR's file re Reports —

OC
el

HCF
for your info —
please return
FBR.

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

November 28, 1955

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your letter regarding ASCD participation. I have forwarded it to Jack Brooks, and will do what I can to spread the word that you would be available for some speaking and consultant engagements. I hope they come through and that we shall see you in March.

May I tell you again how much I enjoyed the evening with you and Irene. Will you give her my best?

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially,

Gertrude

Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education

GN:gs

December 2, 1955

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Alex:

As a token of esteem and gratitude for all your help, I send you the enclosed copy of an article from the official publication of the White Citizens Council, published in Jackson, Mississippi. I have passed a copy on to Art.

I will be most interested to hear what transpires between Ben Epstein and his contacts at the Journal-American with respect to the attack on SRC. Meanwhile, consider this an invitation to come down here and tell me some of your troubles.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

Enc.

December 22, 1955

Mr. Charles Winick, Research Director
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Winick:

Many thanks for the ADL pamphlet Trends in Human Relations Research. I shall read it with interest and promise to drop you a note after I have read it.

Thanks again.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director.

FBR:mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith
FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
330 SEYBOLD BUILDING, MIAMI 32, FLORIDA, FRanklin 3-6306

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January 3, 1956

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Wright:

I want to express my heartfeld appreciation for your very kind letter.

I do not think that I could express any better your sentiments that we are linked in aspiration that the South shall meet with honor the obligations of this hour.

I am sure that you, of the Southern Regional Council, and I, of the Anti-Defamation League, will continue to work together to meet the challenges of democracy.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Gilbert J. Balkin

Gilbert J. Balkin

GJB:LA

January 3, 1956

Miss Gertrude Near
Anti-Defamation League
212 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Gertrude:

I hope you will pardon my delay in replying to your invitation to act as a resource person at the ASCD Conference. I have been ill and took some leave to have a chance to recuperate; consequently I am behind on correspondence and we have had to do considerable rearranging of schedules.

My participation in the Conference seems impossible since we do not have funds available for travel. As you know, our travel into the Southern states is extensive so that we are pushing our travel funds to the limit and cannot see our way clear to take on a new assignment which would be an expensive one. I will miss the opportunity of taking part in the Conference.

It was good to see you while you were here. I am now ready to pick up on my own travel schedule, going soon to Virginia and to Florida. I look forward to seeing you when the grand tour is over.

Sincerely yours,

Irene Osborne.

IO:mf

February 8, 1956

Mrs. Girt Bossak and
Mr. Harry Popkin
B'nai B'rith Youth Organization
1725 Peachtree Rd., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Bossak and Mr. Popkin:

Thank you for your kind letter of January 29. I can only say that I have seldom led a discussion of a more alert and intelligent group than that in the BBYO Seminar. I congratulate you on a stimulating and very constructive occasion.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:mf

ATLANTA REGIONAL

B'nai B'rith Youth Organization

ATLANTA JEWISH COMMUNITY CENTER
1745 PEACHTREE RD., N. W.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

GERTRUDE BOSSAK
ATLANTA REGIONAL DIRECTOR
TELEPHONE: CRESCENT 8790

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January 29, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
2892 Ridgemere Rd., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We should like to take this opportunity to express our deepest appreciation to you for your generous help and cooperation during our recent BBYO Convention.

Your efforts in behalf of our youth were a definite contribution towards making a more successful 1955 convention.

If you have any comments, impressions or observations on the convention, we would appreciate hearing from you.

We enclose a self-addressed stamped envelope for your convenience.

Cordially yours,

Harry Popkin

HARRY POPKIN, Chairman
Atlanta BBYO Committee

Girt Bossak

GIRT BOSSAK,
Atlanta Regional Director

April 10, 1956

Miss Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Gertrude:

Bob Schneiderman of the Atlanta ADL office called me and said he had been at a conference with you and that you requested that George, Irene and I set aside June 15 and 16 for a possible conference at the University of Oklahoma; and that I supply you with a list of top-flight educators in the South.

I have informed George and Irene and taken note myself of the date. George's comment was that we would be glad to attend if you all could pay our way out and back and our other expenses involved.

As to the list of educators: I have thought of ten, all of whom would be extremely well qualified for consultation on the proposed workshop. I realize that you probably won't use ten but thought I would list this many so that you might choose from among them the number you wanted to use. I have listed them alphabetically and will designate their race in case you want a racially-balanced group of advisors.

Dr. A. Lee Coleman, Department of Sociology and Rural Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky. (White)

Dr. Nicholas Demerath, Social Science Research Center, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. (White)

Mr. John Hope II, Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (Negro)

Dr. Lewis M. Killian, Department of Sociology, The Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida (White)

Dr. Hylan Lewis, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia (Negro)

Dr. Herman Long, Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee (Negro)

Dr. C. H. Parrish, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky (Negro)

Mr. Donald Sprague, Department of Human Relations, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida (White)

Dr. Harry Walker, Department of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D.C. (Negro)

Mrs. Charles Williams, Booker T. Washington High School, Miami, Florida (Negro)

There are many other top-drawer educators in the South whom we could recommend. If you want a more extensive list, let me know. These are just the first that came to my mind and with whom I am well-acquainted.

I am sorry I did not get to see you when I was briefly in New York but I was there during the Great Blizzard, and was apartment-bound at least part of the time.

Best regards to you and to my other friends there at ADL.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

April 19, 1956

Mr. Arthur Levin, Director
Southeastern Region
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Arfer:

Here are the clippings I promised you. The one labelled "A Preview of the Declaration of Segregation" was passed out at the WCC meeting at the State Coliseum, Friday night, February 10, 1956, in Montgomery. The two from the KKK were left in the Moore Building in Montgomery in October, 1955. And the one labelled "Where shall we draw the line?" was distributed at another Council meeting in Montgomery.

I have stapled two pages together because our machine reproduces on only one side of the paper, but each stapled piece is only one sheet of paper in its original form. I think these should interest your people in Montgomery.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Original Over Size

April 30, 1956

Dr. Myron Lieberman
Chairman, Planning Committee
Conference Human Relations Education
University of Oklahoma
College of Education
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Dr. Lieberman:

I don't see any way for us way over here in Atlanta to get to your June 15-16 meeting at Norman.

But if you will write to our office nearest to you at Little Rock, Arkansas they quite possibly would fetch themselves over. Address it to Mr. Nat Griswold, Executive Director, Arkansas Council on Human Relations, 211 Izard Street, Little Rock.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/ab

EXTENSION DIVISION
DEPARTMENT OF
SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY SERVICES

THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

NORMAN · OKLAHOMA

April 17, 1956

RECEIVED APR 24 1956

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Many leading educators in the South have given expression to their deeply felt need for an opportunity to meet to discuss problems of human relations education. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the University of Oklahoma are, therefore, planning an invitation conference for that purpose. The Vice-President, Dr. Pete Kyle McCarter, and other officials of the University of Oklahoma expressed the hope that this Conference will be of great significance to the entire region. May we extend to you a personal invitation to attend.

The Conference is scheduled to take place at the University in Norman, Oklahoma on June 15 and 16. The two most pressing issues before the schools of America -- integration and religion in education -- will receive major emphasis. Prominent analysts, discussion leaders and resource persons will be there. Each day will close with a clinic session.

In order to achieve maximum comfort, participants will be housed in the University at approximately $5.50 per day. We hope you will check in on Thursday evening. As soon as we receive your reply we will reserve a room for you.

Very shortly the proposed program, a problem census and a small number of pertinent publications will be sent to participants.

May we look forward to having you with us?

Sincerely yours,

Myron Lieberman

Myron Lieberman
Chairman, Planning Committee

May 8, 1956

Miss Gertrude Noar, Director
Department of Education
Anti-Defamation League of Bnai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Gertrude:

Many thanks for the invitation to the South-wide Conference on Human Relations at the University of Oklahoma. I have noted the date on my calendar and this letter will serve as confirmation of my intention to attend. I will forward the form you enclosed to Dr. Lieberman in the near future. I look forward with anticipation to the meeting and to seeing you.

Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

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Dear Friend:

We are happy to send you, enclosed, the first issue of a new ADL publication, RIGHTS.

For some time we have felt -- and this feeling has been shared by many lay and professional workers in the field of human relations -- that there existed a void in the communication of information on discrimination in housing, employment, education and social accommodations. There is no regular publication which has devoted itself to reports on anti-Jewish discrimination in these areas and it is our hope that RIGHTS will fill this need.

RIGHTS is not designed as "popular" reading for a mass audience. Rather, its purpose is to keep professional community relations workers and ADL lay leadership informed in respect to current findings and action programs against anti-Jewish discrimination. For this reason, the distribution of RIGHTS is being made to a limited group of people of whom you are one.

You will note that each issue of RIGHTS is hole-punched so that you can retain it in a convenient binder. Each year, we will prepare an index which will facilitate ready reference.

Needless to say, we will welcome your reactions to RIGHTS and your suggestions for future subject matter.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Arnold Forster

Arnold Forster

Encl.

Rights

Vol. 1, No. 1 May, 1956

ADL REPORTS ON SOCIAL, EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATIONAL AND HOUSING DISCRIMINATION.

RESORT DISCRIMINATION

(This is the first issue of a new ADL publication, which will deal with individual rights in the fields of housing, employment, education and social accommodations. RIGHTS *will appear every other month. This issue is the first part of two sections dealing with resort discrimination; a second installment will appear in the summer.)*

THE vacationist in this country has long been a patient sufferer from that recurrent seasonal blight—the restrictive resort. Thousands of such public pleasure spots still adhere to discriminatory practices which deny equality of accommodation to prospective guests. They set a cash value on catering to bigotry. Their standards of acceptability are distinctly un-American and as outmoded as the horse and buggy. They have become increasingly isolated from the main currents of American democratic life and their decadent social values offend and humiliate many Americans. In the words of the St. Louis Register, official newspaper of the Catholic Archdiocese of St. Louis:

● "Summer heat sucks up many strange creatures from the earth and the shadows, and not the least of these is the anti-Semitic resort keeper.

● "Within the past weeks we have seen some of the promotion literature that the Missouri resort hotels and lodges send out—scenes of cold-stream fishing, mouth-watering eating, and dreamy afternoon naps under leafy trees.

● "Invariably, in every handful of brochures that we inspected, one or two resorts would advertise that they 'catered to Gentiles only' or 'have a restricted clientele.'

● "The fact that only a small number of the pleasure spots took the trouble to boast of their bigotry may seem an encouraging sign to some. We can't help feeling, however, that the percentage is still too high. Such intolerance eats at the spirit of democratic living, and is certainly un-Christian . . ." (cited in St. Louis Post Dispatch, August 15, 1955.)

Well taken is this paper's comment that there are still too many restrictive resorts. Nevertheless, their number is being steadily whittled down. Numerous surveys which have been conducted by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith over the past five or more years reveal a gradual improvement in the guest policies of resort hotels. The complete elimination of hotel discrimination however, lies at the end of a long, up-hill struggle.

An important factor in the decline of resort discrimination has been the numerous state laws prohibiting discriminatory practices by places of public accommodation. But equally important has been the educational work carried on in this field by human relations agencies.

A current phase of this work is centered on one of the more deceptive practices engaged in by restrictive resorts. This involves their off-season convention business.

A number of hotels which normally bar guests of the Jewish faith during vacation season are willing to accept them during the off-season in order to attract convention business. This practice has been accurately described as "dollar discrimination."

It has been found that many trade and professional associations are not aware of this and are embarrassed when they find themselves convened in such hotels through no fault of their own.

In the spring of 1955, the Anti-Defamation League inaugurated an educational campaign to shed some light on this situation. It communicated with 2,000 national professional and trade associations urging them to consider for meeting sites only such hotels that do not set up religious barriers to their regular season guests. The ADL cited, as an example, the action taken in 1954 by the National Association of Attorneys General, which cancelled its annual convention at the Camelback Inn, the discriminatory Arizona resort, and moved its meeting to another site.

The response to the ADL letter was highly encouraging. Though no reply was solicited, about 150 associations responded. Of these, all but two indicated that they were in full accord with ADL's position on hotel discrimination. The following excerpts are taken from some of these replies:

● *American Newspaper Guild, N.Y.C.*—"At the time of the Attorneys General publicity on the Camelback Inn in Phoenix, Mr. Farson (Guild president) received an invitation to spend a weekend at the Inn as the guest of the owner, with the idea of having a Guild convention there at some later date. Literature was, of course, included with the letter, and we were all revolted to read that because of the restricted clientele one would meet only the best people. I am happy to report that Mr. Farson wrote to the owner of the Inn explaining in no uncertain terms that the Guild was founded on the principle that all men were created equal and that we would never consider

holding a convention at the Camelback."

● *National Sanitary Supply Association, Chicago:* "We agree with you that bigotry in all forms is against the public interest and our best American traditions and ideals, and we most certainly exclude from consideration as an Association meeting place any hotel or resort erecting religious barriers."

● *Big Brothers of America, Philadelphia:* "We could not consider accepting a convention arrangement which placed any limitations whatever, inasmuch as our membership is made up of individuals of all religious and social backgrounds."

● *Cooperative Food Distributors of America, Chicago:* "We very much appreciate your letter of April 22 advising us of the work being done by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, in alerting trade associations to the discriminatory practices of some hotels. This is to assure you that our association does not condone or support in any way hotels which discriminate against any group of people whether on religious or racial grounds."

● *National Tank Truck Carriers, Inc., Washington, D.C.:* "This organization in selecting a convention site puts down as its prime requisite that the hotel in no manner practices any restrictions with respect to religious beliefs."

● *Electronics Manufacturers Association, Inc., New York City:* "We want to thank you for calling to our attention the importance of selecting for meeting places only those hotels and other facilities which erect no religious barriers. Please accept our assurance that we shall exercise the greatest care in our selections, in order to avoid any possibility of giving any support or encouragement, directly or indirectly, to discriminatory practices."

● *International Labor Press of America, Newark:* "In reply to your communication of April 22, you may rest assured that this organization will never patronize any hotel which discriminates against Americans because of their race, creed or color."

● *Folding Paper Box Association of America, Chicago:* "We are in sympathy with your letter of April 22, with reference to hotels which practice religious discrimination and with the work which your organization is doing. We shall lend every effort which we are able to put forth in carrying out the principles which are outlined in your letter insofar as they concern the activities of this Association."

● *Plumbing Fixture Manufacturers Association, Washington, D.C.:* "We are certainly in great sympathy with your cause and . . . will make every effort to combat the type of bigotry mentioned in your letter."

● *Research and Development Associates Food and Container Institute, Chicago:* "Our organization is made up of many religious and racial groups. In no case will we hold a meeting where they practice religious or racial discrimination."

● *American Veterans Committee, New York City:* "The American Veterans Committee, of course, checks very carefully to see that the hotels which are chosen for national conventions do not discriminate in any way or manner. Your organization is to be congratulated for starting a movement which is long past due."

● *Oil-Heat Institute of America, New York City:* ". . . we can never afford to have a situation arise where any member is excluded and/or made to feel unwanted by a hotel or its personnel due to color, race, or religion."

● *The American Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, School of Public Health, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill:* ". . . appreciate very much having the facts presented in your letter. You can rest assured that our Society would not under any circumstances give sanction to religious bigotry."

● *National Dietary Foods Association, Cincinnati:* ". . . hasten to inform you that we are in full agreement with your sentiments as expressed in your letter of April 22, 1955. We shall be glad to cooperate with you in this matter any time."

● *American Contract Bridge League, New York City:* "You can count upon our moral support in your drive to eradicate prejudice."

● *The American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C.:* "The American Red Cross follows the practice of conducting its conventions under conditions that preclude any discrimination against race, creed or color."

● *National Fire Protection Association, Boston:* "Your letter of April 22 is the first information we have had about the recent action of the National Association of Attorneys General but we certainly endorse their forthright stand."

● *National Aviation Trades Association, Washington, D. C.:* "You may be interested to know that we cancelled a hotel in Arizona for our annual convention that indicated the attached."

● *Girl Scouts of the United States of America, New York City:* ". . . we have a policy on meetings planned by the national organization for nationwide attendance. It reads: 'Gatherings planned and held by the National Girl Scout Organization for nationwide attendance shall be held in communities where individuals attending will have freedom of choice in seating, eating, and living accommodations in hotels and buildings engaged by the organization.' "

● *United States Power Squadrons, Findlay, Ohio:* "We appreciate your calling this situation to our attention, and with your reminder we will certainly watch for any practices which flout American traditions and ideals."

The letter which ADL sent to na-

Rights

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meier Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, A. K. Cohen, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, Benjamin Samuels, Melvin H. Schlesinger and Jesse Steinhart, honorary vice-chairmen; David Coleman, Henry Epstein and David A. Rose, vice-chairmen; Bernard Nath, chairman, and Paul Sampliner, vice-chairman, of Executive Committee; Jacob Alson, treasurer; Benjamin R. Epstein, secretary and national director. David A. Rose, chairman of Civil Rights Committee; Arnold Forster, Civil Rights Director.

Edited by Harold Braverman, Director Discriminations Department; Harold Berman, associate editor.

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tional trade associations was later followed by one to state-wide trade groups in New York, Georgia, Virginia and Colorado. Trade organizations in other states will also be contacted.

In New York, 150 trade groups were addressed. An impressively large number replied, endorsing ADL's position and emphasizing that they would not convene at a discriminatory hotel. In Georgia, an equally encouraging number have thus far responded, declaring they would not hold meetings at a restrictive hotel. Here, too, the ADL letter had requested no response.

Insurance Companies

Recently, the Anti-Defamation League broadened its educational campaign regarding resort discrimination and communicated with 250 life insurance companies across the country. These companies hold many conventions annually, including a number at discriminatory hotels. Replies are just beginning to come in. Of six received to date, five expressed a favorable reaction to the recommendation that they schedule their conventions at non-restrictive resort hotels. Among them, the Penn Mutual Insurance Co. indicated that it would hold no future meetings at The Homestead of Hot Springs, Va. The company convened at this restrictive hotel in March. It decided to meet next year at the Hollywood Beach Hotel in Hollywood, Fla.

Airlines*

ADL wrote to 16 airlines urging them to exclude from vacation package tours any resorts following a policy of religious discrimination. Most of them have so far responded. Following are excerpts from their replies:

● *British Overseas Airways Corporation:* "BOAC extends equal courtesy to all passengers throughout its extensive worldwide routes. Where tours are concerned, this airline only provides the transportation, the overall arrangements being the responsibility of individual tour operators. In the spirit of wholehearted cooperation with the principles of your organization, we are passing copies of your letter to the various tour operators who use our aircraft on their tours."

● *Continental Air Lines:* "We appreciate your views and if in the future we should include certain package tours in our sales program, we will certainly give full consideration to the matters you have outlined."

● *Delta Air Lines, Inc.:* "Thank you for your courteous letter of March 6th. As one of several airlines authorized to serve certain of our principal resort areas, Delta Air Lines is sincerely concerned with any problems involving the satisfaction of the passengers we are privileged to carry to and from such regions. I wish to assure you that Delta Air Lines neither practices nor endorses discrimination of the type outlined by your letter."

● *Eastern Air Lines:* "It has long been our policy not to associate ourselves with hotels that practice the type of discrimination to which you refer and for the very reasons you have outlined in your letter. Insofar as we know, no such hotels are included in Eastern Air Lines' package tours."

● *National Airlines*: " . . . do not sanction discriminations of any kind, anywhere, for any reason . . . We are always happy to work with you for the elimination of all kinds of discrimination."

● *Northeast Airlines, Inc.:* "In setting up package tours, we always make it very clear that we do not discriminate and that the lodges must accept the people we send them, when reservations are available, without discrimination."

● *Pan American World Airways System:* . . . We do not tolerate discrimination of any kind in our airline services. Package tour vacations are usually organized by specialists, rather than by the airlines, and customarily offer a choice of hotel accommodations; however, we are pleased to have your letter, so that the matter will not be overlooked when tour operations are being considered."

● *United Air Lines:* "United Air Lines . . . has never been a party to any manifestation of religious bias in any form . . . we are not currently carrying on any promotion, nor are we planning to do so, with any resort which maintains such barriers of bias."

● *Capital Airlines:* "I am most appreciative of your very thoughtful letter. Immediately upon receiving it, I had the matter surveyed. I know you will be very pleased to know that Capital does not have in operation any package tours in which any hotel or resort which erects religious barriers is included. You may be assured of our continued cooperation."

The travel agent, long considered a prime accomplice in resort restrictions, has been increasingly cooperative in the eradication of these abuses. The self-educational work among travel agents has been a most hopeful development in recent years. This educational campaign is being led by a New York group called The Travel Agents Committee to Combat Discrimination by Resorts and Hotels. A Catholic, Protestant and Jew are its three co-chairmen. The group last year was primarily responsible for the adoption of an important resolution by the American Society of Travel Agents. It agreed not to hold meetings, conferences or conventions at any resort or hotel which discriminates because of religion or national origin. Some local chapters had previously adopted a similar resolution.

The American Automobile Association

Last February, the Anti-Defamation League urged the American Automobile Association to withdraw its "AAA seal of approval" from hotels, resorts and motels which deny accommodations to Jewish guests. In requesting this change in AAA policy, ADL pointed out that many individuals of the Jewish faith, relying upon AAA listings and recommendations, have been subjected to embarrassment and humiliation. It called on AAA, which has more than three million motorists enrolled in its state and regional affiliates, to lend an expressive and vigorous voice to the efforts being made against hotel discrimination.

Similar ADL requests have been made in the past but the association has repeatedly refused to take action.

*** The relationship of airlines to the problem of resort discrimination is discussed herein outside the context of employment discrimination. On May 9, 1956, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination announced it had opened a broad inquiry into charges that four airlines—Pan American World Airways, Trans-World Airlines, American Airlines and United Airlines—refused to hire qualified Negro applicants. The Commission also ordered a general study of the hiring procedures of eight other airlines which were unnamed.**

Its policy is to authorize places of public accommodation to display and advertise the AAA shield provided their general appearance, cleanliness, convenience and quality of service meet the association's standards. The association does not condone places that discriminate and has removed discriminatory language from its directories and listings, but refuses to go beyond that. It has taken the position that AAA cannot police the policies of the resorts it otherwise approves. It maintains:

● "If we should attempt to police the operating policies of the hotels and motor courts, and particularly as regards this matter of selection of clientele, we would have to practically double the number of employees in our inspection service and considerably increase our administrative expenses."

To this, ADL has replied:

● "All AAA need do—with negligible expense—is to check AAA listings against our records, or those of any other accredited agency in our work. To be doubly-sure it can then ask the places we say discriminate if, in fact, they do. Most of them won't deny it; it's their policy to advertise the fact. For those who might deny it, we can always put the record on the table."

There the matter has rested until this year when ADL called again on the association to include a requirement that guest policies be non-discriminatory. Failure to do so, said ADL, has brought many complaints from AAA members who are Jewish. And ADL cited a recent survey which showed that three of every ten AAA-approved places in Michigan barred Jewish guests.

● "The juxtaposition of the AAA symbol with religious discrimination," ADL declared, "inevitably taints your great association." ADL pointed out that two AAA affiliates, the Automobile Club of New York and the Connecticut Motor Club supported ADL's views, that both groups have gone on record condemning religious bias by hotels and resorts. But, as in the past, the national AAA association has refused to take action on ADL's appeal that the AAA seal of approval be denied to discriminatory hotels.

Surveys

Michigan:

ADL surveyed 125 cabins, motels and resorts listed in publications issued by the Automobile Club of Michigan, thus carrying the AAA seal of approval. It found that about 3 out of 10 discriminated against Jews.

The ADL survey observed that persons patronizing restrictive resorts are inclined to carry such undemocratic principles and practices into other aspects of their daily lives. Consequently, these may be responsible in part for some other un-American social patterns of discrimination.

Wisconsin:

In Wisconsin, ADL surveyed 206 resorts listed in the Wisconsin Vacation Guide of AAA and brochures of various chamber of commerce organizations in resort areas. Of these, 30 had accommodations for Christians but not for Jews; 98 used discriminatory language in their handling of reservations ("select clientele," "Gentile clientele," "congenial clientele"), or potentially discriminatory language in making references to churches.

Colorado:

In 1955, ADL surveyed 52 Colorado resorts and found that 16 gave definite indication of discrimination against Jews. In addition, 7 used potentially discriminatory language in their brochures.

Pennsylvania:

In the fall of 1955, ADL surveyed 88 hotels in the Pocono Mountains, Pa., and found that 91 percent of the hotels studied treated Jewish and non-Jewish applicants on an equal basis, compared with 87 percent in 1952. The number of hotels whose literature does not contain potentially discriminatory language increased in 1955 to 50 percent of the total number studied, as compared to 39 percent in 1952.

NOTES

The Quincy, Mass., branch of the John Hancock Insurance Co. voted against holding its convention next September at the Wentworth-by-the-Sea in New Hampshire. Of the 72 negative votes, 68 were registered by non-Jews . . . The New Britain (Conn.) chapter of the New England Advisory Board of Insurance Agents adopted a resolution calling on its organization not to hold the next convention at the Wentworth-by-the-Sea because of its discriminatory policy.

● ● ●

As a result of a resolution adopted last year by the Vermont Federation of Labor (AFL), the names of all discriminatory public restaurants, inns, lodging houses, hotels and motels in Vermont have been so publicized in the labor press. The labor group said its members would also be urged to avoid such establishments.

In Nassau, the Bahamas, the House of Assembly, March 1, 1956, adopted a resolution declaring "discrimination in hotels, theatres, and other public places in the colony against persons on account of their race or color is not in the public interest."

● ● ●

The general manager of Pocono Manor Inn (Pa.), replying last month to an inquiry from a prospective guest, said, "I believe this letter solemnly indicates our policy is anti-discriminatory. We repeat, that it is our firm policy to accommodate guests of every religion at the Manor."

● ● ●

Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan last month signed a bill adding motels to the list of public service facilities which must not discriminate against patrons because of race or color. "This bill," the Governor declared, "is another step in Michigan's continuing effort to guarantee every citizen full citizenship, regardless of race, creed or color. Like our other civil rights legislation, this measure gives the formal support of law to the majority opinion of our people who do not approve of racial and religious discrimination." The bill also increased the minimum fine for convicted violators from $25 to $100 and authorizes the sentencing judge to suspend or revoke any state or city license under which a convicted defendant is operating.

Copy - Ruth House Alexander

June 20, 1956

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Executive Secretary
Anti Defamation League of Bônai B'rith
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Art:

I surely enjoyed the Conference on Human Relations out at the University of Oklahoma. I think the ADL made a real contribution to furthering understanding among Southern educators. I sincerely felt the whole thing was most worthwhile and enjoyed participating in it.

I think that a follow-up conference in, say, six months would be a wonderful help to the people involved and also in evaluating the effectiveness of such conferences.

Gertrude Noar asked that I send you my expense account for the trip. It is enclosed.

I am off for a conference with the UAW-CIO in Michigan. Will call you for lunch on my return.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

June 27, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your letter of June 25 with your kind words about my presentation at the Southern Conference on Human Relations Education in Oklahoma. I was pleased with the reception it received out there and with the ensuing discussion. I feel the whole Conference was most worthwhile and served as a sort of re-charging station for those of us who work in the field. Because there was not unanimity I believe that those of us who are pro-integration had to further think through our position, and those who were not for integration probably learned a great deal through a living-learning experience.

I am interested that the New York Times may be interested in my presentation and if it can be of any use, I hope it will be used. Thank you for mentioning this and I would appreciate your keeping in touch with us on the matter, as you offered to in your letter.

I have already submitted my expenses to Art Levin here in the Southeastern Regional ADL office, for Gertrude suggested I do so before I left Oklahoma.

Since I was out in Oklahoma I have made trips to the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers' Annual Meeting in Shreveport and a UAW-CIO meeting in Port Huron, Michigan. We in the SRC believe it is extremely important to get the story out and that some of the refinements of the field be understood by bodies who can do something to contribute to social movement.

Best regards to Gertrude Noar, and I appreciated the opportunity of working with you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

June 29, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your letter of June 27, with the enclosed proposed questionnaire. I have taken the liberty of marking up this copy. Items that are encircled with pencil are suggested changes or reasons for change; other items are suggested inserts. Since I did not have a blue pencil, I could not do an adequate job of editing, but trust the ink will serve the same purpose.

I think it would be good to send out the questionnaire, for this was a rather select group with which we dealt and we might find some interesting suggestions on identifying problems and dealing with them, helpful hints on good practices, and something of an evaluation (in question 12) of the value of conferences such as our Oklahoma one.

No one else is doing exactly this sort of thing and the more data we have, the better we will be.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Enclosure.

July 5, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks a lot for your last letter. I appreciated the memo on the Oklahoma conference. I thought it was well done and was amazed at how much of the conference, or the spirit of the conference, was put into a relatively few pages.

I am sending you a copy of a brief history of SRC, which I think you may find interesting.

I have just been out in Mississippi, and have talked with such people as Boyd Campbell, former president of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and Rex Brown, Chairman of the Board of the Mississippi Power and Light Company, and both of them feel that the situation in Mississippi is beginning to slowly improve. What they mean, I believe, is that there is some less tension than there was a few months ago.

Things go well here generally, with no new excitement, even though Talmadge did open his campaign yesterday, July 4.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

cc: Dr. Lieberman

Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky
July 6, 1956

Mr. Sheldon Steinhauser
Ohio-Kentucky Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Suite 610
82 North High Street
Columbus 15, Ohio

Dear Mr. Steinhauser:

It was a pleasure to meet you at the University of Kentucky last week and I hope that your travel to Kentucky will be more frequent and that you will be available when you come through Louisville.

There is one matter I intended to mention to you, but found no appropriate time. It is the matter of my travel expenses to the meeting at the University of Oklahoma. I left a handwritten memorandum with Dr. Lieberman, but when I came through Louisville on my way down to Atlanta I did not find a check in my mail, and I wondered if he had misplaced my note. Consequently, I am sending herewith the plane ticket stub for ninety-six dollars ($96.00) and hope you will be kind enough to look into the matter for me.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Professor of Sociology

CHP:mef

Encl.

AIRMAIL

July 16, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

We would be delighted to have you reprint Lew Killian's article from New South. We thought it was an excellent piece of analysis.

While I am writing you, let me congratulate you on the Oklahoma conference. I got full reports from Fred Routh and Art Levin, as well as having read some of the publicity. You have every right to feel proud.

I hope to see you again before too long.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

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Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

July 11, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Could we have your permission to reprint the Lewis M. Killian article "The Subtle Hypocrisy of 'Delay'" which appeared in the June issue of the NEW SOUTH. We would greatly appreciate this.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

FBR

cc: Art Levin

July 13, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Your letter, with the check covering my expenses to the Oklahoma Conference, came while I was away on a trip and unfortunately got filed with the financial papers. I hasten to write you with sincere thanks for your promptness in sending this through and with regrets for my tardiness in acknowledging it.

Thanks once more.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

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Executive Assistant

June 29, 1956

Rec'd 7/2/56

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed herewith is a check covering your expenses to the Southwide Conference on Human Relations Education. We are grateful to you for attending and for the contribution you made to the conference. We earnestly hope that the conference may have contributed toward the objectives in which we all believe.

We shall be sending you a questionnaire concerning your impressions of the conference and your suggestions. We would greatly appreciate your cooperation in this connection, particularly in terms of any recommendations you have for our agency.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

CR 103 45
rha

OC
el

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

ACCOUNT	YOUR DATE	INVOICE AMOUNTS	DEDUCTIONS
49E14	194 OKLA	103 45	FRED ROUTH

THIS ATTACHED CHECK IS IN FULL PAYMENT OF ITEMS LISTED ABOVE.

altag n.y.c.

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Executive Assistant

July 18, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your kind letter. We appreciate your permission to reprint the Killian article. I do not know whether we are going to do it, because of other similar pieces we have in mind.

Thanks for your remarks on the Southwide Conference on Human Relations Education. I think it was helpful and one of the reasons was the number of SRC people that were present.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

August 9, 1956

Mr. Herman M. Case, Assistant Director
Department of Education
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

Dear Hank:

Thanks for sending down the copy of my speech for any corrections I might want to make. I have read it through carefully and think you did an admirable job of shortening it, but at the same time maintain entirely its spirit and its flavor. Therefore, there are no changes to make.

It is interesting to note that Florida, Virginia and North Carolina have all been attempting to crowd into the Hard Core category by legislative action. However, I still feel that the people in these three states are not of the same mind or disposition as the vast majority of people in the Hard Core, and would still classify these three with Tennessee as waiting.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

Encl.

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Executive Assistant

Rec'd 8/8/56
Spec Delivery

August 6, 1956

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Enclosed is a shortened version of your presentation at the Southern Regional Conference on Human Relations Education. The condensation was necessary in view of the costs involved in publication of the proceedings. I have tried to retain the flavor of your speech and not to violate your thought.

Please read the speech and feel entirely free to change it in any way you wish. I would appreciate your returning it to us at your earliest convenience so that we can move forward rapidly.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

Hank Case

Herman M. Case
Assistant Director
Department of Education

HMC:gs
Enc.
SPECIAL DELIVERY

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HCF

?

lets talk, huh?

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Executive Assistant

August 15, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Are you planning an article on the Southwide Conference on Human Relations Education in the NEW SOUTH? I would very much like to see an article on the subject and no one can do this better than Fred Routh.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

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Ch to consider
Dr. Mitchell - Mr. Sound did not find the time to read this before he left
(OC)

RECEIVED SEP 4 1956

August 29, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

You are doubtless familiar with much of the background of events preceding the desegregation of the St. Louis public schools.

The Anti-Defamation League felt that this was a story worth telling. Much that happened in St. Louis has significance for other places meeting the problems of desegregation. Moreover, the description of the processes of change over several years prior to the Supreme Court decision, and the delineation of factors making for success or failure of the process should be of value to all social scientists and educators studying the problem.

Since Professor Bonita Valien of Fisk University has long been interested in this problem, we invited her to do research on the St. Louis experience and to present her findings for our Freedom Pamphlet series.

This she has done in a careful and scholarly manner, we believe, while writing in a style meaningful to a wide audience.

We are taking the liberty of sending you a galley (unproofed) for your comments. We are sure whatever you care to say will be of great interest to us. May we have your comments as soon as convenient. Please advise us if we may quote you.

With many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen (ia)

Oscar Cohen

OC/akl

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 5, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: State Offices of Affiliated Organizations

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: ADL Freedom Pamphlet "The St. Louis Story"

Here is a detailed report on school desegregation in St. Louis, prepared by Bonita H. Valien of Fisk University for the Anti-Defamation League. Please read it and let me know whether or not your organization would want to buy any for program use.

If enough state groups want enough copies, SRC could order the grand total at the quantity rate and pass on this saving to the state groups.

In order to save you clerical work on this, I am providing spaces below which you may fill in, returning this memo to me.

☐ WE WISH TO BUY NO COPIES OF "THE ST. LOUIS STORY".

☐ WE WISH TO BUY ____ COPIES AND WOULD LIKE SRC TO POOL OUR ORDER WITH OTHERS IN ORDER TO GET THE LOWEST QUANTITY RATE.

_____
(State Organization)

By_____

HCF:mbo
Enc.

FREEDOM is more than a word. It is a deeply cherished belief in the essential importance of the person and in the supremacy of a society which respects and safeguards the eminent dignity and integrity of personality.

FREEDOM is a creative spirit that summons the energies of all men to the task of building the kind of community, the kind of nation, the kind of world in which they want to live. It is a dream of a world in which all men, women, and children are encouraged to grow to their fullest—physically, mentally, spiritually—so that they may fulfill the great promise of their inner potential.

But freedom is more than a belief or a dream. Freedom is also a process; as such it is concerned with means as with ends, seeking through democratic methods to create the good society.

The education of free men to understand their proper role in a free society is basic to such a process. To this task the ***FREEDOM PAMPHLET*** Series is dedicated.

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Editors of Freedom Pamphlet series: OSCAR COHEN, *director, national program division;* OSCAR TARCOV, *director, publications department.*

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

BONITA H. VALIEN, who was responsible for the preparation of this pamphlet, is Associate Professor of the Social Sciences at Fisk University. She is a Regional Consultant for the Southern Regional Council. She was a member of the research staff of the Ashmore Project and has served as Research Consultant for the Southern Education Reporting Service. For several years, she has been Associate Program Director of the Annual Institute of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University.

This pamphlet is based in part upon a master's thesis written in May, 1955, by MRS. INEZ CRENSHAW BOYD, a teacher on leave in the St. Louis Public Schools, and a part-time instructor in the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University.

FOREWORD

American democracy rests upon the ethical principles of the essential dignity of the individual, the fundamental equality of all men, and the inalienable right of all persons to freedom, justice and equal opportunity. Though the ideal development of these principles has not yet been fully realized in our present-day society, this still remains our fundamental goal as we work to narrow the gap between principle and practice.

In working toward these goals, we notice an interesting fact: when, in the interest of national integrity and group welfare, we act through such collective bodies as the church, the school, trade unions and other social institutions, we tend to rise above our personal interests and prejudices and subordinate them to the larger ideals of American democracy of which our institutions are symbols and which they must serve.

This is exactly what happened in St. Louis. For over a period of several years prior to the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation, the members of St. Louis social institutions and agencies, both public and private, had consistently sought to incorporate these principles of American democracy into their own social planning. It was the collective planning of the people in these agencies—slow and undramatic perhaps—that was actually responsible for fostering a climate favorable to St. Louis' acceptance of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. Of equal importance was the ability of these organizations to bring to the program their facilities and the wide range of skills of their individual members, as well as their ability to create lines of communication between persons of both races interested in sound social planning.

The St. Louis story is an account of an envolving democracy—still in the process of achievement—but with a dedicated citizenry determined to apply intelligence, common sense, courage and skill in facilitating orderly and positive democratic social change. In short, it is an exemplification of the American democratic process in action.

B. H. V. (signature)

CHAPTER I

THE ST. LOUIS COMMUNITY

St. Louis is in the state of Missouri, and from its beginning, Missouri has been a state of contradictions. Admitted to the Union in 1820 as a slave state under the Missouri Compromise, but free from the economic pressures which drove the more southerly states into secession, Missouri remained in the Union during the Civil War though perhaps her traditions and sympathies inclined her toward the seceding states. Paying homage to this historical sympathy, Missouri enacted segregation laws during the period when such laws were being adopted in the rest of the South.

Missouri law still prohibits racial intermarriage. The State Constitution adopted in 1875 provided that "separate schools shall be established for children of African descent" (Article 11, Section 3); in 1945 this was revised to read ". . . separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided by law" (Article 9, Section 1a). While accepting the United States Supreme Court decision, the legislature in its 1954 session refused to repeal its law providing for racial segregation in education—on the argument that such an action should await the Supreme Court's final implementation decree.

Throughout Missouri's history, this ambivalence has persisted. While the state's customs and mores reflect the South to a considerable extent, Howard Odum's *Southern Regions of the United States* places Missouri, economically and politically, with the middle states. Using a variety of indices—wealth, educational expenditures, proportion of farm to urban population—Missouri appears more akin to her northern neighbors than to those to the South.

Reflecting to a considerable degree the Southern side of this dual position is Missouri's largest city, St. Louis, located at the state's eastern border on the Mississippi River. Once a slaveholding city and the site of the famous Dred Scott decision (". . . a Negro has no rights which the white man is bound to respect . . ."), a pattern of social exclusion has characterized the St. Louis community from its beginnings.

Sociologically, the early history of St. Louis mirrors many of the same patterns which regulate any Southern community. As previously noted, state law prohibited racial intermarriage and required racially segregated schools. While a St. Louis ordinance required equal service in restaurants operated in municipal buildings, until recently, Negroes were excluded as a matter of policy from hotels, restaurants, motion picture theatres and similar licensed places catering to white persons. Also, although certain facilities of the municipal park and playground system were open to all citizens, until 1949 the Division of Parks and Recreation followed the practice of segregation in playgrounds, swimming pools and community centers. And while the streetcars and buses, the Municipal Auditorium and the Municipal Opera featured no racial restrictions, custom, reinforced by restrictive covenants (now termed "unenforceable"), limited Negroes to well-defined neighborhoods and their employment for the most part to unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

While many of the early patterns still persist, the St. Louis community has been undergoing changes for many years, the most

penditures, proportion of farm to urban population—Missouri appears more akin to her northern neighbors than to those to the South.

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While many of the early patterns still persist, the St. Louis community has been undergoing changes for many years, the most notable advances having been made in the years following World War II.

The Negro Progression: Population Pushes Economy

A highly industrialized, mobile and heterogeneous community, St. Louis, the nation's eighth largest city, has grown from a population of 4,598 when its first census was taken in 1820 to an estimated January, 1956 population of 841,000. However, whatever growth the city has experienced within the past 20 years or more can be attributed almost entirely to an increase in the Negro population. In the decade of 1930-40, for example, the white population showed a loss of 2.87 per cent, while the Negro total increased by 16.22 per cent. Again, in 1940-50, the Negroes showed a striking increase of 41.37 per cent while the whites continued to lose, this time slightly under 1 per cent.

In relation to St. Louis' total population, the Negroes have grown from 6.2 per cent of the total in 1900, to 13.3 per cent in 1940, and to 20 per cent in 1954.

It is significant to note that while between the years of 1950 and 1956, the *city* of St. Louis showed an overall *decrease* of 16,000 in its total population figures (U.S. Census estimate, January, 1956), the surrounding *metropolitan area* showed an *increase* of 227,000. This increase in the population of the metropolitan area is largely due to a shift in the white population.

Typical of what is happening in most American cities, the older middle-class white families, as they improve their economic status, are moving out of the city into the suburbs. The poorer in-migrating laboring class, a large part of which is Negro, is filling up the old housing which the middle-class whites are vacating. For all practical purposes, Negroes are taking over more and more of the city while the whites are occupying the outlying areas. While the metropolitan area will continue to expand, the future growth of the city population would seem to depend, to a large extent, upon an increase in the Negro population. This increase in the Negro population and shift in the white population has had a profound influence on the position of the Negro in the St. Louis economy.

The direction of change and the comparative position of the Negro in the St. Louis community is revealed in a recent survey made by two Washington University professors and the Urban League. This study revealed that, educationally, the gap between Negroes and whites has been practically closed; the median number of school years completed by whites does not exceed that completed by non-whites by more than one school year. Politically, too, the Negro is becoming increasingly more active, and there is Negro political representation at both the city and state level. During 1956 a Negro was appointed a circuit court judge, the first in Missouri's history.

The Negro's economic position shows a favourable direction of change in education, training, occupational classification and industrial attachment. Within recent years, Negroes have been upgraded in numerous job categories and there has been a movement of Negroes from service and domestic jobs into heavy in-

dustry and better-paying jobs in the durable goods area. The younger Negro is achieving a higher occupational and industrial status than those in the older age classifications—approximately three out of every five Negroes from 20 to 29 years work in the six top-ranking occupational categories. Despite these gains, the unemployment rate for Negroes is appreciably higher than that for whites, and the extent to which the Negro will be able to maintain these gains will depend largely upon the ability of the St. Louis economy to maintain full employment. The Negro is still the last to be hired and the first fired, and there remains a high proportion of educated Negroes working at levels lower than their educational status would indicate.

Labor unions are playing an increasingly important role in the St. Louis economy, and the improved occupational status of the Negro can be attributed, to some extent, to this union affiliation. However, there are still unions which operate on a segregated basis, and some craft unions and railroad brotherhoods do not admit Negroes to membership at all. One of the first actions of the Negro board member of the St. Louis Board of Education, after their adoption of the desegregation program, was to ask for the appointment of a special board committee to investigate the hiring of all school employees on an integrated basis. The charge that hundreds of jobs—among them those for carpenters, painters and electricians—are being denied to Negroes was countered by pointing to the fact that the problem is complicated because some labor unions do not admit Negroes to membership.

As to income, the Negro's position is much improved. The proportion of Negroes in the lower brackets has decreased while the percentage in the higher brackets has increased. In general, however, by the end of 1953 the Negro still had not reached the economic position attained by whites in 1950. Although St. Louis ranks ninth in average white income, it is fifteenth in average Negro income.

A Community Crisis: Cause and Effect

In a community where there is an expanding population and such public facilities as schools, playgrounds and community centers operate on a segregated basis, any substantial movement of population results in competition over those facilities in borderline areas. In the absence of a just and well-defined policy, this competition almost inevitably results in the type of open conflict which occurred in St. Louis in 1949.

The disturbance revolved around a facility of the Division of Parks and Recreation. Because of the relevance this incident had in focussing community attention on the need to face realistically the changes going on in the community, as well as the importance of community preparation in the area of human relations, it must be given more than passing attention.

The Division of Parks and Recreation had no clear-cut statement of racial policy on the use of recreational facilities. Without legal support, the administration had simply met each problem of race relations by either side-stepping the issue or balancing the pressures. Thus, the basis on which the determination of whether a particular playground should be white or Negro depended on the pressures within the locality. With reference to policy, one

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But for some time, the traditional exclusion of Negroes from municipal swimming pools had been subjected to challenge. The responsible public officials, confronted with the problem, saw no legal basis for continuing the exclusion and said so. Accordingly, in June, 1949, it was publicly announced that the city-owned outdoor swimming pools, previously restricted to use by whites only, were to be open to both Negroes and whites. "The announcement," said one observer, "just seemed to have come out of the blue." Staff members expected to implement the change had not been notified. The first knowledge that the community had of the change was a front-page newspaper announcement. The radio, through frequent spot announcements, beamed the news to the city. The result was that while Negro children appeared at three swimming pools and one wading pool and participated without difficulty, at one pool, located at Fairgrounds Park, a near riot occurred, stimulated by a loosely organized gang of boys and young men ranging in age from 17 to 23. These boys had a history of being trouble-makers. They were the type, found in nearly any community, who become aroused in tension situations and are momentarily dangerous people.

Rumor and tension ran high on the day of the disturbance. Within a few days this tension had subsided almost as quickly as it had arisen—but not until at least 12 persons had been injured to the extent of requiring hospitalization or first aid. Since the police had not been informed in advance, they were obviously caught off guard and unprepared when the violence broke out. However, it is the general opinion that the prompt action of the police, despite their lack of preparation, with the support of community leaders prevented a dangerous disturbance from becoming a full-fledged riot. The pools were closed to allow for a "cooling off" period. A year later, as a result of an NAACP sponsored suit, Federal District Court Judge Hulen ordered the pool discrimination ended. Nearly all of St. Louis deplored the incident and believed that highlighting the disturbance in the press and labeling it as a "race riot" was an injustice to the city.

Looking beyond the incident as possibly symptomatic of larger and graver ills, the St. Louis Council on Human Relations secured the services of George Schermer, Director of Detroit's Mayor's Interracial Committee, to investigate the swimming pool situation and make recommendations. The conclusions drawn coincided to a considerable extent with those of two previous local attitude studies, one published by the Social Planning Council and an unpublished study by the Urban League. These studies revealed strong dissatisfaction among Negroes regarding their economic and living conditions. Housing, jobs and the cost of living troubled them most; segregation and discrimination, lack of educational and recreational facilities followed. The report concluded: "A large part of the white community holds relatively little malice toward the Negroes so long as old patterns are unchallenged. Among

Negroes there is a strong undercurrent of resentment, not so much toward whites, as toward the restrictions which limit opportunity and freedom."

In his analysis of the swimming pool disturbance, George Schermer concluded that "the majority of St. Louis citizens are decent, law-abiding citizens who want to see justice and fair treatment prevail. At the same time, in the field of race relations, they have no real knowledge of the problem. On one hand, the majority group holds blindly and stubbornly to the status quo. Without realizing that most of the problems of change are produced by basic economic and social forces, they blame the trouble upon those in the minority. It is interesting to note the hungry desire of so many people, high and low, who wish to explain the Fairgrounds Park disturbance as the product of a malicious conspiracy. That is an easy, face-saving device. It is a kind of scapegoatism. Actually, the responsibility for the incident and the dilemma which St. Louis now faces lies at the doors of many, many public officials and civic, religious, business and labor leaders. *Not because of what they did, but because of what they failed to do.*"

This might well have been the challenge that led the St. Louis community to take a keener look at itself and to accelerate its pace of change.

CHAPTER II

THE TREND TOWARD DESEGREGATION

St. Louis began to change in many small and some big ways before the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision for desegregation of the public schools. The impetus for change came from many sources, both without and within the community. The new international role of the United States, the changing status of the Negro and his increasing participation in the life of the nation had served to focus attention on the gap between the democratic "creed" and the democratic "deed". The changing spatial, economic and educational position of the Negro population had begun to disrupt local patterns. With the Negro's increasing educational and occupational gains leading to a higher standard of living came the inevitable frustration and resentment growing out of a restrictive environment.

Although Negroes represent 20 per cent of the St. Louis population, they occupy less than 10 per cent of the St. Louis living area. The expanding housing needs of the growing Negro population have been met primarily by extension of the segregated area —usually on a block-by-block basis. There are, however, a limited number of Negroes moving out of the well-defined Negro neighborhoods into the wider community. A Federal District Court ruling in January, 1956, forbidding racial segregation in the city's low rent public housing units, should contribute toward the elimination of ghetto housing for the groups served by these units.

In the area of public accommodations, although the Board of Aldermen failed to pass in 1955 a bill endorsed by the St. Louis Council on Human Relations (the official agency existing under ordinance, commonly referred to as the "Mayor's Council"), making it unlawful for hotels, restaurants and theatres to restrict patronage according to race, creed or color, some downtown res-

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In 1955, a questionnaire which attempted to discover how much each racial group knew about the community's racial problems and practices was distributed to 150 St. Louis citizens representing an occupational cross-section of the population. It was discovered that there was very little distortion in the returns as to the approximate proportion which Negroes formed of the city's total population or as to the relative size of the Negro crime rate in St. Louis. Respondents of both racial groups agreed that it was still a controversial matter in St. Louis for Negroes to stay in white hotels, belong to predominantly white Protestant churches, be served in white restaurants or to sit among whites in downtown movie houses. While there was general consensus regarding the relative position of the Negro in St. Louis, there was also widespread recognition of changes taking place. The resultant effect of these changes in the nation at large was noted by Gunnar Myrdal, who, after a study of the problems of the Negro in America concluded that, "a push upward on any one of the number of factors—political power, civil rights, employment opportunities, housing, nutrition, and health—would move all other factors in the same direction and have, through them, a cumulative effect upon general Negro status. It follows that there is no cause either for despair, or for delaying action until a single panacea which will solve the whole problem has been found. Instead, any sensible action for the improvement of conditions based on the actual facts in a given community or area can be expected to contribute toward making the problem as a whole a little less insoluble. We can, therefore, move forward on any and all fronts toward the correction of discriminations and the extension of equal opportunities with the confidence that what is accomplished, though it may seem hardly measurable in terms of the problem as a whole, will be transferred by the process of cumulation through the whole system."

In a given society, social structures are interrelated, and changes in one have reactions upon others. It is important to remember that changes are not always harmonious; as a matter of fact, some changes stand in direct opposition to one another. In a dynamic society, change is inevitable; just what direction these changes take are dependent upon and influenced by many factors.

As pointed out earlier, the St. Louis community had been undergoing change for many years; some changes had been forced through legal action, others had come about voluntarily. Some of

the changes had been hardly perceptible, others had been more noticeable. St. Louis had its share of citizens who for many, many years had worked quietly and diligently "whittling away" the barriers to communication and full participation of all its citizens. While it is within the last decade that St. Louis has made its most perceptible and rapid advance toward a more democratic society, this was made possible by the many unsung heroes—religious leaders of all faiths and other community leaders—who, as one informant puts it, "softened the ground out of which constructive efforts began to flower and come into full fruition."

Beginning in the early forties and working within the framework of legal segregation, there came into being a conscious, organized effort on the part of many groups to change the social situation in their community in the direction of more democratic values. Individuals, agencies and groups began to work toward the elimination of ethnic, religious and racial minority-group status from their community. There was increasing concern that there must be more consistency between stated democratic principles and actual behavior. Cooperative ventures in better community understanding became widespread. Their goal: the integration of minority peoples and the lessening of prejudice and discrimination. Their method: education, both formal and informal, positive and aggressive—not the kind of education which says "time will heal all things" including prejudice; not the kind of education which results in doing nothing. The successful working together on a common problem by varied religious, educational, civic and social organizations inspired further effort to mobilize these constructive forces of the community in such a way that they achieved a division of labor, greater effectiveness and mutual respect among themselves.

Community Agencies Take Stock

In 1946, 35 community organizations joined the Board of the YWCA in a five-day Community Race Relations Institute in an attempt to discover techniques of furthering better race relations in St. Louis. Following this Institute, community agencies and boards began to look critically at their own organizations. The local Social Planning Council, at the suggestion of the Urban League, appointed a standing committee to study and make recommendations in regard to problems of desegregation in its member agencies. The Council also issued a "Statement of Goals for Nondiscrimination in Member Agencies." Community agencies began to desegregate gradually, first integrating Negroes at the board level, next the staff, and finally the clientele. Voluntary associations likewise began increasing the removal of barriers to full membership and participation by all groups. The Mayor's Council on Human Relations, formed in 1949, sponsored a yearly celebration of Universal Declaration of Human Rights Day. In each celebration a part of the Institute was devoted to human rights in the school.

Facts about human relations were systematically assembled. In 1949 the Missouri Association for Social Welfare, at the request of the Association's Committee on Human Rights, assumed the responsibility for studying the nature and extent of discriminatory practices in Missouri. In the first of its three reports (April, 1949), the Committee concluded that "probably the worst field of discrimination in the state is in public education." In its second report (October, 1949), in which the two state universities—Lin-

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Beginning in 1950, as a result of a judicial ruling, Negro residents of Missouri were admitted to the University of Missouri if —and only if—the courses of study they desired were not offered at Lincoln. In the Committee's third report (November, 1953), the cost of segregation in the public schools of the state was considered. The results of this study clearly established that Negro and white schools in Missouri were not equal, that to provide approximately equal but separate schools would be very expensive, and that to integrate the schools by abolishing segregation would bring about a considerable saving. "But," the report hastened to add, "monetary considerations, important as they may be, are not primary . . . Segregation is based on an unsound principle—the assumed innate inferiority of a whole race—and for that reason is incompatible with the American ideal, democracy. The only answer in the problem of racial inequality in public education is integration."

Religious Groups Promote Good Human Relations

Beginning in the early forties, but accelerating in pace following World War II, church leaders of all faiths actively began to promote good human relations both by precept and practice; more and more, they were beginning "to pull the subject of human relations out of phraseological niceties into some practical efforts." Advocating full equality, a distinguished religous leader took the initiative in organizing the Citizens' Committee on Human Rights. Temple Israel opened its pulpit to Negro ministers. The Ethical Society extended its membership to include Negroes. The Metropolitan Church Federation, with its 600 member churches, in accordance with the unanimous vote of its Executive Board, asked the churches of Metropolitan St. Louis "to cease the practice of segregation in their local and church institutions . . . to open their doors to fellowship, membership and service regardless of race or color." In an endeavor to focus the attention of local churches upon their responsibility in connection with the problem of human relations, the Interracial Commission of the Metropolitan Church Federation sponsored four institutes, using as the theme "The Church Faces the Race Question."

While there is recognition that much remains to be done, Protestant churches are moving slowly toward a more inclusive membership; one white church had a Negro assistant pastor for a year (1951-52). A Methodist church in a changing neighborhood has Negro children in its Sunday school and "wonders why Negro adults do not join the church." Since 1947, all Catholic churches have served communicants of all races and it was the Catholics who initiated the desegregation process in St. Louis' elementary and secondary schools.

Catholic Schools Set an Example

A little over 24 per cent of the St. Louis population is Catholic. In 1947, "simply as a step in a well-planned progression toward the realization in daily life of the ideal of the Brotherhood of Man,"

Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter ordered the immediate abolition of segregation in all Catholic parochial elementary and secondary schools. Although a few key schools had already accepted Negro students quietly and without fanfare, and a year earlier in 1946, St. Louis University, a Jesuit institution, had opened its doors to Negro students with no unfavorable repercussions, the order to open all elementary and secondary schools was met with open opposition. Some 700 Catholic parents formed as a group to protest; they threatened legal action. The Archbishop firmly reminded them that under Canon Law they would be "excommunicated if they presumed to interfere in the administrative office of their Bishop by having recourse to any authority outside the Church." Not heeding this admonition, the group next tried to go over the Archbishop's head by appealing to the Apostolic Delegate from the Vatican to Washington. The Apostolic Delegate answered that the Archbishop was the final authority and no Catholic should disobey him.

At the next meeting of the protest group, the Apostolic Delegate said that he would entertain only one motion—that for the dissolution of the group. While a minority wanted to go on with the protest, seeking a civil ban against the edict, the group was dissolved. A few of these withdrew their children from the parochial schools and presumably sent them to the segregated public schools. However, after an initial period of adjustment, with the Catholic Interracial Council taking the lead in the shaping of community attitudes, school desegregation was taken in stride. Seven years later in 1954, when the U. S. Supreme Court ordered the elimination of segregation in all public schools, St. Louis did not have to ask, "Will it work?" The Catholics had shown that *given strong, convinced, and unequivocal leadership, integration can, and did work.*

Key Labor Unions Take Up the Cause

Labor unions of the now merged CIO and AFL, while attacking segregation and discrimination within their own organizations, were also supporting and advocating desegregation of other institutions. Noting the trend of the decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, "assuming that segregation would be ended within a few years," and pointing to the successful desegregation of the Catholic schools, in 1951 the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 688 (formerly AFL), and its Committee on Democratic Rights of Members urged that the community "begin to prepare for the inevitable change so that desegregation of the public schools might be accomplished with a minimum of disturbance and tension." Convinced that "a segregated school system contributes nothing to the democratic promise of America," the union offered for consideration eight specific recommendations which, in the main, called for workshops in intergroup education, a wider participation across racial lines among both teachers and students, and the re-opening of the aero-mechanics course at the white Hadley Technical High School which had been removed from the curriculum when the State Circuit Court ruled that the course must be offered to qualified Negroes if it is offered to qualified white students. For the most part, what the union sought was a concentration and extension of programs already underway with the official encouragement of the Board of Education. Two of the Union's proposals were turned down by the Board of Education as not

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The Press Combines Freedom with Responsibility

Supporting all such positive efforts was the press. Editorially, the daily newspapers, with *The St. Louis Post Dispatch* leading the way and *The St. Louis Globe Democrat,* the *Star Times,* and the Negro weekly, *The Argus,* following, supported desegregation. Opposition groups and their activities were reported with restraint. While there was no attempt to withhold news, the activities of these groups were never glamorized; they were simply reported as routine news items.

School Officials Work Towards a Plan

St. Louis officials will tell you that before the Supreme Court decision they "did not consciously prepare for desegregation." Said its Superintendent of Instruction, "promotion of wholesome human relations has always been a primary concern of good teachers everywhere and various methods of accomplishing this objective have been used with educative results throughout the history of the St. Louis public schools. Teaching children the worth and dignity of the individual, from the point of view of good American citizenship, was essential whether segregation continued or not."

At the professional level, the St. Louis school system had a long history of cooperation across racial lines. Dating back as early as the thirties, integrated committees of teachers and principals had selected textbooks and written courses of study to be used in the public schools. Although some professional educational organizations had operated on an integrated basis even at their inception, beginning in the forties there was increasing integration of public school teachers and principals in the performance of their professional duties and the operation of their professional organizations.

While working within the legal framework of segregation, Board members as well as school officials were not unaware of the changes impinging upon the community, and had begun to consider what procedure would be followed in the event segregation was outlawed by the Supreme Court. In the summer of 1953, members of the St. Louis Board of Education, school officials and community leaders participated in a number of meetings with the superintendent of an out-of-state school system which had recently been desegregated. The superintendent's office had made a number of studies of the best uses which could be made of its physical facilities in the event of desegregation. Several years previous to the decision, whenever a new building was erected, one of the first questions asked was: "How may we locate this building in such a way that it would be properly located whether segregation continues or desegregation comes?" Furthermore, whenever there was an intergroup controversy over possession of a school in a "fringe" neighborhood, school officials asked the question: "How may this controversy be resolved in such a way that there will be at least possible residue of antagonism to impede the process of desegregation?" Thus, when the decision came, the broad outlines

of a plan for desegregation were already in the minds of members of the Board and school officials.

"Project" Schools Give Teachers Training in Human Relations

One of the prime factors in making the community "human relations-conscious" was the experimental program of the Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools project sponsored by the American Council on Education and financed by the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Beginning in 1945, under the leadership of Dr. Hilda Taba and her staff, this experimental study grew into a systematic program of far-reaching proportions. It might well be considered the beginning of the coordinated effort which formed both a pattern and background within which the successful implementation of the May 17 Supreme Court decision was made possible.

The program sought to assist teachers in developing skills that would prove useful in helping students, as well as themselves, to overcome the artificial barriers of race. In-service training classes, institutes and workshops were held to acquaint teachers with the materials available and the technique to be used in promoting good human relations. Attendance was voluntary. Beginning at first with a small number of teachers, the program was extended through special leadership training sessions devoted to train teachers for the training of other teachers. Teachers' colleges offered in-service training classes, "Education for Bettering Human Relations," in which the emphasis was placed on changing teacher attitudes. Through scholarships awarded by the National Conference of Christians and Jews, St. Louis teachers attended summer workshops in intergroup education, and a full-time consultant devoted a major portion of his time to help teachers learn ways to guide pupils in the art of cooperative living. An Intergroup Education Association of teachers and principals was organized for the purpose of improving the teaching of human relations in schools. This Association pooled its resources with other groups to plan programs and to provide speakers and audio-visual aids to any group wishing to undertake a program aimed at desegregation. Many neighborhood associations availed themselves of this opportunity. At the request of the Catholic Secondary Schools, the Intergroup Education Association cooperated in staging a program based on intergroup education for the Catholic Schools' convention.

Students Begin to Look Across Racial Barriers

In the segregated St. Louis school system, patterns of interracial meetings had been almost non-existent on a student level. The beginning was made, therefore, cautiously at first, through the exchange of musical organizations at assembly programs, and later through panel discussions and class-to-class visits. Further opportunity for wider student participation was provided through an all-city public high school symphony orchestra, and a Centennial pageant featuring over 5,000 pupils from all schools performing in an orchestra, band, choir, drills and games. Meeting once a month, a city-wide student council, now in its ninth year, provided an opportunity for discussion of problems of common concern to adolescents. Starting at first with somewhat less involved dis-

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"Intergroup Youth": Microcosm of a Democratic Society

Seeing the need of extending the intergroup education program into a wider area, in 1946 the regional director of the local National Conference of Christians and Jews conceived the idea of Intergroup Youth. Because of the tremendous influence which Intergroup Youth has had, and continues to have in the building of wholesome attitudes, and because it might well be considered worthy of adoption in other communities, it will be discussed in some detail. (From a memorandum provided by Virgil Border, Margaret Dagen, and Reba Mosby.)

The chief purpose of Intergroup Youth is to help make democracy a reality in the lives of participating members—who will in turn affect the community life of the city. It is composed of representative youth of the St. Louis area high schools who come together to share ideas and seek ways and methods of creating harmony and understanding among the other youth of the community. Intergroup Youth is not an action group as such. Rather it is a means of bringing together representatives of the young community—under the guidance of worthy adult advisors—for study, research, discussion, inspiration and stimulation. Action comes through the natural groupings of youth in schools, churches, and other community youth organization. Intergroup Youth's program centers around the interests of adolescents—arts and crafts, work projects, club activities, music and discussion. The range of activities offers opportunities for the varying degrees of readiness of any particular individual or sub-group. One group may be planning a panel program, another rehearsing a choric reading, still others may be embarked upon community programs such as decorating an interracial community center, restoring toys for needy children, or, as in one year, assisting the city in its rodent-control project.

The initiation of such a movement required both careful planning and guidance. To have far-reaching as well as long-term results, it was necessary to command a high degree of community support through the involvement of civic and youth leaders, as well as school teachers and administrators. The initial step was to secure the cooperation of high school principals and the confidence of the Assistant Superintendent of Instruction in charge of high schools in St. Louis. The idea was presented with carefully thought-out objectives. Following this, pains were taken to build up a fairly permanent relationship with the school system. Conferences were held with leaders and workers in community organizations: YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, Girl Scouts, the Urban League, Red Cross, Jewish Community Relations Council and other similar groups and people interested in youth. Settlement house workers provided insight and information; parents of student leaders opened their homes for small group meetings.

Working in close cooperation with school administrators and the coordinator of the intergroup education project, the first planning session, composed of representatives of 30 area high schools—private, public and parochial, Negro and white—and interested adults, was called to weigh possibilities for improving intergroup relations within the larger community. The committee proposed an area-wide high school conference which would afford youth an opportunity to meet on common ground and exchange ideas.

Following this suggestion, the first area-wide conference was held during Brotherhood Week on February 19, 1947. Using the general theme of *Brotherhood,* both students and adults participated freely in the all-day session.

What were the reactions? One girl from a north side white school said: "I have been a Catholic all my life, but I never felt truly religious until I attended church in a mixed parish where I worshipped with colored and white Catholics. Then I felt for the first time we were practicing brotherhood." A boy from a centrally located Negro high school, commenting on a white girl's hesitant confession of race prejudice, which she expressed a desire to overcome, stated that making such a confession in a mixed group required courage and that he understood and appreciated her willingness to change. The tone of the entire conference was echoed by two students, one a white high school senior who concluded: "We've all mixed here today and we have spoken together. Not one harsh thing was said. Everyone made at least one friend." And another commented: "When I left here, I felt as though I was going into another world—and not so good a world. And I thought, how can this atmosphere of understanding go along with me?"

This conference, which has been held annually during Brotherhood Week, has grown in membership since its beginning in 1947 from 500 students to approximately 1600 students.

The Steering Committee

The conference assembly, recognizing the need for a smaller body to work out plans for the continuance of intergroup activity, suggested a Steering Committee. Since its establishment it has functioned continuously; it meets regularly during the school year. Adults and students from a variety of backgrounds participate. Parents also participate. For many parents, this was their first opportunity to participate in mixed groups. New attitudes and deeper understandings began to develop. Activities of Intergroup Youth were now being carried into the homes, then the churches, boys' and girls' clubs and various school groups. The Committee had begun to channel its activities and beliefs into the main arteries of community life.

Human Relations Clubs

In order to establish maximum contact with the largest number of pupils, Intergroup Youth organized Human Relations Clubs, set up in various schools to promote understanding at both the intra-school and inter-school level. Upperclassmen seemed to take it upon themselves to let incoming younger students know that human relations activities and attitudes were important. Overheard in one school was a sophomore boy's comment to a junior boy, "I don't know whether or not I go for all this human relations stuff around here." The junior replied, "Well, you'd better get on the ball—it's the thing *here!*"

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Parents admit that their attitudes have been modified by the opportunity to work with students on human relations problems in a democratic atmosphere. Members of the Human Relations Clubs say that they have attained a broader perspective and a more profound concept of community living and humanity. *The programs and activities have deepened their awareness of the necessity for understanding and appreciating individual differences; at the same time they have discovered for themselves the fundamental likenesses of all human beings.* They have learned at first hand that their problems are shared by members of other groups, thus enabling them to identify with others and to develop poise and ease in their social contact. They have developed a sense of "belonging," a feeling of being a part of a larger humanity.

Back of such clubs stand keenly interested and sensitive teachers; behind the teachers are understanding administrators who realize the importance of this kind of program and allow it to flourish. And acting as a backdrop for all this is a wide range of community organizations and resources, cooperating with materials, programs, time and interest.

CHAPTER III

DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS FOLLOWING MAY 17 SUPREME COURT DECISION

The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring racial segregation in public education unconstitutional was consistent with, rather than contrary to, the pattern of thought and action which had characterized St. Louis for a decade. Immediately following the decision, Mayor Raymond R. Tucker said, "The people of our community should accept calmly and intelligently the ruling of the Supreme Court which holds that there must be no discrimination in the public schools of our nation." On June 30, Attorney General John M. Dalton ruled that provisions of the Missouri Constitution and laws which required the maintenance of separate schools for Negro and white children "are superseded by the decision of the United States Supreme Court and are, therefore, unenforceable."

The Board of Education Provides a Master Plan

On June 17, one month after the date of the decision and 13 days before the Attorney General's ruling, the St. Louis Board of Education acted. A letter was written each member of the Board calling a special meeting to be held on June 22 "for the purpose of considering and acting upon the question of desegregation of the schools . . ." At this meeting, the Board, as elected representatives of the St. Louis community, officially and unanimously adopted a program for desegregation under its control.

The plan provided for desegregation of the entire public school system to take place in three steps; it was to be begun in September, 1954, and completed by September, 1955.

Step One:

Beginning in September, 1954, desegregation of the white and Negro teachers' colleges and special schools for the handicapped operated by the public school system.

Step Two:

Beginning February 1, 1955, desegregation of the adult education program and all high schools except the technical high schools; new high school district boundaries were to be made public by November 15, 1954.

Step Three:

Beginning September, 1955, desegregation of the technical high schools and the regular elementary schools; new districts for the elementary schools were to be made public by February 1, 1955.

The Board announced that, in the main, students would be required to attend the school in the district where they lived with the following two exceptions: first, proper school authorities might transfer students from one district to another to relieve overcrowding, and second, students already enrolled in a school but not resident in its new district might, but were not required to, continue at that school until they were graduated, provided the school was not overcrowded. The plan further stipulated that the tenure rights of teachers would be preserved and as far as possible they would retain their present assignments, being transferred only to meet the needs of the service. New appointments would be made from a single rated list on the basis of examination scores. Vacancies among lunchroom or matron and custodial staff would be filled on the basis of competence and adaptability, and employees in these and other non-certified classes would be appointed from lists compiled from examination scores, without regard to race or color.

The plan thus made provisions for what constituted, in the judgment of the Board, three essential elements of any satisfactory plan for desegregation of a public school system: (1) complete and orderly desegregation of the schools, (2) minimum disruption of the educational programs of students, and (3) fair and equitable protection of the interest of employees and candidates for employment without regard to race. It is also provided that "with respect to any part of the educational program not referred to specifically in the adopted plan, the Superintendent of Instruction is hereby fully authorized to proceed in such manner and according to such schedules as shall be deemed by him judicious for the proper and orderly accomplishment of our basic objectives."

The Board gave as its reason for making the transition step-by-step the considerable detail work needed to be done in regard to such matters as the drawing of new school district boundaries, assignment of pupils, teachers and other personnel, transfer of books and materials, and transmission of information to parents. Through such a procedure, a large portion of administrative attention could then be concentrated on the particular group of schools being desegregated, thus insuring a more thorough supervisory job.

It is noteworthy in this connection that the indefinite word "gradual" at no place appeared in the plan. Instead, the word "step" was used—*with a definite date for each step appended.* Also, each "step" when undertaken was a complete operation—students, teachers and other personnel were integrated at the same time.

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The plan was quietly received by the majority of the citizens; the local press endorsed it—with one daily even urging its prompt and if feasible accelerated implementation. The only organized opposition came from a small "hate" group, The National Citizens Protective Association. This was of a brief duration and no consequence.

Implementing the Plan

The Role of Community Agencies

Shortly after the plan was adopted, the President of the Board of Education invited representatives of all organizations which had offered their cooperation to a meeting at which the plan was thoroughly explained and discussed. At this meeting the suggestion was made that each organization so desiring should do what it found practicable to promote the plan for desegregation among the groups with whom it worked. The job of securing community understanding, acceptance, and support of the program was largely taken over by these agencies. They worked in a number of ways. The League of Women Voters prepared and published a booklet, *St. Louis Integrates Its Schools,* explaining the plan and giving information on the progress of desegregation in St. Louis and St. Louis County. The Metropolitan Church Federation charged its pastors and membership to take an open stand for desegregation and to devote a portion of their Sunday services to pray for the success of public school desegregation. In this endeavor the Federation was joined by the Catholic and Jewish spiritual leaders. They urged their members "to cooperate fully with the Board of Education in its program of desegregation." The National Conference of Christians and Jews stepped up its intergroup program. The Urban League, The City-Wide Parent and Patrons Organizations and Alliances pledged their unqualified support and worked closely with the parents. The Mayor's Commission on Human Relations, utilizing a number of experts, conducted a workshop on integration. With community leaders, agencies and opinion-forming organizations working in the community, school officials were left free to work with pupils, teachers and parents.

The Teacher's Role

At the outset, the Board of Education and the administrative staff of the school system made it clear that *desegregation was a fixed policy to be followed firmly according to the schedule laid down.* The approach to desegregation was a realistic one. The spirit with which it was to be approached was set forth in the Superintendent's meeting with his teachers. He told them:

> "There are two attitudes on integration, both of which are wrong, that some of our citizens have embraced: First, that we can avoid or circumvent the clear directive given to us by our highest judicial body, and secondly, that integration will not present any difficulties whatsoever. These attitudes cannot fail to cause great harm. We must be willing to accept the problem of integration and face it realistically, without bigotry or prejudice, but well aware of our individual responsibilities in assuming the proper attitudes. . . .
>
> This problem is different from any which we have faced in that *failure cannot be thought possible.* Integration is a fact. The time has come when we must submerge all of our personal feelings if we are to maintain our high standards of conduct and achievement.

That integration be made to work smoothly and fairly is more than an obligation; it is a directive from your employer, the Board of Education. We also believe that it is an implied directive from your indirect employers, the people of the city of St. Louis . . .

We know that you, the classroom teachers, represent the important part of the educative process. You will determine the degree of success which we obtain by your attitudes and efforts. If you assume an apprehensive defeatist attitude in your home or among your closest friends, that attitude will reflect itself, perhaps unconsciously, in your classroom teaching. The attitude of you, the teacher in the classrooms, will determine the general trend of conduct of the entire school system. We should not minimize the problem of integration or build it into a monster."

The Parent's Role

Many parents offered their services, but along with those who welcomed desegregation there were those who were opposed, and those who were resigned: "It had to come." "There's nothing you can do about it." "It's the law now." How parents felt about racially mixed schools was reflected in the kind of advice they gave their children.

White and Negro high school students were asked, "Did your parents discuss integration and how you should act in an integrated school? If yes, what did they say?" Approximately 75 per cent of the students indicated their parents had discussed integration with them. The replies revealed that Negro parents tended to stress "hard work and study" while white parents, for the most part, emphasized proper attitude and behavior. A random sample of the most frequently occurring instructions follows:

What White Parents Told Their Children:

"Be careful; watch your step."

"If I was to get angry not to call any race names."

"That they themselves do not believe in integration and highly object but if I had to go to an integrated school, I should make the best of it."

"That the Negroes didn't want to change schools any more than I; that they had to, so I must be nice to them."

"I should be friendly without getting too thick."

"Just act like they are not there."

"My mother said that I should not act better than they are *because I am not*. Treat them as you would want to be treated."

"I'm ashamed; I can't tell you."

"In my family there has never been any question of whether or not segregation was wrong; we all agreed it was. So, integration did not cause much discussion; it was just the right thing to do."

"If you treat Negroes as if they are on an equal basis with whites, they will give you no trouble. They want to be accepted."

"It's new for all of us, but it will work if we all cooperate. Be kind to everyone."

"Don't act snobbish and don't act as if I was better than other people."

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"Don't act snobbish and don't act as if I was better than other people."

"Have nothing at all to do with the Negro kids."

"God made all of us and never meant for there to be any racial discrimination; that I should treat the Negro students as equals because they are."

"Be nice about it. Stay with your own group of friends and If trouble seems to start leave immediately and come home."

What Negro Parents Told Their Children :

"Be open minded, talk up, study hard, and don't force yourself on anyone who does not enjoy your company."

"They said it was the Greatest Law ever passed by man. They didn't tell me how to act, they knew I already knew. They just said, 'Be normal.' "

"Don't look for trouble. Don't think of yourself as inferior or superior to anyone. Conduct yourself in just the same way as you did before attending an integrated school."

"Remain just as orderly as I was before going to the white schools. However, knowing the situation, in order to get ahead I had to be twice as good as the next fellow. To study."

"My grandmother said for me to do my best work, to be a good listener and not to expect to sit around all day doing nothing and get a grade for it."

"If you expect to be a success, you must be courteous, study hard, and don't go around with a chip on your shoulder."

"Try to make friends, not enemies. Study hard."

"You can't get too far without education. This is your chance to make good. Take advantage of every opportunity. Be courteous and kind to everyone—students and teachers. Study."

"Just be normal. If the white kids try to be superior to the Negro kid, just look over them and ignore them. After all, they are not responsible for what they've been taught. We can prove by our actions that we are not inferior."

"Don't try to act superior. Only inferior people try to act like there are people beneath them. Prove your worth; people will accept you, that is, the decent ones will."

"Study as I have never studied before. Be kind."

"If you think of yourself as an equal, you will act as an equal, and you will then be treated as an equal. I was never taught prejudice."

"God made us all; He loves us all. We must love one another and never hate anyone no matter what he says or does. Learn all I can."

"Try it. If I didn't like the integrated school I could always go back to Sumner."

"This is the day my parents have been praying for; that I may have the same opportunity as all other children. They told me, 'Take every advantage of the opportunity; make every minute count.' "

The School's Role

Apart from the intergroup relations programs previously mentioned, no large-scale preparatory program was carried on throughout the St. Louis school system as a whole. Principals and administrations, with the help of teachers and students, prepared for desegregation as they thought best for their particular community. In some areas there was intensive and extensive preparation, in others there was little or no preparation.

At Harris Teachers College, the faculty conducted a two-day in-service training program before the start of the school term. Student leaders from both the Negro Stowe Teachers College and the white Harris Teachers College met and worked out plans on how best to meet the challenge of desegregation. Since there had been exchanges between Stowe and Harris students for some time, no difficulty was anticipated. It was simply a matter of seeing how the organizational structure of each school could be worked out to the best advantage and satisfaction of each group.

In one high school district, where the greatest change was anticipated, there was considerable preparation. "The first step," said the principal of this school, was to make it clear to teachers and staff that *"desegregation was not a matter for discussion, but a problem to be solved."* In like manner, the Student Council was approached and they in turn worked with the general student body. Assemblies where students could express themselves were held. At one assembly, students heard a panel of Negro and white students from an East St. Louis (Illinois) high school give an account of integration at their school which had been desegregated successfully two years earlier. The school community was sensitized through the Union Boulevard Association, an organization composed of Negro and white community leaders in the area—ministers, priests, rabbis, social workers, parents, and educators. Among other things, this Association planned meetings where the Superintendent of Instruction and other qualified persons discussed the problems and challenges of desegregation. The members of the Association then acted as resource persons for others in their particular spheres of influence, thus creating an ever-widening circle of informed persons.

Perhaps the most intensive and extensive preparation among students was carried out at Vashon, a formerly Negro high school. Beginning with an all-school assembly, student leaders discussed the historical background of the Supreme Court decision and gave their personal reactions to it. Several weeks later, each home room held a workshop session in which the pupils discussed the problem and exchanged points of view. At the end of the workshop session, each home room drew up a report reflecting the group's discussions with appended suggestions on how individuals could best meet problems that might arise in a segregated school. Finally, three weeks before the end of the semester, another all-school assembly was held at which a bi-racial panel of ministers, civic leaders and school principals discussed the problem and answered questions raised by students. *The St. Louis Post Dispatch,* in their editorial of January 12, 1955, "A Matter of Good Will," commented on the Vashon program: "Simple good will was the spirit which animated Vashon High School's intergroup assembly on Tuesday (January 11), the third in a series of well-planned events intended to prepare young people for the end of segregation in the high schools next month. If all the city's high schools are doing as well as Vashon in calm, intelligent, realistic preparation for an important change in community life, St. Louis has nothing to worry about."

Whatever the method used, throughout the system student reaction to the change was a positive one. Said Superintendent of Instruction Hickey after one of the student assemblies, "It was a heart-warming thing to hear the student leaders describe the responsibilities and obligations of student bodies in a democracy. If this is a fair example of the kind of positive thinking and acting being done by our frequently maligned teen-agers—and I think it [illegible] abandon any fears for the future of our

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The Wheels Start Turning

Redistricting

Perhaps one of the most important elements in the St. Louis plan was redistricting. In setting up the new districts, Board of Education officials and principals, both Negro and white, participated. Redistricting began with a block-by-block survey, for which the principal of each school was responsible. The principal reported how many children of elementary and high school age lived in each block. The race of the children was not noted. These data were transferred to IBM cards. In drawing new district lines, capacity of school building, travel distance, and traffic hazards were the chief consideration. There was no attempt at gerrymandering. After new district lines had been drawn, they were publicized well in advance of the actual date of desegregation. Thus, both parents and students had time to become familiar with them. In order to avoid any possible confusion, the principals of each elementary school officially notified the parent of each child of the discontinuance of segregation and of the child's school assignment effective in September, 1955.

Both Negro and white citizens felt the boundaries had been fairly drawn. The lone complaint came from a group of white parents who were not protesting desegregation but rather a district line near a hazardous area which they felt would pose a transportation problem for their children. It is interesting to note that the adjustment of the line meant that these children would fall in a somewhat more heavily populated Negro section. It seems that the first and primary concern of these parents, as with all parents, was the physical safety of their children.

Decentralization

Perhaps one of the most important policy decisions made regarding implementation of the St. Louis plan was the decentralizing of authority. Under the desegregation program, *authority was relegated to the individual school districts and each school principal was given the authority and held responsible for the successful implementation of desegregation in his school.*

Thus each principal in cooperation with his faculty, parents, students and community groups, was held responsible for actually working out his particular desegregation procedure. "The keynote of planning," said Superintendent Hickey, "was to limit the dimensions of each problem so far as possible." Each principal was encouraged to deal concretely and specifically with the changeover as it affected his own school, but to leave any possible difficulties in other areas to the principals directly concerned. By so doing, the Superintendent hoped to "reduce desegregation from a big, city-wide spectacular, with emotional overtones, to the rather commonplace local matter of just getting children in school." People living outside a particular district were not permitted to complain at the central office about what was happening in another district. The first question asked any parent who wanted to make a complaint was: "Do you live in that district?" If the answer was no, he was told: "You can't make a complaint here."

Desegregation in Action

In September, 1954, with the first school opening following the Supreme Court decision, St. Louis put into effect its step-by-step plan. The schools began to be desegregated as scheduled, with only one exception. The already over-crowded technical high schools which were to be desegregated in September, 1955, had to await the completion of a new building. During the school year, 1955-56, desegregation at the technical high schools was limited to eighth grade graduates electing vocational subjects. These students were being accommodated in the modernized, formerly white Hadley Technical High School. Upon completion of the new building, the city will be redistricted and both schools operated on an integrated basis.

Wherever desegregation occurred, from elementary school throughout the teachers colleges, the news was the same. It was a "natural school day". The big news of the day was that "there was no news." Said Superintendent Hickey: "It was the quiet and undramatic culmination of years of educational programming and democratic practice and the outcome of contributions to the building of good will by many diverse community agencies." This undramatic and uneventful change did not go unnoticed by our foreign neighbors. On February 2, 1955, the day following desegregation of the high schools, the *Times of India* reported a democratic act which needed no comment. It simply said:

WHITES AND NEGROES ENROLL TOGETHER

St. Louis Ends Segregation

The Teachers Colleges

At the teachers college level, where there are no district lines and attendance is wholly on a voluntary basis, unification of white Harris Teachers College and Negro Stowe Teachers College, at the Harris buildings, produced an enrollment greater than the combined enrollment of the two separate colleges for the year earlier, and the ratio of Negro and white students with white students and faculty in the majority appeared to be about the same. While it is not intended to suggest, in the absence of supportive data, that desegregation caused this increase, the enrollment figures do, howwever, disprove the usual fears and rumors that desegregation causes a decrease in enrollment and a withdrawal of white students.

The High Schools

The St. Louis high school enrollment at the time of desegregation was 14,093 students of whom 4,275, or 30 per cent, were Negroes. The 9,818 white students were distributed among seven schools with an average enrollment of 1,402. The Negro students attended two schools, located in three buildings, with an average enrollment of 2,137.

Beginning February 1, 1955, the heretofore segregated high schools became nine desegregated schools, each serving a prescribed school district without regard to the racial identity of students living in the district. The results of desegregation were determined, to a large extent, by residential living patterns. Thus, it is not surprising that the two Negro high schools, Vashon and Summer, located in the central Negro residential area, continued

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Beginning February 1, 1955, the heretofore segregated high schools became nine desegregated schools, each serving a prescribed school district without regard to the racial identity of students living in the district. The results of desegregation were determined, to a large extent, by residential living patterns. Thus, it is not surprising that the two Negro high schools, Vashon and Summer, located in the central Negro residential area, continued to be populated by Negro students, although both schools lost some of their excessive enrollment. And, as was expected, former white schools located in transitional neighborhoods underwent the greatest change. One school located in such an area now has approximately 33 per cent Negro pupils; another has 19 per cent, and a third, 16 per cent. Three high schools have less than 5 per cent Negro students, and one school, located in an all-white residential area, has no Negro students. This distribution will change as populations shift and the program of school desegregation is fully established.

While at the present time, all freshmen entering high school must enroll at the school in their districts, students already in attendance have the option of continuing at their present schools. Approximately one-half of the eligible Negro students exercised this option. A random sample of Negro students who entered formerly white schools supported the findings of a graduate student in the department of sociology and anthropology at Washington University who sought to explore the motives of Negro students who transferred to mixed schools and those who did not. He concluded that the decisive factor determining whether a student changed schools was simply the friendship, emotional ties and other bonds formed in a school—the longer a student had been in a given school the more reluctant he was to transfer. Hence seniors showed more hesitation to transfer than underclassmen. "Students who transferred had fewer attachments to break and at the same time were aware of a strong desire for equality of treatment and opportunity."

One incident occurred at Beaumont High School a month after 100 Negro students were enrolled with 1839 white students. The trouble began when a white boy, using a water pistol, in an attempt to squirt water on another white boy, showered a Negro girl instead. Commented a teacher, "There were probably only two students in the whole school who could have caused an incident like this. The boy, a 19-year old 'tough guy' whose level of development is well indicated by the fact that at 19 he carries a water pistol, and a Negro girl who carries a chip on her shoulder." Grievances were aired, resulting in several minor clashes between Negro and white students. Although there were a few students who wanted to extend the incident into a major production, and chanted, "Let's go home," school officials, with the assistance of student leaders put a quick end to the disturbance. Within a few days the incident had apparently been forgotten by all concerned. Referring to the incident, Superintendent Hickey said, "I feel that I am still at a loss as to how to cope with the problem of mushrooming little everyday skirmishes between kids into racial incidents simply because they occur between white and colored kids. The water-squirting incident would have been overlooked had it occurred between two children of the same race. But it made the papers because one was white and one was colored.

The Elementary Schools

Prior to 1955, St. Louis had 73 white public elementary schools, and 37 Negro elementary schools. With desegregation, more than 50 of the elementary schools now have mixed enrollments—with the greatest amount of mixing, as in the case of the high schools, falling within the transitional areas. No official records give the race of the individual students involved.

Approximately one-half of Missouri's Negro public school pupils are being educated in St. Louis. Public school enrollment at the beginning of the 1955 fall term showed an increase of nearly 3 per cent over the previous year, with Negro pupils accounting for approximately 35 per cent of the total enrollment. Elementary schools registered the greatest enrollment gain, followed by the technical high schools. The general high schools showed a slight drop in enrollment. No significant decline in white enrollment has taken place at any of the schools. Officials know of only one case where a student's parents threatened to withdraw the student because of desegregation.

Teacher and Staff Integration

In accordance with policies laid down by the St. Louis Board of Education, all teachers in the system must pass a national teachers' test as well as state tests. Teachers enter the system on probation and retain that status for three years. If they are retained beyond the third year, they are presumed to be competent and can be dismissed only for cause. Negro teachers have the same tenure rights as white teachers.

When the schools were desegregated, teaching staffs were integrated along with student bodies. No attempt was made to apportion Negro teachers in accordance with the proportion of Negro students. Assignments were made strictly on the basis of matching teaching skills available with those needed. At desegregated Harris Teachers College, there are now 25 Negro faculty members of a total of 70. All faculty members from the Negro teachers college were integrated into the Harris system with the exception of three who became elementary school supervisors. The President of Stowe Teachers College became Director of Elementary Education supervising probationary teachers, both Negro and white. In each of these cases, these new assignments represented a promotion rather than a demotion. There are both Negro and white administrative officers, as well as department heads. A white dean and a Negro registrar counsel students without regard to race. A Negro coaches basketball, while baseball and track are handled by white coaches.

Three of the nine former white high schools now have mixed faculties, and of the elementary schools, ten have mixed faculties. Up to the present time, Negro teachers have been employed only in those schools where there is a mixed enrollment. Altogether, more than 500 St. Louis teachers are serving on integrated faculties.

No teacher has lost his job as a result of desegregation. As far as could be determined, no white parent has objected to having her child taught by a Negro teacher. One white parent confided that she was surprised when she found out "only by accident" that the teacher her child was "always bragging about" is a Negro. Children seem to accept teachers, irrespective of their color.

Meeting the Opposition

While it is belived a majority of the citizens wished to obey the law and offered their assistance in making the transition worthy of the best traditions of the community, school authorities were mindful—and prepared—for the opposition. The opposition groups which [illegible] represent a minority opinion—can, and often

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Meeting the Opposition

While it is belived a majority of the citizens wished to obey the law and offered their assistance in making the transition worthy of the best traditions of the community, school authorities were mindful—and prepared—for the opposition. The opposition groups —which most often represent a minority opinion—can, and often do exaggerate their real as well as potential strength. Once the home base of Gerald L. K. Smith, St. Louis is now the headquarters of a disciple of his. Immediately following the Supreme Court decision, a mass meeting was called by the National Citizens Protective Association to protest the end of segregation. As pointed out earlier, newspapers had already taken the position that they would report any legitimate news created by opposition groups, but would not try to *make news* by building them. Thus, the scheduled mass meeting, which was poorly attended, got only as much news space as any other meeting of 100 or so persons—a couple of paragraphs in an inconspicuous place. On the day of high school desegregation when inflammatory literature attacking desegregation was handed out, the newspapers made no news of this.

Standing firmly in the background throughout these events was a bi-racial police department which over the years, through in-service training, had become increasingly cognizant and competent in the area of human relations. As a symbol of impartial authority, their position had been made clear: *anyone who tried to organize a student strike or a parents' demonstration would be arrested on charges of incitement to riot and interference with school operations.* This positive and decisive stand by persons in authority, along with the cooperation of the press and a determined community served to discourage any movement directed at delaying or disturbing the orderly plan for desegregation. This may help to explain why no such opposition movement ever developed into effectiveness.

CHAPTER IV

FEARS, FABLES AND FACTS

St. Louis, like many other communities, faced the standard fears of desegregation. Would the mixing of Negro and white children create health problems for the white child? Wouldn't the "vast cultural differences" between the two racial groups cause a problem of morals? Would not the introduction of Negro children into white schools lower the academic standards? What about "social mixing"? Were teachers whose orientation had been primarily in a segregated school system prepared to teach in an integrated system? Weren't there special skills necessary for the successful teaching of racially mixed classes? Could white parents and students accept Negro teachers?

Approximately 300 elementary and high school teachers and 1,000 high school students in racially mixed schools participated in the answering of a questionnaire designed to throw some light on these questions. Questionnaires were supplemented by personal interviews. The schools included in the sample were those that had the highest mixed enrollments and were located in neighborhoods varied in their social and economic characteristics.

How Would Teachers React to Desegregation?

Throughout the St. Louis system one senses a conscious and determined effort on the part of all teachers to make desegregation work. Teachers admit that the job of adjusting to each other was made considerably easier by the numerous previous

opportunities for Negro and white teachers and principals to share ideas and work together before the schools became desegregated. One teacher declared: "Even if the teachers had problems and didn't like each other, each teacher is so determined to make integration work that we don't have time to engage in the luxury of petty arguments among ourselves. You don't have time to see color. You simply see competent and incompetent teachers, and when you look at them in such a fashion, you don't find any more of one color than another on either side of the scale. I believe every teacher, irrespective of color, is acutely aware of the influence which the teacher exerts on the student. If we reject each other, can we justifiably expect more acceptance on the part of students?"

A few teachers (less than 5 per cent) indicated that desegregation had not changed their basic attitudes. One teacher confessed, "It will take some time to get over some of my Southern background and teaching." However, while there was this admission of disapproval of desegregation, these teachers, as with all others, felt their educational responsibilities and professional standards came first. No teacher felt that such an attitude had in any way interfered with a sense of duty and obligation "to do the best possible teaching job, even though the job at times," commented one teacher, "appears to take on the proportions of a superhuman task."

Teachers, almost without reservation, felt that they had been accepted both by the students and their parents, although one white teacher remarked, "Sometimes I feel I am being discriminated against by my Negro students simply because I am white." While one Negro teacher indicated "concern over a prejudiced white parent," no Negro teacher indicated any difficulty with students. Commented another teacher, "Sometimes I have the feeling that the white kids are leaning over backwards to show me just how much they do want to cooperate. They are a grand group—all of them." Referring to the students at Harris Teachers College, the American Association of University Professors' Report observed, "All students seem to unite on one side with the instructor on the other. Students are students. Instructors are instructors. Color is forgotten."

Was Preparation Adequate?

While most of the St. Louis teachers (87.3 per cent) felt that that their preparation had been adequate for teaching in mixed schools, a small group (3.3 per cent) of white teachers expressed a feeling of inadequacy, not so much from lack of training, but an "inability to understand the colored child's background." Said one teacher, "I don't know enough about Negro culture to learn what I should be learning from my pupils. I feel much more often than formerly that I miss many allusions. Some days I feel I am teaching a mission school."

The majority opinion, however, was reflected in the question raised and answered by many teachers, "Why should there be any difference in techniques? Pupils are pupils," and another teacher's somewhat wry comment that he felt "as adequate as I felt for segregated classes."

Is Special Training Needed?

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Is Special Training Needed?

In general, both Negro and white teachers did not feel that special training was needed for the teaching of mixed classes. For the most part, emphasis was placed upon the teacher's own personality and general ability to teach children. Common sense, love of children, a desire to do what is best for them and a dedication to the teaching profession were listed most often as essential qualities for all teachers. A white teacher commented: "Children of all races are human beings and are very much alike all over the world. Any competent teacher knows this and treats each child as a person whatever his race." A Negro teacher recommended "special training only for the teacher who, within his own group, has not learned to live harmoniously with others." Another teacher added, "If teachers teach individuals or children—no; but if teachers teach races—yes. They should have courses in human relations."

While teachers did not feel the need for special courses as such, more than 75 per cent of the teachers recommended workshops in human relations as especially useful. As one teacher put it, "A course or workshop in human relations would help a teacher to distinguish between problems resulting from desegregation and those developing from normal, ordinary causes—but most important, once knowing the cause, how to deal with it intelligently."

White teachers predominated among the small number of teachers (10.7 per cent) who felt the need for special training and they recommended as most useful courses in speech correction, cultural anthropology, social psychology, mental hygiene, and sociology. Courses which would give "special training for dealing with slow learners," and one which would "provide knowledge of the achievements of other races—non-white," were also listed as being desirable.

Did Integration Require Special Teaching Skills?

More important than "skills' as such is the attitude of teachers —"freedom from prejudice." This was the opinion of 79 per cent of the teachers questioned. Teachers felt that a mixed school required the exercise of more patience, understanding, tolerance, faith, flexibility, tact, firmness, a high sense of fair play, keener insight and a sense of humor.

There are, however, subtle socio-psychological factors which are involved in mixed classes which are not always brought out in surveys. White teachers, more often than Negro teachers, expressed the need "to be certain that the remarks I make do not hurt the feelings of others." Another white teacher was "constantly fearful that I may make a racial slip." A Negro teacher who had received complaints from her Negro students because she was calling on them too often in class simply because she knew them, admitted the need to check herself "so now when I call on a Negro child who doesn't know the answer, I then call on a white child who doesn't know the answer to make certain that the same guilt feelings are started in both." A white teacher commented that when he called on a Negro child who did not know the answer, he would immediately call on another Negro child to give the correct answer.

Because, for the most part, they had been accustomed to teaching smaller classes, white teachers, more often than Negro teachers, expressed the need for special skills in the handling of a large number of children with widely-varying backgrounds in a single classroom. Negro teachers, on the other hand, were experiencing,

perhaps for the first time, "what it really feels like to be able to teach manageable-sized classes." One teacher commented, "I can now give to students more of the individual attention they deserve. At the Negro school, because of such extremely crowded classrooms, I had to spend most of my time maintaining order, trying to find enough space to turn around in, and then teach as best I could under these circumstances."

Teachers on the whole admit that desegregation had brought no new problems as such—but rather intensified their problems. The teaching job is, for some, much harder. To most, it represents a challenge.

What About Negro "Cultural" Differences?

Many teachers are realizing, perhaps for the first time, that "cultural differences" existing between Negro and white students are socio-economic rather than racial, and that irrespective of color, where children have had the same type of exposures they tend to act alike. With respect to such differences, one teacher commented, "Before being in a mixed situation I felt there were decided cultural differences which could be attributed solely to race, but I now know this is not true. In observing both Negro and white pupils living in the same neighborhood, I find they think alike, play the same games, wear similar clothes, their likes and dislikes are similar, their expressions are the same, their parents have about the same educational background; the children, both white and Negro, tell you the same things about what's happening in their families; their home training appears to be about the same; there is the same respect or lack of respect for property."

Another teacher in a transitional neighborhood, where the economic level of the Negro families appears to be somewhat higher than that of the whites, observed: "When I took my class on a field trip downtown, I took a poll and found more white than Negro children had never ridden a public bus or been in any large stores downtown. Many experienced riding an elevator for the first time." A white teacher's experience in a similar neighborhood brought forth the comment, "Negroes who came to our school were more mannerly than the white children. The Negroes also have better grooming habits. We see some Negroes lowering their standards to the 'white level.' We are sorry for this." However, in another area, where the economic level of the white group appears to be higher, a teacher pointed out, "Differences are obvious, but we have found that with desegregation a number of different social types have moved in. We have Negro pupils who are definitely limited in their backgrounds, but no more limited than some of the slow-moving whites who have just migrated from the deep South where there has been a similarly limited environment as compared with what we have in this neighborhood."

One teacher raised the question, "What is this 'cultural difference' all about? For years there have been many other minority groups (ethnic groups) with professed cultural and educational differences that have been taught in so-called white schools with no detrimental effect upon the white student." Another teacher commented, "Certainly there are cultural differences, but there are 'cultural differences' within the white race that a good teacher has had to plan for; therefore, if a teacher knew how to take care of these problems, he or she should be able to do so in a Negro-white situation." Another teacher, observing differences, considers them challenging and insisting that such differences are not associated

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However, a few teachers (3.2 per cent) observed definite "cultural differences" which they attributed to race as one who said, "Negro cultural differences are obvious and seem to have some effect on the whites, but I can't measure it as yet."

"For whatever it is worth," responded another teacher, however, "Negro cultural differences do not exist in the class for the gifted."

These teachers' comments reveal that school children in a typically heterogeneous American city like St. Louis are drawn from a variety of social backgrounds and economic levels which reflect differences that are often referred to as "cultural." In this country, we have cultural differences by social class and by ethnic background, but we also have a common general culture. There is no culture which can be classified as specifically Negro; social scientists do not recognize the Negro as a distinct cultural group. That such cultural differences as do exist between so-called racial groups are due to social exposure rather than heredity is recognized by most of the teachers without reservations. Cultural differences are perceived by most of the teachers to be the effects of training, just as one remarks that disadvantaged Southern white children have the same standards as some Negro children similarly placed. The unrealistic view of such differences as being racial plus cultural generally seems to disappear when the teacher has opportunities to observe the wide variations in behavior among both Negro and white pupils.

How Were Academic Standards Affected?

At all levels, there have been slight program modifications to accommodate the new students. While the kind and amount of change varied from school to school, there is the general opinion among teachers that up to the present time there has been no lowering of academic standards with desegregation. Teachers agreed that they had been informed that *standards should not be lowered*. Said one teacher, "If a student has a poor background there is no need to lower standards. It seems to me the best thing to do is to challenge the child to do the job. A few failures will change a great many lazy habits." Another said, "If the teacher is not inhibited in the number of failures, the academic standards need not be lowered."

Teachers have found that in racially mixed classes there are superior, average, and poor students among both racial groups, but that the "spread at the lower limit is perhaps greater." Teachers admit that overcrowded schools, sub-standard facilities, a large influx of students from the more impoverished Southern areas can and do influence the classroom situation. The majority of Negro students who have entered white schools have been the product of over-crowded schools where there was not only less individual attention but, one teacher declared, "the Negro child had to be passed to the next grade almost without reference to his general competence, simply to make room for another child to take his

place. This was not true in the less crowded white schools where more individual attention could be given, and a child who was not ready for the next grade could be allowed to repeat this grade without causing a hardship on other students. That this difference would show up should be expected, but this does not necessarily mean the lowering of standards."

While differences were practically non-existent at the elementary school level, the uneven elementary school training is more apparent at the high school level. Poor study habits, intellectual laziness, tardiness, absenteeism, lack of proper grounding in the fundamentals, difficulties in oral and written expression, were listed by teachers as problems more characteristic of Negro than white students. Differences in the grading system have also proved to be a problem for some teachers. Negro children had been accustomed to receiving much higher grades than they are now receiving in the mixed schools. In pointing out these problems, teachers were careful to note that the differences which show up are not due to lack of innate ability, but rather to the type of environment and learning situations to which the Negro child has been exposed. They are but the clear reflections of limited socio-economic backgrounds, the lack of motivation, and the dual standards engendered by a bi-racial educational system and a segregated society.

Instead of lowering standards, a minority of teachers (2.3 per cent) had observed an actual raising of standards with mixed classes. As one teacher put it, "Actually there is a strong desire on the part of the Negro child to overcome whatever handicap his earlier limited environment imposed on him. There is also observable a trend on the part of some white students who had more or less taken for granted the inferiority of the Negro student to work much harder when he sees that in many instances the Negro student is not only his equal, but in some cases his superior. Lowering of academic standards? Hogwash!"

On the lowering of academic standards, the following statement from one teacher summarizes the point of view of many: "In my opinion, desegregation is bringing into focus what has been the condition of the schools for some time. For many years now, there has been a general lowering of academic standards in our schools, and race as such has had nothing at all to do with it. Desegregation has brought no new problems; our already present problems have simply been brought into sharper focus. What probably is the case is that we are now looking more realistically and critically at what we are and are not doing for all our children, not necessarily just racially, but with students of varying abilities."

What About "Social Mixing"?

Negro students have been well accepted in extra-curricular activities. In the underpopulated schools, the entrance of Negro students was particularly welcomed by white students who announce, "Now we have a real athletic team," or "Now our band is real cool." Students have been quick to recognize the special talents and abilities of other students and have not been reluctant in making their preferences known. Without hesitation, white students have nominated Negro students for club offices, and vice versa. One teacher commented, "To see the kids at work and play you would think this thing has been going on all the time; they are so natural about it all."

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However, the area in which there has been the greatest amount of concern, caution, and frustration has come in the strictly "social affairs," often referred to as "social mixing." Throughout the system, it is understood that there must be no activities carried on either by or through the school which will embarrass any student. How to handle this is the problem of each individual school. At Harris Teachers College, while all extra-curricular activities are open and well integrated, Greek letter organizations are still segregated. This is true of both Negro and white fraternal organizations whose national policy governs qualifications regarding membership. Thus, sororities and fraternities may still have closed dances but they must be invitational. If a fraternal organization sells tickets to an affair then everybody will have to be admitted.

High schools have approached the problem of social affairs in many ways. One principal stated that this school was not having any social affairs, while another was having them with restrictions and still another was taking a permissive attitude saying to the organizations, "Have them if you choose." One principal created concern on the part of students when, in permitting them to have a dance, he suggested that each come with his own date and that there should be no mixing. This remark was resented by a white student who said, "I don't think he should have said anything. He stirred up a lot of kids and started them thinking about it and made them self-conscious at the dance. I think the kids would have come to the dance like they did even if he had said nothing."

Social activities have been further curtailed because of the continued pattern of racial segregation in the community. Dances heretofore held in downtown hotels have been discontinued because of the still not-too-completely open policy regarding the admission of Negroes on a large scale. In the high school program, those school activities, which are carried on in places outside the school have had to be curtailed. There is evidence of a beginning tendency of displaced aggression on the part of the white student toward the Negro, blaming the Negro for "causing it all." One student remarked, "Integrating the Negro students into our schools has caused us to lose out on all our activities; it's all because they are in our schools that we can't go to these places any more." This suggests an immediate need for teachers and school officials to point out to white students that the restrictions on social affairs are not caused by Negroes but by a community which is still to achieve the ideal of complete democratic participation. It also suggests how segregation in other community activities and institutions can serve to complicate the integration of the public schools.

Despite these handicaps, normal friendships appear to be developing and some students are finding that their school activities "have really become alive and meaningful with students who have had different kinds of experiences, but who are not very much different from ourselves."

What Are the "Special Problems"?

Teachers were of the opinion that there had been no health problems created by desegregation. "How to deal with prejudiced white parents" was the problem most often mentioned by teachers as the one which retards integration and makes the job a harder one.

The majority of teachers (94 per cent), however, sensing no special problems, admitted that desegregation had worked either as well or much better than they had expected. One teacher confessed, "The things I had dreaded simply have not happened." Another commented, "It's amazing how quickly you can get over racial generalizations and stereotypes and begin to see and respect people as individuals. This, I believe, is impossible in a segregated society."

Teachers agreed that no more problems have arisen than have been found in segregated groups. "Simply because we have the two races together," commented one teacher, "there is a tendency to assign racial significance to problems which are simply problems. This is to be expected, I would think, at least until people *stop talking so much about race and integration, and start talking about students and education.*"

It is generally recognized that desegregation does not essentially change the problems of public school education. It very likely will accentuate them. However, one can safely predict from the St. Louis experience that where sound educational practices reign, desegregation will be taken in stride, where less healthy procedures have grown up, there may be trouble.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST YEAR: AN APPRAISAL

At the beginning of the new school year in 1955, *Time* magazine rated the progress of 17 Southern and border states toward school desegregation. Missouri was the only state to receive a grade of "A." *Time* said at that time, "state educational authorities estimate that 80 per cent of Missouri's 55,000 Negro children are now studying alongside 550,000 whites; there has been no friction."

Since approximately one-half of Missouri's Negro children are being educated in St. Louis, it would be interesting to learn how the people of St. Louis see their progress in restrospect:

"If we had to do it again, we would do it the same way," was the opinion of Superintendent Philip G. Hickey and other school officials after observing their plan in operation for a year. To be sure, there have been the natural and normal problems associated with any change. And there have been a few minor problems which might be directly attributed to desegregation. However, all problems were viewed in their proper context, "without undue alarm or frustration."

Even within the short space of a year, it is clear that the St. Louis school system has been itself improved in the process of desegregation. From the purely economic point of view, integrated districting has made possible the fullest use of all school facilities through the elimination of unnecessary duplication of facilities, reduction in expenses of transportation—only 26 buses are now required in the city as against 36 before desegregation—and elimination of waste in classrooms at a time when they are at a premium. For many teachers and children, elimination of segregation means smaller classes.

At the beginning of the new school year in 1955, *Time* magazine rated the progress of 17 Southern and border states toward school desegregation. Missouri was the only state to receive a grade of "A." *Time* said at that time, "state educational authorities estimate that 80 per cent of Missouri's 55,000 Negro children are now studying alongside 550,000 whites; there has been no friction."

Since approximately one-half of Missouri's Negro children are being educated in St. Louis, it would be interesting to learn how the people of St. Louis see their progress in restrospect:

"If we had to do it again, we would do it the same way," was the opinion of Superintendent Philip G. Hickey and other school officials after observing their plan in operation for a year. To be sure, there have been the natural and normal problems associated with any change. And there have been a few minor problems which might be directly attributed to desegregation. However, all problems were viewed in their proper context, "without undue alarm or frustration."

Even within the short space of a year. it is clear that the St. Louis school system has been itself improved in the process of desegregation. From the purely economic point of view, integrated districting has made possible the fullest use of all school facilities through the elimination of unnecessary duplication of facilities, reduction in expenses of transportation—only 26 buses are now required in the city as against 36 before desegregation—and elimination of waste in classrooms at a time when they are at a premium. For many teachers and children, elimination of segregation means smaller classes.

As important as are the monetary savings, officials contend "there are the spiritual and intellectual values"—the importance of which was emphasized in the Supreme Court decision—that are increasingly being realized in the St. Louis system. Whatever their personal attitudes, school officials, teachers, students, parents, and members of the community were "willing to give it a try." The deep sense of pride that "things are working out well" is due in no small part to the united effort of many concerned, convinced, and dedicated individuals. School officials are quick to say, "we could not have done it without the community," and the community to credit the eased transition to the "definitive, positive, and clear-cut plan" of the Board. Commented one citizen, "It was a systematic and well thought-out plan, with teeth in it, and backed by a courageous Board". School officials, teachers, and members of the community alike say, "Leave it to the kids; the kids did it." They are all right. St. Louis planned its transition with *all* the people.

Most citizens agree that the St. Louis community was ready for desegregation. Contributing significantly toward this community readiness was the successful desegregation of the Catholic parochial schools some seven years earlier. No person could convincingly argue, "It can't be done," for indeed *it had been done—successfully*. However, having a successful past pattern did not offset completely the standard fears often expressed with respect to desegregation—health problems, cultural differences, social behavior, and the lowering of academic standards. A year's experience has proved these fears to be as groundless in St. Louis as indeed they have been proved to be without valid foundation elsewhere.

There is no evidence to support the fear that Negro children present a health hazard for white children. Cultural differences are socio-economic, not racial; children of similar backgrounds tend to act alike irrespective of race. There has been no lowering of academic standards. Among students there were the superior, average and below average as was the case with white students. While the teachers admit that desegregation has brought no new problems, the old problems have been intensified with this "greater spread in abilities." To be sure, inequities inherent in a dual educational system and a segregated society have been brought into sharper focus with desegregation. This is to be expected. There is, however, sufficient evidence resulting from scientific research to support the conclusion that *the academic handicap resulting from segregated education is not a permanent one*. Kenneth Clark, in commenting upon the research of such outstanding psychologists as Otto Klineberg, reveals that when Negro children are transferred from segregated schools to non-segregated schools with higher educational standards they tend to make up their academic deficiencies within a few years.

"There is no evidence to support the belief," says Clark, "that while the Negro child is overcoming the handicap of an inferior education that the white child is disadvantaged." Actually, it has been observed that white students who had more or less taken for granted the basic inferiority of the Negro student have been challenged to work harder once they observed that the Negro group is no more homogeneous in their intellectual abilities than any other group. After having shared classrooms with Negroes, 92 per cent of the white St. Louis high school students, rating

the relative ability of Negro and white students on a scale ranging from poor to superior, concluded that Negro and white students are the same—"average." Less than 1 per cent of the students rated Negro students as "inferior," and a small percentage (1.5) rated Negro students as "superior." Similarly, there has been complete acceptance of Negro teachers by white students.

A questionnaire designed to get the reactions of teachers and students on how desegregation is working and some of the positives and negatives, as they saw them, revealed that both teachers and students believe that desegregation is working "as well" and "better than they had expected." Both teachers and students agree that students have adjusted to each other "very well." While there have been active and effective mothers' clubs in most schools, sympathetic adults, parent groups, and the PTA, all of whom have worked positively in support of desegregation, 87 per cent of both students and teachers described the adjustment of parents to desegregation as ranging from "poor" to "fairly well."

What Are the Positives Growing Out of Desegregation?

The Negro student lists:

"A better feeling of democracy in the United States, and better prepared children for the future."

"Negro students study more. There is more of an incentive."

"Integration has given us a chance to prove that the two races are about the same in intelligence, beliefs and actions."

"It has done much to remove the feeling of inferiority from the Negro student."

"I am having opportunities I never dreamed of. For instance, our senior class had a skating party at an ice skating rink and neither I nor any of the other Negro kids had ever been to a skating party."

"It is teaching all of us the ways of democracy; but this is especially true for the white kids who have never had a chance to practice it."

"The teachers are wonderful. They seem to take a real interest in you. I seem to be learning better. It may be because it is less crowded and I am better satisfied."

"Who wants to be reminded on every hand that he is inferior and set aside as segregation has done? Integration is wiping this out."

"I am learning that white people are no different from my own people. There are some that are decent; some are not. Fortunately there are more of the good than the bad."

"White students are learning that all Negro people aren't stupid; and Negro kids are learning that all white people are not mean and hateful."

"Integration makes you feel like a human being. The St. Louis officials, teachers and all the students have worked hard to make it a success.

"No matter how many times people tell you something, it is the actual experience that counts. We have found through experience that integration can work and all of us are better as a result of the experience."

"It has made me feel like putting forth my every effort. Already I can see a difference in how I approach things and

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"It has made me feel like putting forth my every effort. Already I can see a difference in how I approach things and what I will be able to accomplish as far as my future is concerned."

"I have learned to like people. I am ashamed that I hated white people simply because I thought they hated me. I have found out this is not true."

White students say:

"We are finding out just how much we have in common; it is working out well."

"The United States has now become united."

"Out athletics are better now."

"We are losing our fears; all those we had because of ignorance of each other."

"I now have a chance to develop friends on the basis of common interests rather than along racial lines. I am happy that now I have Negroes whom I consider among my good friends."

"It is teaching us how to get along with all races and creeds: this will be necessary in our success in later life."

It has made all us realize that the Negro kids are just as nice and intelligent as the whites; I have several Negro friends."

"I am getting to know what Negroes are like and the diferent things they do and like. I am beginning to think they are almost like us."

"I have learned that all Negroes are not rough and wise-cracking; some are very nice and I like them. But, then, all whites are not nice either."

"I wish the whole nation, especially the deep South could see our school and see how much better we all are with this heavy burden off of us—prejudice and exploiting the Negro is what I mean."

"Prejudices and superstitions have been disbanned with integration."

"We are one step closer to brotherhood. I believe the next problem that should be conquered is religious prejudice."

"I like the Negro teachers very much. They are patient and kind and are good teachers, too. I have one teacher who is very sweet and knows how to control a class too."

"We are learning that race prejudice has no basis once you know people."

"We are proving to the world, at long last, that we *really believe* that 'all men are created equal.' "

For the teachers, these were the Positives:

"White pupils are accepting Negro students on an equal basis."

"The democratic spirit prevails."

"Good teacher-pupil relationship."

"Great sense of justice and fair play."

"Respect for individuals in lieu of racial generalizations and stereotypes."

"Friendly acceptance on the part of white students has made the Negro student feel accepted in his new environment."

"There seems to be, for the most part, a total 'unconsciousness of race' on the part of both students and teachers."

"We are recognizing ability where we find it; race has no part or place."

"Respect, courtesy, and consciousness on the part of both groups to be at their best. There was less of this tendency in the segregated school."

"The children who had known each other already in the neighborhood are now having a chance to go to school together.

It's a much more normal thing and everyone seems to be happy about it—both the Negro and white kids."

"At the primary level, where children accept each other in a normal wholesome fashion, it is good to know that they will have the opportunity to grow up in a more democratic environment. They haven't learned the prejudices; they don't know how yet to discriminate. It is wonderful to see them at work; it is equally wonderful to know that they will have this opportunity of working together throughout the school system. We have all gotten a spiritual lift just out of watching how natural and uninhibited children are. Their normal instancts, which are their better instincts, are being given a chance."

What Are the Negatives?

While the majority of the students (90.2 per cent) answered "there are none," and one student replied, "There can be no negatives, only positives, for integration is right," there were a few (5.7 per cent) at the other extreme, who, "disapproving of this whole idea of integration" felt "nothing good has come out of desegregation, only problems." This group sees the Negro student as an "intruder," either "taking over the school," or "standing back, not cooperating" because "their real loyalties remain at the Negro school." "The few students who refuse to accept desegregation and cause trouble among those who are willing to accept," were listed by 2 per cent of the students as being the greatest impediment to progress.

For the white student, the "negatives" most often listed were:

"Our schools are too crowded."

"It is now clear, Negroes don't want to be equal, they want to be superior."

"There is far too much sympathy toward the Negro in this integration deal."

"A few of the Negroes can't take a joke."

"The principal talks too much about integration."

"The Negroes are beginning to really think they are smart and equal."

"Our social activities have been curtailed."

"My parents believe all this integration will lead to intermarriage."

"A divided school with no school spirit. The Negro kids still have their interest and loyalty at their old schools."

"Some of the old southern arguments still persist among some students and it makes for bad feelings."

"Our school can no longer have some of the clubs it used to have."

"They want to associate with us."

"Negroes now think they are big wheels. Within a generation no one will be able to live with them. My parents say so."

The Negro student listed few negatives:

"Some of the anti-Negro, Jewish, Mexican and Chinese racial jokes by white students."

"White students blame Negro kids because their social activities have been cut."

"Prejudiced white parents make some kids act nasty. A girl in gym wouldn't take my hand because her parents had told her not to touch me."

"Some teachers are still prejudiced and regardless of how

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"Prejudiced white parents make some kids act nasty. A girl in gym wouldn't take my hand because her parents had told her not to touch me."

"Some teachers are still prejudiced and regardless of how hard you work you get bad grades."

"I think some of us are not treated right. Nothing you can put your hand on exactly, so to speak."

Teachers said:

"Negroes are sensitive; their earlier conditioning has made them so."

"No opportunity for social contacts outside class."

"Teacher-pupil ratio is too high."

"Negroes have had the disadvantage of being uprooted and sent to a new school."

"The persistence of certain racial stereotypes in the minds of a few prejudiced whites."

"The difficulty of reconciling the democratic attitude within the school with the very undemocratic attitude outside the school. These failures make integration within the school a harder job."

It seems clearly evident from the comments of administrators, teachers, and students that desegregation of the public schools has had a profound influence in changing many of the preconceived ideas which each racial group held toward each other. There is a heightened sense of mutual understanding and respect among all individuals. Teachers are learning that "the (negative) things they had expected to happen just didn't happen." False ideas about race are fast disappearing. There are, to be sure, the remnants of a segregated society reflected in the over-sensitivity of some Negro students, and the desire on the part of a minority of whites to view the Negro in terms of stereotyped definitions.

The "two-edged sword" of segregation has its effect on both races. Polling some 500 social scientists for their opinion on the psychological effects of enforced segregation, Deutscher and Chein found that 90 per cent felt that enforced segregation was detrimental to those at whom it was directed, and 83 per cent were of the opinion that enforced segregation had a detrimental effect on the group which enforced it. While it is the Negro child upon whom segregation imposes the "stigmata of inferiority," the white child in a segregated society is also harmed. Encouraged to expect and demand privileges and rewards solely on the basis of his membership in the majority group, he is given a distorted picture of reality.

For the Negro child, desegregation has meant a greater incentive, new experiences, an increase in his own self-respect and a corresponding respect and understanding of people whom he felt disliked him. Though for the most part the Negro student is making an exceedingly happy adjustment to his teachers and classmates, this adjustment is hampered somewhat by the minority of white students who, prompted by their elders, continue to think of the Negro in sterotyped terms.

For the white child, desegregation has meant the loss of fear of the Negro and release of a sense of guilt. It has meant new experiences—seeing the Negro and respecting him as a person on his own merit, thus eliminating many prejudices and superstitions. Because the St. Louis community has yet to reach the democratic ideal which is beginning to be approached in the schools, white students are experiencing a curtailment of their social activities which is understandably disappointing. These disappointments and deprivations may well release aggressive tendencies. In compensation for their own feelings of frustration and denial, white students may resort to rationalizing "the low esteem and lack of social prestige of the Negro" as "causing it all." Here is an area in which the community might well address itself as one

of its most urgent and pressing problems if it wishes to forestall a major point of friction. For only a good community can make children what we hope they will become.

Race prejudice and discrimination—part and parcel of segregated society—are in direct conflict with democracy. Thus, unless we teach children, through democratic living and learning, that stereotypes racial attitudes are detrimental and inconsistent with our ideals, the future of democracy may be a precarious one.

From their comments, it is clear that adolescents are perceptive; they are fair; their instincts are wholesome; their ideals high. They want a better world, are willing to work for it, and "if given the chance, they will build it."

Has Integration Been Successful?

Both students and teachers were asked: "*Time* magazine rated Missouri 'A' in its approach to the desegregation of its schools. To what do you attribute the success in the St. Louis schools?"

It is too early to talk about success; we haven't had a long enough time to try this out," was the reply of 5 per cent of the respondents. There were those (2 per cent) who thought that desegregation had brought more problems than it had solved. One student viewed "success" in terms of, "You do what you have to do, don't you?" However, 93 per cent of the students and teachers agreed with the *Time* rating.

Teachers attributed the success of desegregation to:

"Initial desegregation of the Catholic schools."

"People affected—pupils, parents, teachers, administrators—are making an honest effort in a spirit of faith and good will to comply with the Supreme Court decision. I think they believe this decision to be fair and just."

"Good planning, and a school board that was willing to back up its plan with force, if necessary."

"Planning and preparation of the community—a good community team."

"The choice of principals for the schools where desegregation would be on a large scale. The general acceptance by both races and a determination to make integration work."

"The very positive approach of our newspapers, especially *The St. Louis Post Dispatch.*"

"To an enlightened public, begun years earlier by Dr. Taba and her aids, the NCCJ and hosts of other wise people and organizations. Cooperation of all religious groups."

"A firm stand and direction from top administrators with attached penalties for lack of cooperation. Also a well organized and enforced plan to immediately catch and prosecute offenders who failed to cooperate in every required respect."

"It was not over-publicized or talked about. We simply approached it as a matter of law, decency and something that was right and fair to do. There were no alternatives."

"The School Board was not influenced by 'fearful' citizens; the Board was willing to plan well, work hard, and *gamble* the success of this endeavor."

"No particular flag waving by either group. The natural course of events aided the adjustment in the schools."

"Well-defined steps. We knew where we were going. We also knew this was something that *had to work*. It hasn't been hard."

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"Well-defined steps. We knew where we were going. We also knew this was something that *had to work*. It hasn't been hard."

"The step-by-step time table kept people from feeling that everything was happening at once. It kept down hysteria."

"The fact that desegregation was immediately acted upon and not thrown from one planning committee to another."

"A determined and forthright superintendent."

"The decentralized plan of administration. Each group was responsible for making integration work."

"It was simply an extension of a total plan. St. Louis has been working and moving toward full equality for all its citizens for some time. When the decision came, Missouri was ready psychologically. Fortunately, we had a Board of Education and a superintendent who were also ready with concrete plans and sufficient courage to put them into effect. The teachers and principals, as well as the students who have had to put the plan into effect should not be underestimated."

Students say:

"Cooperating is the key. Students don't care what color you are just so long as you have the school spirit. The old get up and go."

"One word, INTERGROUP YOUTH, made the difference. We were prepared to see people as people and not as races."

"We had a fair and just School Board, fair teachers, and kids more than willing to cooperate. Also we were prepared for the change."

"The members of both races approached desegregation intelligently. We didn't expect miracles—the result—we all got greater rewards than we ever dared believe possible."

"The kids were unwilling to take on the fears and prejudices of their parents. We were determined to make it work, and we were backed up on every hand with a wise School Board, conscientious teachers, and some pretty nice community folks."

"I think the success is due almost entirely to the white kids. They leant over backwards to make the Negro kids feel at home. They could have made the difference in whether integration would work."

"That's easy. In our school we started out on the right foot because our assistant principal at the time was a strong-armed ex-pro-football player."

"We wanted integration enough to try to make it work. It was just as simple and also as hard as that."

"It's because the teachers do not favor one race better than the other; they teach as if the students are all of the same race."

"Our integration plan was well thought out and put into execution in an orderly fashion."

"Human Relations Clubs made all of us see likenesses among all people rather than concentrate on differences."

"The police didn't let the noisy, prejudiced people run the plan and state the desires of the decent people of the community. St. Louis is law-abiding."

"People in Missouri want to make the United States a better place to live in."

"We coudn't escape. At school we heard it, in our churches we were told it was the right thing to do, and a lot of other groups were convinced it was right."

"In the case of my own school, for nearly a whole semester before desegregation ended, our principal was speaking on the subject, and trying to prepare us for the change. I know that

for a long time my friends and I got tired of hearing our principal as we said 'praise the Negroes,' but now I realize that he was just doing his job. He had to prepare us for this change, and I think that 'accounts for our success.' "

In summary, teachers attributed successful desegregation to (a) *a strong school board and school officials,* who acted promptly with a definite plan to be administered with firmness; a decentralized plan of administration (68.3 per cent); (b) initial *desegregation of the Catholic schools* (55.9 per cent); (c) *strong community leaders* (54.1 per cent); (d) *positive support of community organizations,* influence of the press, the church and law enforcement officials (49.2 per cent); (e) *preparation of community for desegregation* (36.5 per cent); and (f) St. Louis is law-abiding (12.1 per cent).

Students attributed success to (a) *preparation of students* through Intergroup Youth and Human Relations Clubs, also constructive work on part of principals and teachers (79.1 per cent); (b) *cooperation on part of students,* both Negro and white, to make desegregation work (59.1 per cent); (c) *fairness and firmness of teachers and administrators*—a desire on the part of both to make integration work (34.5 per cent) (d) *St. Louis is law-abiding;* "it is not deep South"; "it wanted to set an example for the rest of the Nation" (18.9 per cent).

How Does the Community Feel?

Like any other community, there are those citizens who view desegregation of the schools purely in legal terms—"It's the law; there's nothing you can do about it. St. Louis is law-abiding." For most citizens, however, with no less respect for the law, "It was the right thing to do" or, "St. Louis was ready."

St. Louis is proud of itself. The general community's acceptance of school desegregation is reflected in the Mound City Press Club's special award given to Archbishop Joseph E. Ritter of the Roman Catholic church for his pioneer work in desegregating the city's Catholic schools. Following the successful desegregation of the public colleges and high schools, and in recognition of his leadership, the St. Louis B'nai B'rith selected Superintendent Hickey to receive its annual award. On the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision, a public recognition ceremony, under the sponsorship of the Metropolitan Church Federation, was held on the steps of the historic Courthouse where the Dred Scott decision was rendered. This time—100 years later—St. Louis was repudiating this decision in citing Superintendent of Instruction Philip J. Hickey for his role in implementing a Supreme Court decision which said in part, "in the field of education the doctrine of 'separate-but-equal' has no place."

Perhaps one of the most insistent and recurring arguments advanced against desegregation is the great amount of time needed to perfect change. But, there are attitude changes and social changes for which time as such is neither the all-compelling nor significant dimension. *More significant than time is the quality of experience.* Few, if any, would question the "quality of experience" both preceding and following desegregation as one of the important determining factors in the orderly transition from segregation to desegregation of the St. Louis schools.

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While recognizing that much has been done, St. Louis realized that many problems yet remain to be solved, for complete integration of the public schools is dependent upon other community services. It thus becomes increasingly incumbent upon the community to find out "how far and how fast its children can walk out into the community and have the kind of free movement implicit in our democracy." St. Louis has shown that improved community living can result from cooperative effort. It has also shown that participating in the improvement of community living is itself an education of the highest order.

CHAPTER VI

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

The day the Supreme Court handed down the decision that found state laws permitting or requiring segregation in public schools unconstitutional, two things happened: American educators and community leaders were presented with the inescapable challenge of eliminating racial barriers in public education—and the need for tested guidelines to make the transition a successful one became everywhere apparent. Fortunately, out of the St. Louis experience and similar ones, we have seen that the challenge *can* be met, and that, already, guiding principles for those who have yet to make the change are being evolved.

One group of principles for accomplishing desegregation with a minimum of social disturbance has been set forth by Dr. Kenneth Clark. After a study of many recent instances of desegregation, Dr. Clark emphasizes the importance of (1) a clear and unequivocal statement of the new policy by acknowledged authorities and leaders with prestige; (2) firm enforcement of the new policy even in the face of continued resistance; (3) willingness to use the law and strong enforcement action to deal with violations; (4) refusal to tolerate any evasion of desegregation; (5) an appeal to the individuals immediately involved in terms of their religious principles and their acceptance of the American tradition of law observance, fair play and equal justice.

Any review of St. Louis' transition from segregated to desegregated schools immediately impresses one with the extent to which its procedure coincides with the above principles. The following summary of the St. Louis story, however, gives a fuller picture of the factors which led to successful implementation:

From the beginning, the St. Louis Board of Education *acted promptly and decisively.* As the people's elected representatives, they assumed the responsibility and initiative in working out an orderly transition of the schools in compliance with the Supreme Court ruling. One month after the May 17th ruling (which was 13 days before Missouri's Attorney General declared the state's schools segregation law "unenforceable"), the Board had already adopted—unanimously—a three-step plan for the desegregation of its public schools, with all steps to be completed within a year. Definite dates were set for each step, with each step paced as rapidly as administrative details could be worked out.

Once the plan was adopted and fixed, *school officials moved quickly and unhesitatingly toward implementation.* The plan was discussed thoroughly with all school personnel concerned. School officials conceived their chief responsibility to be that of working out administrative details, while the job of community preparation

was largely taken over by interested citizens and organizations. School principals were made responsible for the successful implementation of the plan in their districts. They were told, as was their staff, that in implementing the new policy, *failure could not be thought possible, and that any negative attitude or device calculated to disrupt or delay the desegregation program would not be tolerated.* Since past experiences in changing from a segregated to a non-segregated policy led to the conclusion that indecision and prolonged debate only tend to increase resistance, there was no discussion as to *whether* or *if* the St. Louis schools should be desegregated, but rather, *how it might be done effectively.*

Through cooperating community leaders, school officials saw to it that everyone involved in the plan was kept well-informed at all times. Not only did the community know exactly what was happening, but they were brought into the process, helping to make it happen. This involvement—a sort of "togetherness"—undoubtedly helped create a climate favorable to community acceptance, and kept to a minimum the false interpretations, irrational pressures and rumors which inevitably accompany change.

While social scientists have discovered that desegregation can be successfully accomplished in what appears to be a highly prejudiced social setting, the transition is much smoother when supported by community leaders. Recognizing this, St. Louis school officials sought and obtained the services of community leaders in preparing the community for an orderly transition. For example, in key roles and working closely with one another were the regional director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the director of the Jewish Community Relations Council and the Consultant in Human Relations with the city schools—all of whom were in turn supported by leaders from practically every area of community activity. Thus, the community had ample leadership to keep them informed, and when necessary, interpret the changing social scene. While this kind of leadership reassured the community, the St. Louis human relations program—in effect for more than a decade—provided a firm ideological base from which teachers as well as students could operate with some sureness of direction.

The acceptance of desegregation by the majority of the St. Louis citizens would seem to support the principle that where action is prompt and unequivocal, a minimum of friction is encountered. A review of experiences in other places indicates that *rapid desegregation shortens the period of anxiety and stress, limits the duration of overt resistance or controversy, and gains general community acceptance in less time than does a long drawn-out process.* On the other hand, extended discussion of a contemplated policy, together with an indefinite terminal date, not only serve to accentuate negative attitudes, but also to provide opponents of the plan with an opportunity to regard the issue as essentially open and debatable.

St. Louis also demonstrated how strong and forthright leadership can minimize the inevitable social stress; how prompt dealing with any violation of law can keep down subversion, hate groups and even acts of violence; and it showed, once and for all time, that the bigot can be curbed when those in authority take their responsibility for law enforcement seriously and discharge

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This, then, is the St. Louis story. While admittedly much remains to be done in achieving an integrated society, the wise blending of many diverse elements has made this chapter of St. Louis' story one of success. As a result of desegregation, St. Louis is becoming a more unified and democratic American community, and its public schools are increasingly realizing those noble, spiritual and intellectual values which give meaning to our democratic way of life. The victories already won, however, have been victories for American democracy even more than they have been St. Louis successes. For reflected in the successful desegregation of the St. Louis schools is not only the growing maturity of the city of St. Louis and the state of which it is a part, but of the nation itself.

APPENDIX

SOME ADDITIONAL GUIDE LINES

Looking at the St. Louis program from another perspective, Frank Sskwor, the Consultant in Human Relations for the St. Louis Public Schools, reviews the ten-year program of education for better human relations in which the schools and the community had engaged, and sets forth the following fundamental principles which have been developed growing out of this experience, with examples to illustrate each principle:

PRINCIPLE 1—Specific problems in human relationships cannot be solved in isolation from the total social situation. A general attack on all prejudices will be more rewarding in the end than an attack on a specific prejudice.

a. Started Intergroup Youth, drawing membership from those groups that were more or less frequently in tension situations: Negroes and whites; rich and poor; city and country; Protestant and Catholic; Jew and Non-Jew; private school and public school, etc.

PRINCIPLE 2—Operate in a tender human relations area by using only those practices which are educationally justifiable.

a. Letter-writing projects are considered to be good means of building up intercultural understanding. Rather than limiting them to international projects, allow the pupils to correspond with pupils of other cultural groups within the same locale.

PRINCIPLE 3—Get people of different groups together because of common interests, not because of curiosity over differences.

a. Intergroup Youth has been centered around the kinds of interests adolescents have—arts and crafts, work projects, club activities, music, discussions, etc.
b. A city-wide student council is now in its ninth year. Two representatives from each high school in the city—Negro and white, Catholic, Lutheran, private and public—meet once each four weeks for a discussion of problems of common concern to all high school students—e.g., sportsmanship, etc.
c. Interschool visits for special programs have been encouraged for the past ten years. These started by exchanging music organizations for programs at a school of a different race. Later, panel discussions and class visits were added. Style shows and cooking demonstrations were used for exchange visits.

PRINCIPLE 4—Young people make far greater progress in human relations than most adults are willing to admit or expect.

a. The intergroup youth movement has grown far beyond its original discussion stage. At the insistence of the young people, they embarked upon a program of community betterment. They organized a "work-project" group to decorate interacial community centers, sing carols and bring Christmas cheer to those in hospitals, make toys for needy children of all groups, etc. They formed dramatic and choral groups. An inter-group jazz band was organized in 1954 and made a number of public appearances.

PRINCIPLE 5—It is well to cooperate with any and all groups in the community which have a special interest in promoting good human relationships.

a. Two organizations, the National Conference of Christians and Jews and the Jewish Community Relations Council, were especially cooperative. These organizations have a professional interest in promoting good human relations. The National Conference of Christians and Jews has, from the beginning, been the sponsoring agency for Intergroup Youth, thereby relieving the schools of considerable expense and responsibility and making it possible for all schools, of whatever governing body they may be, to cooperate. Both organizations (NCCJ and JCRC) cooperated in supplying leadership to the youth organization. The Jewish Community Relations Council provided people for staff positions in both the St. Louis and Washington University workshops for teachers. The director of the National Conference served for several summers as a staff member at various workshops. Both organizations assisted the Intergroup Education Association (an organization of teachers) in many ways, providing financial assistance, serving on the steering committee, etc. In turn the schools were of considerable aid to both organizations. Many teachers contributed financially to this work, many others appeared on programs as speakers or panelists for the two organizations, and school personnel counselled with the leadership of the two organizations on matters of community procedure.
b. The Metropolitan Church Federation was a powerful factor in helping to prepare the community. Through its Commission on Racial and Cultural Affairs and on Religion and Education, it issued a number of pronouncements to be read in Protestant Churches. It took an active part in preparing for any eventualities in the desegregation of high schools. A number of school personnel serve on its board and commissions.
c. The Mayor's Council on Human Rights has sponsored a celebration of Universal Declaration of Human Rights Day for the past few years.
d. The Catholic Interracial Council had a great deal to do with the shaping of community attitudes. The Catholic Parochial Schools were desegregated in 1947 and this Council was somewhat instrumental in stilling some of the protests. Several teachers and administrators are members of the Council.
e. The Catholic Secondary Schools Association asked the Intergroup Education Association to cooperate with it in staging a program for its convention based on intergroup education. This was done.
f. The Citizens Committee on Human Rights, an organizations of individuals from a large number of community organizations, pooled its resources with those of the Intergroup Education Association to help plan programs, provided speakers and audio-visual aids, etc., to any community wishing to undertake a program aimed at helping desegregation.
g. One large and powerful union, desegregated in its membership, in 1951 proposed a series of eight steps designed to ready the schools for desegregation. The schools had already taken some of these steps and others were found not suitable, but educators appeared on radio programs in cooperation with representatives of the union and discussed the proposals. It was felt that this was a factor in helping to prepare the community.
h. The League of Women Voters prepared an excellent pamphlet entitled, "St. Louis Integrated Its Schools." This was of great value in explaining the background and reasons for the change. It included not only what the city schools were doing, but also proposals and steps taken in the county. Teachers and administrators provided valuable help in the preparation of this pamphlet.
i. On the whole, the press has been most cooperative over the past ten years. It has editorialized on the problems faced, and covered news features impartially. Perhaps its chief contribution has been in ignoring the small "hate" organization which has been the lone antagonistic force in the community.

PRINCIPLE 6—Teachers need greater preparation than do pupils.

a. Both local universities have, for the past several summers, offered workshops in human relations for teachers. More than two hundred teachers have received intensive training in the local workshops and approximately 75 more have taken such training at out of town workshops. The National Conference of Christians and Jews was helpful

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b. Special consultant services in intergroup and human relations were provided to teachers for the past ten years. Starting with an original committee on Intercultural Education this work has required the work of a consultant since 1945.

PRINCIPLE 7—Use trained teachers to train other teachers.

a. Several leadership training session were held to train teachers for the training of others. The Board of Education, in the fifth year of the program, hired Dr. Taba's staff to train eight teachers in the use of literature for better human relations. Following this, centers for the training of other teachers were set up in three neighborhoods. Another special leadership training meeting was set up in 1953 when 42 specially prepared teachers met with Dr. Taba to discuss leadership problems.

PRINCIPLE 8—In the curriculum, use the contributions of all groups as a means of building understandings and appreciations.

a. A bulletin written on "Little Known People in American History" to give teachers valuable information for use in social studies classes.

b. Science teachers stressed the contributions of people of many backgrounds to the total scientific progress of our civilization.

PRINCIPLE 9—Use public programs to help educate the community.

a. Graduation programs were used very successfully to prepare the parents for desegregation and to improve relationships generally. A Negro high school combined sociodrama with its graduation program to help build better attitudes toward whites. Several elementary school graduation programs had themes centering on good human relations. Some teachers used their summer workshop as a means of preparing dramatic productions.

b. Several neighborhood associations took an active role in readying their communities for desegregation. Planning with skilled members of the Intergroup Education Association and the Citizens Committee on Human Rights, they prepared panel discussions, speaking programs, and the use of audio-visual materials quite effectively.

PRINCIPLE 10—Use the curriculum for the development of the whole child, for this will tend to eliminate the need for tensions.

a. It was found necessary to diagnose the needs of children—their human relations needs—before trying to bring about effective cures to their prejudices. Diagnostic techniques found useful were sociometry, for studying social relationships; open-end statements, for analyzing feelings of security or insecurity; sociodrama, for studying student reactions in certain situations; diaries and autobiographies, to get an understanding of certain adult-child relationships; and case studies of a few troubled individuals.

PRINCIPLE 11—Use an emotional appeal intelligently. This involves considerable preparation of those who are to have the emotional experience.

a. Intergroup Youth stages an annual program given during the school day, attended by 1600 students from 35 high schools in the area. The opening program features skits from about 15 schools. Popular local disc jockeys act as masters of ceremonies. A name speaker gives the stamp of official approval to the program of the day. This preparation readies the students to walk a block to a nearby community center, partake of a box lunch together, and be ready for an afternoon of mixed athletics, some of which requires close cooperation. A closing program usually features a staging of some of the afternoon activities in miniature and the appearance of a name personality from stage or screen. Thus the program closes on an emotional appeal and the pupils carry away the message of the day to apply in their future relationships.

b. The city-wide student council started nine years ago with rather simple discussions. As they gradually got acquainted they took on more serious problems such as safety at the stadium, framework of a local student council, interracial athletics, sportsmanship at athletic contests, etc. The involvement, both intellectual and emotional, of these students is rather wonderful to behold. Recently they agreed to open each meeting with silent prayer—silently because any kind of formalized prayer might conflict with the religious beliefs of some of the members.

ABL

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

September 10, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
43 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your advice and comments. I am working on the pamphlet on violence and riots and hope to hear from Dr. Parrish shortly.

I am also trying to organize teams of sociologists to go into Clinton, Sturgis and Mansfield. I will advise you about this later.

I am enclosing a copy of the rough outline which I have sent to Preston Valien at Fisk. Would you be good enough to send him any comments or suggestions. Since I may be moving rather quickly on this project I would be grateful if you could do this without delay.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

attachment

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

14 Sept 56

Dear Oscar –

Excuse the written word; no secy at the moment.

Re: Clinton; one of our Tennessee consultants was in Clinton months ago – his findings are available to Preston & Bonita Valien.

Another consultant, Francis Manis was on the scene during the difficulties – he sent a copy of his report to Bonita. – I'll write her & Preston of the other.

Thanks for the info on the pamphlet on riots –

Best regards

Fred

ADL

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

September 12, 1956

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have heard from some source, which I cannot identify at the moment, that in the past a consultant for the Southern Regional Council visited Clinton, Tennessee and made an analysis of the situation there. If this is so, any background material of this kind you might have would be of value to Preston Valien and his colleagues since they are planning to send a team into Clinton. If you have any material that would be helpful to Preston I wish you would send it to him without delay since the project might get under way in the next few days.

We have been following through on the idea of a pamphlet designed to deal with group action and violence. Dr. Parrish has been very helpful but the director of the Southern Police Institute is out of the country and they do not have appropriate material on hand. There is no one on the faculty who could write it in the immediate future. I am making a strong appeal to Joe Lohmann at this point. We have several alternatives but non quite as good. I will give you further information on this project later. I hope to have also further news for you about the teams we are trying to organize for Mansfield and Surgis.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

cc: Preston Valien

September 17, 1956

AIR MAIL

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

I have looked through and read good batches of Bonita Valien's nice pamphlet, which you were kind enough to send me.

Here is what I would say about it privately and publicly:

> St. Louis did a good job about putting the schools together. And did it well largely because responsible people in the city watched where they put their feet for each next step. If in your town you would like to find where to make the next steps, this pamphlet is likely to tell you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

GSM — for your info please return FBR

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

September 18, 1956

Mr. Fred B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Many thanks for your note. I do appreciate your prompt response.

Dr. Roscoe Giffin of Berea College is in Sturgis now. He was unable to find a second person and I suggested that he go himself.

I feel reasonably sure that teams will be in Clinton and Mansfield very soon.

I will keep you advised.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

P.S. Preston Valien and a team will leave for Clinton this week-end.

NO DAILY FILE COPY MADE
THIS COPY SHOWN TO FBR

noted FBR

September 21, 1956

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

A report from the South Carolina Council on Human Relations for the month of August, 1956, contains reference to a field trip taken by the Executive Director, Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, to Elloree, South Carolina on or about August 7th, 1956. She interviewed there some five or six influential local citizens, including Mr. F. J. Shirer, Secretary and Treasurer of the White Citizens' Council of Elloree.

Later on her report records the following anent Mr. Shirer:

"Mr. F. J. Shirer, the secretary-treasurer of the Elloree White Citizen's Councils prides himself upon his inside information and understanding of the"trouble with the N.A.A.C.P.", and the schools. It is all a part of an international communist plot made and being executed by Jews. In support of the theories of which he seems convinced, he showed Mrs. Spearman "some of the proof." Titles and addresses taken from materials in his possession, which he shares widely, are as follows:

1 - ARKANSAS FAITH, March, 1956 - official publication of the White Citizen's Council, Crossett, Arkansas.

2 - THE LETTER. Gerald L. K. Smith, editor. Published in cooperation with Nationalist News Service, Washington, D. C. Christian Nationalist Crusade, P. O. Box D-4, St. Louis 1, Missouri.

3 - THE CROSS AND THE FLAG official publication of the Christian Nationalist Crusade, ($1.00 for six months), P. O. Box 27895, Los Angeles 27, California.

4 - THE AUGUSTA COURIER, 300 Southern Finance Bldg., Augusta, Ga. ($4.00 for one year)

5 - THE PLOT (an Outline)
TO UNDERMIND, by Gerald L. K. Smith. Based on interviews in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere. THE REPUBLIC.

6 - AIMS OF RED PRO-NEGRO PLOT
Bulletin #5 issued by The Grass Roots League, Inc., Charleston, S.C.

7 - THE UGLY TRUTH ABOUT THE NAACP, an address by Attorney General Eugene Cook, before the 55th annual convention of the Peace Officers' Association of Georgia, held in Atlanta. (For automatic release at 2:20 P.M., Oct. 19, 1955.)

8 - COMMON SENSE. The Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper. Published twice monthly at 530 Chestnut Street, Union, New Jersey, U.S.A. (One year's subscription $1.00. First Class (sealed $3.00 per year.)"

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

Replied by telephone

For your information

Personal

Harold Fleming

Did George ever reply? Do you know anything about this?

P.S. - SRC is coordinating — between national ADL and southeastern ADL!

Regards
Art Levin

P 11-1
agt

October 17, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We have been in touch with Dr. Omer Carmichael of Louisville with regard to the possibility of writing up the "Louisville Story." As you know, we have a FREEDOM PAMPHLET on "The St. Louis Story" and we hope to have one shortly on "The Washington Schools -- A Miracle of Social Adjustment." Dr. Carmichael indicated that he was considering a similar publication for the Fund for the Republic. The Fund for the Republic has no knowledge of this project and I wonder if possibly Dr. Carmichael was doing something for you in this regard.

I did not speak to Dr. Carmichael myself, but through an intermediatry in Louisville and the story might have been garbled in the process of transmission.

I would be very grateful for information in connection with the above.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

bcc: Arthur J. Levin ✓

October 19, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

We hear that the Fund for the Republic is putting out as a movie the television program that Carmichael appeared on. Remarkably good.

We also hear that there is liklihood of the Fund for the Republic reprinting an article Carmichael is said to have done in the New York Times magazine.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

October 17, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 19 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

We have been in touch with Dr. Omer Carmichael of Louisville with regard to the possibility of writing up the "Louisville Story." As you know, we have a FREEDOM PAMPHLET on "The St. Louis Story" and we hope to have one shortly on "The Washington Schools -- A Miracle of Social Adjustment." Dr. Carmichael indicated that he was considering a similar publication for the Fund for the Republic. The Fund for the Republic has no knowledge of this project and I wonder if possibly Dr. Carmichael was doing something for you in this regard.

I did not speak to Dr. Carmichael myself, but through an intermediatry in Louisville and the story might have been garbled in the process of transmission.

I would be very grateful for information in connection with the above.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Os Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

AIRMAIL

October 30, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Since we talked the other day, I have found that I will be in New York Wednesday and Thursday of next week. In fact, Thursday morning I will be in Arnold Forster's office attending a meeting of a sub-committee on fact-finding preparatory to the overall coordinating meeting on November 20th.

Could we get together at the end of Arnold Forster's meeting? Since I will be on the premises, this would be most convenient for me. If you are out of action on Thursday, let me know at your earliest convenience and perhaps we can work out another time. My present plan is to fly up Wednesday morning and return Thursday evening. Aside from Wednesday night, however, I am involved in meetings except for Thursday afternoon.

I hope I will also get to see Alex Miller and my other good friends at ADL.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
CC: Mr. Alex F. Miller

BCC: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

File

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Executive Assistant

November 2, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Wonderful to hear from you. By all means let us get together after you are through with the meeting in Arnold Forster's office. Perhaps we shall be able to have lunch together. In any case, would you give me a call when you get into town on Wednesday. I will check with Alex to see if all three of us can get together at the same time.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

cc: Alexander F. Miller

File

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Executive Assistant

November 12, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was wonderful seeing you the other day. I am working on the many matters we discussed and will be in touch with you in some detail later.

The first problem is one of liaison and I am taking this up with Alex Miller in the next few days.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

November 27, 1956

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for your letter. I had hoped to touch base with you again when I was in New York early last week, but I missed you both times I telephoned.

However, Joe Lyford told me the North pamphlet was ready and showed me the news release on it. I'm glad you were able to release it concurrently with your National Commission meeting.

The women's conference sounds good. I'll look forward to hearing more about it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

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Executive Assistant

November 19, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sorry that I have been unable to clear with Dr. Deutsch on the forthcoming issue of RESEARCH REPORTS containing the North article. There just has not been time. Particularly since our annual meetings take place this weekend. However, Dr. Deutsch and I are meeting next week.

The North statement will be in print this weekend because we want to release it at our national meeting.

I should advise you that we are planning a national conference of women to discuss problems of intergroup relations in the Spring. This will be sponsored by the B'nai B'rith Women. The principal subject will be desegregation. I will be discussing this with you.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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December 7, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am taking this means of asking certain selected people for help on a matter of crucial importance to the maintenance of law and order as opposed to mob violence on the segregation issue in the South. Please pardon this mimeographed letter which I am forced to send in the interests of saving time.

You undoubtedly have been reading in your local newspapers about the flare up on the school matter in Clinton, Tenn., where mob violence has taken over the town and caused the closing of the school against the wishes of the majority of the local people. The important factor here is that the local police force was not able to cope with the situation and the city officials asked for the intervention of federal authorities. Thereupon, U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell stated that the U. S. government will prosecute in federal court all persons attempting to block the observance of the court's order in regard to the Clinton schools, and he also ordered the FBI to launch an investigation of those responsible for violence in Clinton. Following that, Federal District Judge Robert L. Taylor of Knoxville ordered 16 local persons arrested on charges of criminal contempt of court growing out of the violence in Clinton, which seems to have broken the resistance movement.

If Mr. Brownell is made aware that responsible southern leaders are opposed to mob violence and wish to maintain law and order, this southern opinion will help to strengthen this federal precedent in other southern communities where mob violence threatens or erupts, and where local officials themselves cannot cope with the situation. It therefore becomes exceedingly vital that Mr. Brownell hear from southerners commending his action. It is in this regard that I am asking your help.

Can you immediately write a letter to Mr. Brownell (Honorable Herbert Brownell, Attorney General of the U.S., U.S. Department of Justice, Washington 25, D.C.) commending him for his forthright action to preserve law and order. I would greatly appreciate your cooperation in this regard, and copies of the letters you write.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Art

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

December 27, 1956

Mr. Lester J. Waldman
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Lester:

Thanks for all the kind words. They gave my moral a good healthy boost!

Now that the Aaronsburg project is dormant, I hope some new effort will bring us together again. Meanwhile, all good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

December 18, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It couldn't have happened to a nicer guy! I was just delighted when I read in Sunday's New York Times of your selection to succeed George as executive director of the Council. While the appointment was expected - nay, even inevitable - I learned a long time ago that even inevitability has a certain quality of relativity - now that I have seen it where "all the news that's fit to print" is lodged, I am overjoyed.

I know that you will respond to this challenge to your talents and I wish you every success and every promise of cooperation and help should you ever need it.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Les —

Lester J. Waldman

LJW:jg

December 27, 1956

Mr. Arnold Forster
515 Madison Avenue
Suite 300
New York 22, New York

Dear Arnold:

My warmest thanks for your congratulatory note. I am looking forward to working even more closely with you and the others of the ADL staff. It makes the job seem much less difficult to know that I can count on your support.

With very best wishes for 1957.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

ARNOLD FORSTER

515 MADISON AVENUE • SUITE 300

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 1-1801

December 18th,
1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I see by the Sunday Times that it is now official. I just want to wish you all the luck in the world and say to you if at any time there is anything I can do in any way to make your burden easier, please don't hesitate to yell.

Your organization is to be heartily congratulated on its intelligence in selecting you for the top spot.

With every best wish and kind regards.

Sincerely,

Arch

af/sgf

Coordination with ADL

(Conf. 12/20/56 with Art Levin + Oscar Cohen)

1. ADL + HCF to develop outline for Handbook on school desegr. (to be co-sponsored, authored by Wm Van Til? Robin Williams? Geo Denemark?)

2. ADL to check prior to other field research. Beaumont + Mansfield coming. Possibilities: Tallahassee, Little Rock, Charlottesville, Arlington, Horse, Nashville, Winston-Salem, Greensboro; following later in Clinton, Sturgis, + Texas.

3. Cohen to check on Lohman for Law Enf manual; if out, SRC to approach McCandless. Co-sponsor? Foreword by Hoover?

4. Cohen to send bibliog. on educ'l desegr for review.

5. Get church sounding from Bob Hughes + advise ADL re: Chr. Friends Bulletin.

6. ADL to assess SRS clips on WCC + KKK and advise re: joint clip survey.

7. Conf. on free speech + law + order. Emory? Sponsors? Burial? Planning Ctee? Financing?

8. ADL to stage state confs of educators - ① Ark. ② Ky. ③ NC ④ Tex., ⑤ Tenn. ⑥ Fla. SRC role?

9. Other: ⓐ SPSSI pamphlet to be pub by ~~ADL~~, PA Pph + ⓑ ABA stuffer in South (FFR)? ⓒ Freedom pph on Washington by Hansen coming. ⓓ Another Algenfels Sense + Nonsense abt Race? ⓔ Digest of research, 100 pp., $2.00, ⓕ Consultant svc - educators to sch systems only.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
212 Fifth Avenue — Suite 601
New York 10, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming, Fred Routh, Arthur J. Levin

From: Oscar Cohen

Date: December 28, 1956

Subject: Notes on our discussions - December 20th - 21st.

1. Conferences on Human Relations Education.

It was agreed that the Southwide Conference held last year at the University of Oklahoma was valuable. It was felt that if a choice had to be made, this year, state conferences rather than a southwide conference would be desirable. States should be selected in which desegregation is in process or where desegregation seems likely to begin shortly.

In the planning of such conferences the following are considerations:

a. Co-sponsorship of an institution of higher learning. In this connection it may be necessary to secure the cooperation of denominational colleges in one or more of the states concerned.

b. Possible co-sponsorship of other organizations such as the ASCD in North Carolina.

c. Consultation with resource people in advance of the meeting and their involvement in planning.

d. Consultation with Southern Regional Council and coordination with the consultant program of that organization.

States in order of priority where conferences are desired are:

Arkansas
Kentucky
North Carolina (after the legislature meets)
Texas
Tennessee (after the legislature meets)
Oklahoma
Florida (pending on opportunities)

COPY

2. The Adult Education project providing for the the use of resource persons from nearby universities in cooperation with local Boards of Education is not considered practical

3. Field Research.

ADL field research in crisis areas - Sturgis, Clinton, Mansfield and Beaumont were considered important. This research should be continued if possible.

It is important to maintain communication between ADL and SRC on a detailed basis before, during and after the research. In particular, releases to the press should be provided to SRC.

In addition to field research in crisis areas, it is necessary to gather information from areas which segregation will be taking place, or where incidents in matters other than the schools reflect upon the entire segregation situation in the South.

Among the communities which should be surveyed are:

Talahasee (Kilian, Florida State)
Little Rock
Charlottesville
Hoxie
New Orleans (A start should be made in the accumulation of background information)
Winston Salem (Background information)
Greensboro (Background information)
Atlanta (Background information)
Nashville (A very complicated picture which might be difficult to obtain.)
Montgomery (So much has been written on this city that there would seem to be no point in further exploration.)

Surveys should be made in cities where crisis situations have occurred in the past such as Milford, Delaware. It is planned to undertake further surveys in Clinton at a later date.

4. SPSSI Pamphlet.

While the possible joint sponsorship of this pamphlet was discussed, it was subsequently learned that the pamphlet is being produced by Public Affairs Pamphlets.

5. A National Student Association conference was scheduled to take place in Spring Hill College.

This will be explored further. It is important that the conference be related to the work of the YM and YWCA's in the South. If the conference does take place, it should be undertaken in close cooperation with the SRC. Possibly the director of this conference might work out of the SRC office.

6. Publications.

a. The Washington Schools - " Miracle of Social Adjustment" will be issued shortly. Releases in this connection will be discussed with the SRC.

b. Publications dealing with the progress of desegregation in higher education are not considered necessary since much is being done in this field already.

c. There was full agreement on the importance of a pamphlet dealing with "Lessons To Be Learned." This handbook on school desegregation will be addressed to school and community people. It would summarize experiences, deal with the problems of "How To Do It", and take up and deal with the propaganda points of the segregationists.

Art Levin and Harold Fleming thought they might get up a rough outline of the publication. We will then try to find an author and secure co-sponsorship. Perhaps it might be co-sponsored by ADL-SRC and other organizations like the National Council of Churches. Possible authors - William Van Til, ~~Robert~~ Robin Williams.

d. A review of "Success Stories" in desegregation. Such areas as West Virginia, Baltimore, San Antonio, etc. This might have ADL-SRC (plus) sponsorship.

e. We felt that an u-tp-date pamphlet on race, with particular emphasis on equality and ability of races, suitable for college and high school use, would be valuable. Suggested author - Ethel Alperfels.

f. There was agreement that the forthcoming review of research on desegregation by Melvin Tumin would constitute a fine contribution to the field. SRC will be asked to help promote this publication.

g. ADL is presently compiling a bibliography on desegregation for school use. Before it goes to press, the script will be forwarded to SCR for comment.

h. It was generally agreed that an issue of the CHRISTIAN FRIENDS BULLETIN dealing with desegregation would be helpful.

i. There was agreement on the urgency of a publication on law enforcement, techniques in dealing with mobs and other matters of law rising out of racial tensions. At present Joseph Lohman is being asked to undertake the pamphlet and a definitive answer has not yet been received from him. If Joseph Lohman turns the proposition down, the Southern Police Institute will be approached by Harold Fleming. The pamphlet would be addressed to law enforcement officers and civic officials in the South. Oscar Cohen is to inquire whether or not FBI has any of this material already compiled for use in its training program.

7. Film on Desegregation.

This film is being produced by Potomac Films and a grant from the Fund for the Republic and from ADL. Oscar Cohen is to send a copy of the outline to Harold Fleming.

8. Consultant Services.

After discussion it was agreed that the consultant service project to be instituted by ADL and that already in progress by SRC would not conflict. The ADL project is concerned with a small number of educators whose services will be offered to school systems, at times with a subsidy for expenses or honorarium or both. SRC will be kept fully informed of any engagements and will help brief consultants and perhaps participate in the consultant project.

9. Newspaper Clippings on the Resistance Movement.

Both the ADL office in Atlanta and the SRC receive clippings from various parts of the South on the Resistance Movement. However, the Southern News Service in Nashville has a much more extensive service. It would be important to have someone evaluate the files presently existing at the Southern News Service office. It might be possible to secure the services of someone in Nashville who would, on a regular basis, secure copies of clips for SRC and ADL, in which the organizations might be interested. In this connection it might be possible to secure the co-operation of the Southern News Service with regard to both clippings and categories of filing. The project might be financed jointly by both organizations.

10. There was discussion of the request which ADL proposed to make to the Fund for the Republic for a grant to undertake a full exploration of the Citizens Council and Klan Movements. It was felt that the present scope of the project would not be regarded favorably by the Fund. Therefore it was determined to change the dimensions of the project. The project might be based on research into the restrictions on the freedom of speech and association by the Resistance Movement. This would involve a combination of fact finding and field research. Oscar Cohen will draft an outline in this connection.

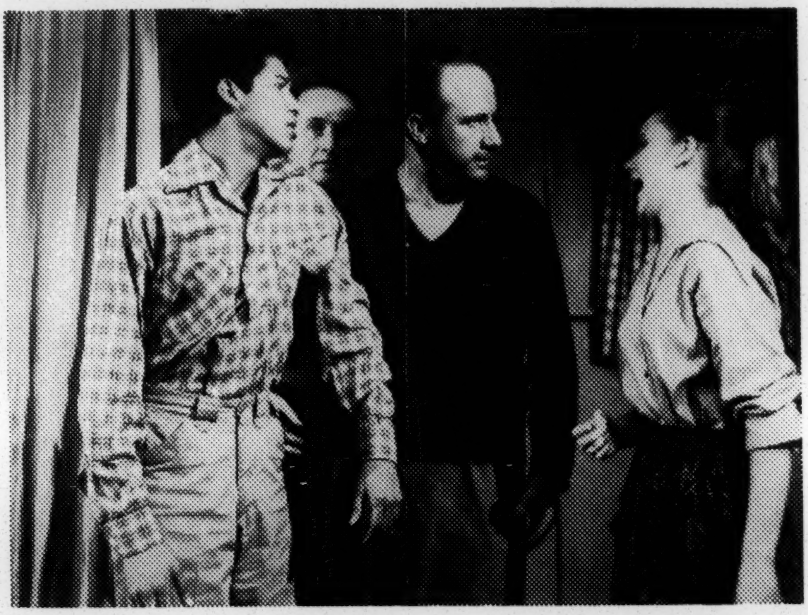
*11. Conference on Law and Order and Freedom of Expression.

It was felt that considerable favor by Southern leaders would meet a proposal for a conference and public statement on law and order and freedom of expression in the South. Location - preferably a university campus, possibly Emory University. Consideration will be given as to whether or not this should be bi-racial or all white conference. The conference will not have any opinion on segregation. It will appeal to those on both sides on the basis of a maintenance of the legal process and preservation of freedom in the South. Sponsorship is to be determined. The sponsor might possibly be a committee without public organizational involvement. Consideration was to be given by Harold Fleming and Art Levin as to the Planning Committee for such a conference, and discussions were to be held with Emory to see whether or not the University would hold such a one-day affair on the campus.

12. ADL has proposed a film consisting of news clips plus commentary on the White Citizens Council's and Klan Movements in the South. This would be addressed to labor and similar organizations. However, it was found that the Fund for the Republic news film project is producing a film which is similar in some respects. This will be investigated.

*13. A National Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations will be held in Washington on April 3rd to 5th. It will be sponsored by the B'nai B'rith Women and desegregation will be a major topic of discussion. It is hoped that the conference will attract prominent women from various parts of the country. Harold Fleming and Art Levin are going to consider those who might participate from the South and send a list of names to Oscar Cohen.

"TRAGEDY IN A TEMPORARY TOWN" WINS ADL's 1956 TV AWARD



"Tragedy in a Temporary Town," an ALCOA Hour drama by Reginald Rose, will receive the 1956 Television Award of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith as "the most dramatic and forthright television program of the year bringing the message of democracy to the American people." The presentation will be made on Sunday, November 25, when "Tragedy" will be retelecast on the NBC network (2-3 p.m., E.S.T.). Robert Sarnoff, president of the National Broadcasting Company, will accept the award. The play dramatizes an incident of mob violence directed against a minority group teenager in a construction workers camp. "Tragedy in a Temporary Town" previously won the Robert Sherwood Award of the Fund for The Republic.

PROGRAM SERVICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH • 212 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 10, N.Y., MUrray Hill 6-8010

PROGRAMMATIC AND REFERENCE MATERIALS RELATING TO DESEGREGATION

The following compilation of resource materials and the suggestions for organized study are designed to be of help to educational administrators, teachers and community group leaders involved in discussion and implementation of the Supreme Court decision. The materials listed present basic intergroup information for use on elementary, junior high and high school levels, as well as on college and community levels.

The arrangement of publications and audio-visual aids according to maturity levels and interest groups, does not mean that titles listed in one category cannot be used in others. The success of any program, discussion or experience depends upon the use of that material which is most appropriate to the maturity level and to the needs of the people in the specific community. Whenever possible, therefore, films, filmstrips and recordings should be previewed before using. Suggestions for the use of audio-visual aids are included.

Inquiries for information and material listed herein should be addressed to the Anti-Defamation League.

Elementary School Materials

(grades 4 through 8. Materials for younger pupils are not available.)

GRAPHICS—(Posters and teaching guides). "Just Born—All Americans," "America's Future—Its Children;" IAD.*

Cartoon Book, "The Rabbit Brothers," ADL.*

BOOKS—"Bill and His Neighbors," Lois Fisher. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950.

"All About Us," Eva K. Evans. N.Y.: Capitol Publishing Co., 1947.

FILMS—"Toymaker," ADL.

"Skipper Learns a Lesson," Encyclopedia Britannica.

FILMSTRIPS—"About People" (63 frames, black and white, cartoon), ADL.

RECORDINGS—"Birthday Gift" ("Lest We Forget" Series), IDE.*

"Little Songs on Big Subjects," IDE.

Junior High School

GRAPHICS—Comic Book—"About People," ADL.

Posters and teaching guides—"He can pitch," "Honor Roll," IAD.

Cartoon Book—"The Rabbit Brothers," ADL.

BOOKS—"People Are Important," Eva K. Evans. N.Y.: Capitol Publishing Co., 1951.

FILMS—"A Girl from Puerto Rico," Migration Division, Govt. of Puerto Rico, 21 W. 60 St., N.Y.C.

"Boundary Lines," ADL.

FILMSTRIPS—"We Are All Brothers" (40 frames, sound, black and white), Public Affairs Committee, N.Y.

RECORDINGS—"The Carolina Kid" ("Lest We Forget" Series), IDE.

Senior High School

GRAPHICS—"Working Side By Side," "True Americans," IAD.

BOOKS—"To Secure These Rights," Report of President's Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, 1947.

"The Negro and the Schools," Ashmore. U. of N.C. Press: Chapel Hill, 1954.

"Community in Crisis," Tipton. N.Y.: Teachers College, Columbia U., 1953.

"Schools in Transition," Williams & Ryan. U. of N.C. Press: Chapel Hill, 1954.

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* ADL —Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 212 Fifth Ave., N.Y. C.
IAD —Institute for American Democracy, 212 Fifth Ave., N.Y. C.
IDE —Institute for Democratic Education, 212 Fifth Ave., N.Y. C.
NCCJ—National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Ave., N.Y. C.
AFSC—American Friends Service Committee, Washington, D. C.

PAMPHLETS—"Sense and Nonsense About Race," N.Y.: Alpenfels. Friendship Press, 1946.
"What Is Race?", UNESCO, 1952.
"The Race Question in Modern Science," UNESCO, 1951.
"The Intellectual Fraud of Racial Doctrines," UNESCO. Courier, Vol. 6, No. 8-9, 1953.
"In These Ten Cities," Crosby. Community Relations Service, N.Y.C.
"Forbidden Neighbors," N.Y. State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, 1948.

FILMS—"The Challenge," McGraw-Hill, N.Y.C.
"Brotherhood of Man," ADL.
"To Live Together," ADL.
"Color of A Man," International Film Bureau, 6 No. Michigan Ave., Chicago 2, Ill.

FILMSTRIPS—"None So Blind" (40 frames, color), ADL.
"We Live in Peace" (50 frames, with captions), ADL.
"We Are All Brothers" (40 frames), Public Affairs Committee, N.Y.

RECORDINGS—"Lest We Forget" Series, IDE.:
"George Washington Carver," "The Carolina Kid," "Sky View."

REPORTS
"Southern News"—P.O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tenn.

Teacher In-Service Education

BOOKS—"Intergroup Education in Kindergarten and Primary Grades," Stendler and Martin. Macmillan, 1953.
"The Social Psychology of Prejudice," Saenger. Harper & Bros., 1953.
"The Junior High School—Today and Tomorrow," Noar. Prentice-Hall, 1953.
"Curriculum Guide for Democratic Human Relations," Cambridge, Mass. Public Schools, 1954.
"Race Awareness in Young Children," Goodman. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1952.
"They Learn What They Live," Trager and Yarrow. N.Y.: Harper & Bros., 1952.
"Education in a Transition Community," J. D. Grambs. NCCJ, 1954.
"The Nature of Prejudice," Gordon W. Allport. Cambridge, Mass.: Addison Wesley, 1954.

REPRINTS—Available from ADL:
"Suggested Next Steps in Furtherance of Desegregation in Education," Granger. Journal of Negro Education, 1954.
"The South Reacts to Segregation," Lillian Smith.
"The Negro—Progress and Challenge," Chester Bowles.
"Children's Perceptions of the Social Roles of Negroes and Whites," Radke and Trager, 1949.
"The Negro in America Today," Paton.

PAMPHLETS—"The Negro in Postwar America," Rose. ADL, 1950.
"Working Together—Integration of Washington Schools," AFSC, Washington, D.C., 1954.
"Readings in Intergroup Relations," Storen. NCCJ, 1953.
"Guide to Films in Human Relations," DAVI—NEA—ADL, 1954.
"Feelings Are Facts," Heaton, NCCJ, 1951.
"Segregation and the Schools," Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 209.
Series on "Race," UNESCO, N.Y.
"ABC's of Scapegoating," Allport. ADL, 1948.
"Strangers and Neighbors," Senior. ADL, 1952.

FILMS—"The Quiet One," Athena Films, Inc., N.Y.C.
"Wanted—A Place to Live," ADL.
"To Live Together," ADL.
"Color of a Man," International Film Bureau, N.Y.C.
"Can We Immunize Against Prejudice," ADL.

RECORDINGS—"The Negro and the Schools" ("Doorway to the Future" Series), National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, N.Y.C.

PERIODICALS—Educational Leadership, Nov., 1954, "Let's Face Issues of Discrimination."

MAGAZINES—"Segregation Was Doomed Before the Court Acted," Saturday Evening Post, June 19, 1954.
"When Negroes Entered A Texas School," A. D. Morse. Harpers, Sept., 1954.

PTA and Other Community Group Programs

(selection of program materials should be made, after pre-viewing, in terms of the situation and the specific community)

FILMS—"Social Change in a Democracy," United World Films, N.Y.C.
"The High Wall," ADL.
"Brotherhood of Man," ADL.
"Boundary Lines," International Film Bureau, Chicago, Ill.
"The Challenge," ADL.

RUMOR CLINIC (Program) ADL.

PAMPHLETS—"Safety, Security and the South," Miller and Hill. Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.
"The Schools and the Courts," and "Schools in the South," Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga., 1954.
"Working Together—Integration of Washington Schools," AFSC, Washington, D.C., 1954.
"Negroes in the Work Group," Seidenberg. Cornell Univ. Research Bulletin No. 6, 1950.
"You Hold the Key to Human Rights," Kaufer and Phillips. Board of Missions and Church Extension, Methodist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio.

SPEAKERS—Experts can be obtained from universities, ADL and other human relations agencies to discuss such subjects as: "Sense and Nonsense About Race," "The High Cost of Segregation," "Democracy Demands It," etc.

REPRINTS—"Segregation—Two-Edged Sword," Gordon and Roche. N.Y. Times, April 25, 1954.
"Schools That Broke the Color Line," Peters. Redbook, Oct., 1954.

Suggestions for Study Groups and Seminars

Content	References	Suggested Speakers, Consultants, Resource Persons	Audio-Visual Aids
The Nature and Institutions of Prejudice	Allport—"The Nature of Prejudice" Trager & Yarrow—"They Learn What They Live" "ABC's of Scapegoating" *Freedom pamphlet* "Strangers and Neighbors" *Freedom pamphlet* "The Rabbitt Brothers"	A psychologist A mental hygienist Representatives from groups noted below.	*Films* "Rumor" "The High Wall" "Wanted—A Place to Live" "The Challenge" *Filmstrip* "None So Blind" *Recording* "The Carolina Kid"
Race and Race Relations	Goodman—"Race Awareness in Young Children" Pamphlets on Race prepared by UNESCO; Alpenfels, "Sense & Nonsense About Race."	An anthropologist, a sociologist Representatives from ADL, Church groups, Southern Regional Council, American Friends Service Committee, Urban League	*Films* "To Live Together" "Color of a Man" "Brotherhood of Man" *Filmstrip* "We Are All Brothers" *Recording* "Sky View"
The School Problem: Emotional Needs of Children. Curriculum Methods Discipline	Taba, *et al*—"Diagnosing Human Relations Needs" Noar—"The Junior High School—Today and Tomorrow" Cambridge, Mass. Curriculum Guide for Democratic Human Relations Stendler and Martin—"Intergroup Education in Kindergarten-Primary Grades"	A professor of education A school principal Classroom teachers A director of Guidance	*Films* "The Feeling of Rejection" "The Quiet One" "Shy Guy" "The Toymaker" "Can We Immunize Against Prejudice" "Social Change in a Democracy" *Filmstrip* "To Live in Peace" *Recording* "Birthday Gift"

Suggestions for the Use of Human Relations Films

Human relations films are not designed for entertainment purposes and ought not to be so used. They require *presentation* which will direct attention to important elements, and *follow-up discussion* which should be concerned with the problems presented in the film rather than with the film itself.

The leader must preview the film before showing it.

PRESENTATION—Prepare the audience by clarifying the theme or problem.

—Clarify, through discussion, any terms which may create blocks to understanding.

—If there is a "story" or "plot," lead into it, but do not spoil the film by telling it completely.

—If the audience is made up of children or youth, tell them there may be spots (if they exist) at which prolonged laughter may prevent them from hearing important statements which follow. Preparation for those sequences (if they exist) which involve fear or horror, may be necessary.

—*Raise* questions to which the film may provide some answers, but do not *discuss* these questions or permit the audience to do so.

—If the film is complex, it may be advisable to assign specific responsibilities to parts of the audience. For example in the "High Wall," some may be directed to observe the father-son relations; others, the mother-daughter relations; others, the gang problem, etc.

—If the audience is large and division into groups for discussion is advisable, that should be done before showing the film.

—If there are several strands of action, responsibility for paying attention to specific sequences can be assigned to separate sections of the audience.

FOLLOW-UP DISCUSSION: Whenever possible arrange the audience in a circle so that people can see and talk to each other.

Avoid discussion of the film itself by asking, "How do you *feel* about this problem (or situation)," rather than "Do you *like the film*?"

BUZZ-GROUP TECHNIQUES: Ask audience to move chairs (or themselves, if furniture is fixed) so that people face each other in groups of six or more.

Have each buzz-group select a leader and a recorder.

After leadership roles have been settled, review with the group, what they are to discuss and procedures to be used. For example, all groups may be asked to discuss the same question, e.g. "How does prejudice begin?" Or, each group may select its own question.

A time limit must be announced. When it has elapsed, warn the group that they have two more minutes. Then call all groups together to hear their reports and to proceed with the general discussion.

ROLE PLAYING: Role playing can be used to gain greater insight into what makes people behave as they do. Roles can be assigned before seeing the film or they can be volunteered at some point in the follow-up discussion. This should be used only if the leader is familiar with this technique.

APPLICATION OF PROBLEM TO THE AUDIENCE: This should not be neglected. It may be introduced by asking, "Does this have any connection with us?" Before this phase can be explored, it may be necessary to see the film a second time.

January 2, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your letter of December 27 and I heartily second the motion that it was good to be together when you were in Atlanta. Both Harold and I felt that we got a good deal from our discussions. We also felt you had unusually keen insight into the problems we face. With you, we look forward to further collaboration.

Warmest personal regards, and the best of everything in the New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

January 8, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I made a serious but unsuccessful effort to get my notes of our discussion transcribed and sent to you earlier. I'm glad now I didn't succeed, for your notes are far superior to my own. You did a noble job of summarizing what from my viewpoint was a very fruitful conference.

I will be getting together with Art shortly to pursue our mutually agreed-upon plans. You will be hearing from us.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mm

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Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

December 26, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am grateful to you for giving up a day of your time. I felt that our discussions were most rewarding and were extremely helpful to me, at any rate. I shall be in very close communication with you in the future.

I am writing up my notes and will send you a copy as soon as they are completed in order that we may have complete agreement.

Sent 12-29-56

In the meantime, would you please send me a few additional copies of your report on "Pro-Segregation Groups In the South."

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

P.S.: Hansen will not let us issue a release on the Washington story until a week after the Davis report is released.

January 9, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Art called me and asked that I send you a list of names and addresses of people in Miami who would be interested in a human relations workshop or work session.

Here follows the list:

(1) Booker T. Washington High School:

Mrs. Mayme Williams
Miss Marie Roberts
Mrs. Ethel Graham

(2) Rev. Edward T. Graham
Mt. Zion Baptist Church

(3) University of Miami, Coral Gables:

Malcom Ross, University Editor
(Director of FEPC under FDR)
Don Sprague and Dean Eppley, Department of Human Relations
Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Vice President

(4) Mr. Daniel Lang
Greater Miami Urban League

(5) Mr. Hollis Rinehart
Atty. - Ingrahm Building

(6) Seamore Samet
American Jewish Committee

(7) Father Theodore Gibson
Christ Episcopal Church
Coconut Grove
(NAACP)

(8) Dr. Hawkins, Dentist
(Reachable through Rev. Graham)

(9) Rev. Caxton Doggett
Rader Memorial Methodist Church
(President, Florida Council on Human Relations)

Hope this will be of some help to you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

January 10, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

True, I'm gone, but the show's in the best of hands. And if you guys who are our friends will hang on we'll be doing a good deal better, in a still tough situation.

But you give us all courage.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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Executive Assistant

January 8, 1957

RECEIVED JAN 10 1957

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am informed that before too long you will be leaving our shores for a haven in Northern Scotland. We shall miss you. Everyone who has been in contact with you and your work with the Southern Regional Council should feel a debt of gratitude to you for your years of effort and accomplishment in creating better understanding between various groups in the South. Yours has been a pioneer effort, and while the going may seem rather rough at the moment, I have complete confidence that as a result of the groundwork which you laid over the years, the future of relationships in the South is bright.

Please accept my warmest good wishes for your health and happiness in the years ahead. I shall certainly see you before you leave and for all that, Scotland is not so far away.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

January 17, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I have read with considerable interest the ADL field report on Beaumont by Warren Breed. I think the report well done. It is, as he says, a "quickie," but still contains valuable information for a person interested in the process of desegregation.

To my amagement, I note in the parenthetical comment on the cover page that the Intergroup Relations Committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems is referred to as "invidious." Pray tell, dear sir, why this adjective?

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

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Executive Assistant

February 8, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to speak to you yesterday.

After talking to you I got some copies of the release on the Washington story into the mail. We have changed the release date to Monday morning, as you will notice. As soon as the pamphlet is off the press, hopefully Tuesday or Wednesday, I shall send you a copy.

As I indicated to you, Mr. Carl Hanson the Chief of Police in Dallas, will do the pamphlet for us on how to handle situations arising out of intergroup tensions. I understand we agreed to wait until we have an outline at which time you will decide what action you want to take with regard to the Southern Police Institute.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Mansfield story. We are not releasing this to the press as yet, because we want to delay the release until some time after the release on the Washington schools.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

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Executive Assistant

February 11, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter. I will be taking up the various matters referred to therein in due course.

With regard to the conference on civil liberties, I have my doubts about Emory. I also have my doubts about a segregated conference. I think we would be open to sever criticism, even though our motivation would be the best. What do you think of the Vanderbilt Law School as a place for such a conference?

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

February 11, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for sending me the copy of your excellent release on the forthcoming Washington pamphlet. We have forwarded copies to our South Carolina people who will undertake to get the story carried in the papers there.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated February 8th

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of B'nai B'rith

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

February 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You will be interested in the attached. I would send you a copy of the pamphlet, except that it will not be off the press until next Tuesday or Wednesday.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

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Executive Assistant

February 19, 1957

Acknowledged
EAB

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The more I think about our Washington pamphlet, the more concerned I am about distribution. The Fund for the Republic has distributed so many publications - don't you think they might do it with this one?

Enclosed is a copy of the Washington Post treatment.

With warmest regards, I am

RECEIVED FEB 21 1957

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
al

Harold:

He also sent in a copy of the ~~Washington Post~~ script of the motion picture on desegregation.

EAB

File

February 21, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
Bnai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letters of February 19th, and the copy of the motion picture on desegregation. Mr. Fleming will be in New York, as you probably know, all next week and will call you.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

not

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

February 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The more I think about our Washington pamphlet, the more concerned I am about distribution. The Fund for the Republic has distributed so many publications - don't you think they might do it with this one?

Enclosed is a copy of the Washington Post treatment.

With warmest regards, I am

RECEIVED FEB 21 1957

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

Harold:
He also sent in a copy of the ~~Washington Post~~ script of the motion picture on desegregation.

EAB

File

February 25, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 21st. Mr. Fleming will be pleased at the progress indicated for field research projects in Tallahassee, Miami, and Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth A. Brantley
Secretary

eab/

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

February 21, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You will be interested in knowing that I have received favorable response from Killian and C. U. Smith, who are willing to undertake a field research project in Tallahassee.

Epley and his colleagues at Miami University seem to be willing to do a survey on Miami. I have also had a favorable response from Atlanta University and Art Levin will be in touch with Mozell Hill and of course with you.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

March 6, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I was terribly disappointed that I didn't get to see you when I was in New York last week. I tried to reach you by long distance before I left, but failed. Apparently it wouldn't have helped.

Thanks for sending me the copy of the proposal for the Potomac Films motion picture. I am still digging out from under ten days accretion, but I will be reading it in the next day or so.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

February 19, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Herewith is the copy of the motion picture on desegregation which I promised to send you.

With kindest regards, I am

RECEIVED FEB 21 1957

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

A Proposal

Plans for the production

of a motion picture report

on

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN PROGRESS

Potomac Film Producers, Inc.
1536 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington 6, D. C.

Nicholas C. Read, President
George C. Stoney, Vice President

July 26, 1956

A REPORT FILM
on
SCHOOL INTEGRATION IN PROGRESS

NEED: A great deal has been written on the subject of integration and/or segregation since the Supreme Court's historic decision. People in many northern states wonder what all the fuss is about; people in the deep southern states have, by and large, either sided with the politicians' adamant statements against integration of schools, or have been afraid to speak out. And, finally, many counties, school boards and citizens in the so-called "border states" have accepted the Court's ruling, and schools in this area either have been or are in the process of being integrated.

It is our belief that an objective film report on how integration is being achieved peacefully and democratically in the border states would be of great value at this time. Such a film would be of enlightenment and encouragement, we feel, to teacher, parent and community groups both in the areas where changes are occurring and in areas where change has been resisted. It would focus its attention on representative experiences and techniques rather than on the over-all picture which will, of course, change from month to month. In this way, the film should be of use over a period of years.

While we are not naive enough to believe that any one film, all by itself, is likely to change public policy, we think this picture can serve an important function.

<u>In the south</u> there are many moderate, well-meaning people whose views have not only been silenced, but whose very

faith has been shaken by intemperate and inaccurate statements. (Representative James C. Davis of Georgia recently called the whole desegregation program of the District of Columbia a complete failure.) These people need to see evidence of the facts.

Many school teachers and administrators in the south still believe that someday, eventually, southern schools will be desegregated. They are eager to know how it is working out in the border areas. While these school men could not officially endorse our film, they would benefit from seeing and discussing it. The atmosphere of hostility and fear now so widespread in the southland has, as you know, almost silenced sensible discussion.

School and community group discussions built around films is a strong pattern which our proposed film might well use to advantage. The discussion leader might accomplish a much needed informational task where the personal advocate of reason would fail without a visual servant. When the film is the target of attack, people are less afraid to speak out.

Perhaps its most immediate effect might be on Negro teachers, principals and teacher-training faculties. One of the harshest facts persistantly demonstrated by desegregated schools is that, in very truth, separate was <u>not</u> equal; the vast majority of Negro students have not been able to meet equal standards, class for class, during the first years of merger. Examples of how this has complicated the already thorny problems of desegregation might well serve as a spurr to the improvement of standards in anticipation of events to come.

In the border areas there has been a tendency to slow down the process of integration, influenced by the stand of the deep south. Leaders in the border areas need evidence of progress to support their resolve to help work things out in a positive fashion. Communities facing problems of school integration for the first time need to share the problem-facing and problem-solving experiences of other communities who have already made a start. Here, again, our film could make a useful contribution to democratic progress.

Many northern and western school communities, due to shifts in population, are experiencing situations similar to those in the newly integrated border areas. Here, feared loss of property values and resentment against newcomers for disturbing neighborhood social life often promote community attitudes which made it all but impossible for school officials to create a healthy climate for learning, legally desegregated though the schools may be. The tendency has been for both school and community groups to pretend -- officially -- that the problem does not exist. Meanwhile, the war goes on until one group quite literally drives the other from the neighborhood, the vanquished either moving out altogether or resorting to private schools.

City planners, tax experts and the school officials themselves are beginning to recognize the damage this is doing to their cities, the great waste of buildings, of teachers, of educational dollars that results. A growing number are becoming willing to face the racial content of their problem squarely (ie., Cleveland, St. Louis, Los Angeles). The film could be

of equal importance to them.

VIEWPOINT: It would not be the purpose of this film to pursue the argument either for or against segregation. Rather, it would assume acceptance of the law on the part of the people and the institutions shown. On the other hand, it would make no assumption that there are not great difficulties involved in carrying out the law, nor that there is universal agreement on measures taken and results therefrom.

However, since any such reporting job must be selective, it is only honest to state that we would like to see the film reflect a positive, constructive conclusion; namely, that despite disagreement, difficulties and problems yet to be solved, many communities are achieving integration in a peaceful manner.

As native southerners, we have perhaps more than the usual interest in this social evolution which is taking place around us. Its emotional conflicts are as close to us as our families. Whatever our convictions, we cannot help but have bonds of sympathy with the fearful as well as the bold, for truly the conflict is yet in ourselves.

Here is a social problem so charged with emotional overtones that no discussion of it can be more than academic unless these overtones are recognized. As film makers, we know that it is just this fusion of reason and emotion that can be caught and projected in our medium better than any other. The subject is an ideal one for motion picture treatment.

FORMAT: It is proposed that the film, after a brief introduction orienting the audience as to the events, go into the school situations in a number of communities. We propose to achieve a well-rounded and at the same time cumulative story by "seeing and hearing" the subject through the eyes, the ears and the experiences of a representative character or group of characters in each community.

In one community, it might be through the thoughts and reactions of a Negro mother. And, in another, it might be from the standpoint of a white school teacher. In a third, it might be through the officer or officers of a PTA. The camera is the inquiring reporter. It can record current reactions and situations. It can review, through short re-enactions or by showing concrete symbols, events of the recent past which color present thinking or stand in contrast to it.

The teacher, for example, might confide that she opposed school integration at one time, even thought seriously of resigning her position, but her love for and pride in teaching influenced her to stay on the job, to give it a try. The camera can show how it worked out in her class.

Perhaps the inquiring camera raises the question of problem students. We see that there are children of both races in the slow and advanced sections. The class is behaving much as any other group of similar age level. Good communication between pupils and teacher has been established. Still, this teacher feels there are many problems to be worked out.

A Negro mother is pleased because her children do not have so far to travel to school. The strangeness of the new

school they are now attending has almost worn off for the children. There are no unpleasant incidents. Still, this mother has her worries. She worries more now about the clothes the children wear. The teaching methods in the new school are different. Is Johnny really learning as much now? He seems to be less disciplined, too. She wonders if his new teacher is strict enough, but she is hesitant about approaching the teacher.

In still another community, a PTA was almost shattered by integration. One of the former officials tells how it was. Now the organization is rebuilding itself, though on quite a different basis. Suspicions and resentments are slowly dissolving in a renewed interest in common school problems. Some of the social interests which gave the group cohesion in the old days may finally return. For now, the common problems that are the primary reason for this organization's existence are proving to be powerful enough to hold them together.

. . . Other people will speak, other situations will be revealed in the film. Its content will be determined by further research, the nature of which is suggested by the attached notes on a visit with Dr. Charles E. Bish and his staff of McKinley High School in Southeast Washington. Many such interviews have already been recorded covering a wide variety of experiences. From them is coming not only excellent dramatic and illustrative material, but -- equally important -- clear indications of the kind of practical help this film could give those teachers and school executives who are carrying the major burden of integration if it is shaped to meet their needs.

Are Negro parents protesting that most of their children seem to be shunted off to the slower sections of the grades? The film can indicate that this has been found necessary in other places because of poorer scholastic backgrounds. With remedial class work, many students are brought up to standard quickly. But this puts an extra burden on the teachers. The old measurements of a fair teaching load -- say 40 pupils to a teacher -- cannot apply in such a case.

Are the disciplinary problems bound to over-ride scholastic work in classes where a Negro teacher has almost all white students or vice versa? Much depends, of course, on the individual teacher, but much, too, on the kinds of attitudes the children bring to class from their homes.

In sum, newly integrated schools, particularly when there is any considerable minority represented, are not automatic solutions. They are different in many ways from the old segregated schools, perhaps will be for another generation . . . "different" they are for parents and teachers as well as students. But by being "different" they need not be inferior; and they can be an improvement over the old segregated systems where those adults who determine the attitudes and pressures brought to the schools by both pupils and teachers are able to give them support.

The schools can't do the job alone.

METHOD: The above examples are included here merely to give an idea of how the subject might be handled. The film will be shot simply and candidly with a minimum of re-enactment and conscious dramatic effort. Newsreel footage will be used

where appropriate. Emphasis will be placed on credibility rather than on slickness of performance; on the precisely revealing situation, reaction or remark rather than on the rounded dramatic incident; we will search for the often humble, fumbling step forward rather than the big dramatic climax. The subject matter itself carries such a load of built-in dramatic tension, particularly when projected for most neighborhood audiences, that we have an obligation to pick material with the utmost care and to shape it throughout to promote an atmosphere in which viewers will feel they can discuss frankly similar problems in racially mixed company once the film is off the screen.

DISTRIBUTION: Attitudes which the film intends to probe are, for the most part, social ones; they have their chief effect in group action, particularly on the neighborhood level. Therefore, we look on Parent-Teacher, church and adult neighborhood groups as the film's most important outlets, though its play on TV may bring it many times the number of viewers. Planning the film's length and pictorial nature for this kind of use needs to be kept in mind constantly throughout the shooting. Fortunately each of us has had over ten years of experience in making films designed for this kind of projection. We have learned from our failures as well as our successes while seeing them from the middle of such audiences many hundreds of times.

Films running 25 to 30 minutes in length seem most managable for use with the kind of adult groups we have in mind. Though a longer presentation might be more effective in many

places, distribution would obviously be more difficult to obtain. By keeping close to the 28½ minute length considered optimum for gaining time on television we can make a film suitable for dual use without change.

Some indication of the widespread demand for a film of this type is reflected in the attached letters from representatives of the Methodist Church, the Anti-Defamation League, the National Catholic Education Association, and the Center for Mass Communication of Columbia University Press.

The demand for such a film in official school administration and teacher-training circles has been emphasized by Dr. Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary of the Council of State School Officers, who has served as an advisor to us in our field research and has given us letters of introduction to such actively concerned members of his organization as Dr. John H. Fischer, Superintendent of Schools for the city of Baltimore. Like so many other organization folk with whom we have conferred (ie., the National Education Association and its affiliates), Dr. Fuller finds that the southern members of his group, particularly those who hold elective or appointive public office in their respective states, will not permit an official endorsement of any project such as this, which could be interpreted as taking a pro-desegregation stand. However, this does not mean that the group as a whole, and many individuals within it who face the immediate problem, are not keenly interested in both helping to get the film made and in encouraging its use once it is available.

Dr. Fischer of Baltimore is one of the many school people who have volunteered to make their experience, their personnel and their community connections available for our work. In return, he expects to get a film that will help him meet some of the near-explosive problems that face him and his colleagues in the very neighborhoods where we may be filming.

This is not the most relaxing atmosphere in which to make a film. In our experience, however, it is the "safest" from the standpoint of making a film that eventually will do the job it has set for itself. Since our earliest days of collaboration in Georgia we have found that when we make a "problem" film and shape it skillfully so it tells a truthful and forceful story to the world and, at the same time, can be shown with profit and without creating selfconsciousness or resentment in the communities where it was made, we have done a solid piece of work.

Films like "Feeling All Right!","Florida: Wealth or Waste?", "Palmour Street", "All My Babies","Hard Brought Up", and "The School That Learned to Eat" are all products of this kind of discipline. Each of these films was designed to meet a specific need in a fairly restricted section of the country. Each has been widely and continuously used to meet that need. At the same time, all have found wide acceptance and have earned critical acclaim nationally and internationally.

Network TV showings can be obtained, if desired. Mr. Ben Park, Public Affairs Director for NBC, who has asked us to direct "The Next Twenty Years in Medicine" for his ninety-minute weekly show "Telescope", coming up this fall, has given

us assurance: "Anything that's fresh and human on that subject we'll run."

More important, in our view, are local TV releases, particularly when they are tied in with "live" programs in which community leaders and school officials discuss the problems in the film and relate them to local situations. A pattern for such a program was set by Mr. Stuart Finley of WRC-TV, the NBC outlet in Washington, D. C., this past season. He devoted an hour on Sunday between 1 and 2 p.m. to "The Invader", our film designed for schools, tracing man's fight against syphilis since the Renaissance. After the film was shown, Finley lead a discussion with official representatives of the school system, the PTA, the District Medical Society, the health department and others participating.

Result: mail and phone responses were so favorable that the District school authorities were persuaded to adopt the film officially, Heretofore, no educational material dealing with this subject had been sanctioned, and there was a practical prohibition against its use in all except the senior high schools in predominantly Negro neighborhoods. (A transcript of this program is available from CMC, Columbia University Press, distributors of "The Invader", who have since promoted similar use of this film on TV stations in other parts of the country.)

Mr. Finley has already asked us for "first run rights in the Washington area" for the proposed film on school integration.

Dr. Robert Hudson, Program Co-ordinator of the Educational TV and Radio Center, Ann Arbor, Michigan, for whom we have done Washington news-roundup programs, has also encouraged us in this present effort, assuring us that there is a great demand among their affiliated stations for material of this kind.

Fortunately, Mr. Erik Barnouw and Miss Dorothy Oshlag of the Center for Mass Communications, Columbia University Press, with whom we have collaborated extensively for almost a decade, share our concern for the subject matter of this film. They have also considerable experience in distributing material of a similar nature to the kind of groups we are trying to reach. (See attached letter.)

It has been our policy when we know that CMC will serve as distributors, to plan with them in advance for publicity, stills, auxiliary pamphlets, etc., which will help the film reach the audiences that we and our sponsors have in mind. This we regard as an important part of our responsibility as film makers. After all the blood, sweat and tears that go into the production of even the simplest films, we can't bear to think that prints will end up gathering dust on the shelves of film exchanges.

This means, also, that we would prefer to carry the project through release printing, in collaboration with the chosen distributor. Only in this way, we feel, can we be sure that the best possible reproduction of our work is seen by the viewer whose eye and mind we have done all this work to hold for a brief half hour.

COST: Budgeting for this film presents a particularly difficult problem, for we want to avoid the kind of inflexible detailed pre-scripting thatis required if one budgets with any kind of item-by-item preciseness. However, our interest in the subject is such that we are quite prepared to guarantee delivery of a finished print of the dramatic and technical quality suggested by the samples of our work which you have seen for a fixed sum of $30,000. Much of the preliminary research has been done and we are happy to contribute this. We own outright most of the equipment this project will require. The nature of the film is such that, if necessary, the shooting of separate sequences can be planned to dovetail with our regular commercial assignments.

The type of film we have in mind could not be produced in the conventional large-crew, slam-bang manner in any case. Time is required to get to know the local situation intimately, time to seek out just the dramatic detail that will suggest the whole, to find that perhaps quite unspectacular mother who when we get to know her well, will give us the few lines, the expression, the scene we need to make our facts have depth . . . time on location. The bulk of this work, both prior to shooting and the actual production itself, we expect to do personally.

The figure of $30,000. contemplates a considerable amount of trial-and-error shooting, necessary in this type of film making no matter how carefully one plans ahead. We presume black and white original (color would only distract), a combination of dialogue and narration sound and only brief sections of pre-recorded music, cleared for TV. These and other details will, of course, be made explicit in contract form.

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Council of

CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS

An Independent Corporation

1201 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.
ADams 4-4855

July 23, 1956

Mr. Nicholas C. Read
Potomac Film Producers
1536 Connecticut Avenue
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Read:

Your proposal to develop a filmed report on the problems of desegregation in the public schools of the border states is one which has real social significance. The discussions which we have had regarding the project have convinced me that your approach is good - that the film will be designed to give people an opportunity to see examples of desegregation in selected communities and that it will avoid leaving any impression of being "for" or "against" the Supreme Court decision.

This kind of thoughtful treatment of the subject should be helpful to those who believe in reasonable discussion of all social problems, even one as sensitive as desegregation. I am certain that such a film would be welcomed by many members of this Council, and that some arrangement for announcing its availability could be made through our established methods of communication.

You have my admiration for undertaking the film, and I wish you and your partner every success.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Edgar Fuller,
Executive Secretary

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ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1801

July 18, 1956

Mr. George Stoney
Cinema Department
University of Southern California
University Park
Los Angeles, California

Dear George:

We are very happy to hear from Nick that you are making some progress in securing support for the film on integration which we have been discussing with you. It is badly needed and we would find such an educational tool most useful in our program of human relations education across the country.

As you know, we operate community film libraries in each of the twenty five cities in which our offices are located. We would certainly have use for at least fifty prints of a film which would set forth the problems posed by the Supreme Court decision and the experience of communities which have moved to comply with it.

We have had numerous requests from other national organizations for materials dealing with aspects of this subject, and to our knowledge, with the exception of the Edward R. Murrow kinescope of his "See It Now" program, there is no film available or currently in production on this theme.

Also, we have been conducting a series of Human Relations Education Conferences around the country which are widely attended by educators and school administrators. In all of these meetings the opinion has been expressed over and over again that almost no material exists for use in teacher education and in-service training which would be helpful in meeting the daily challenges faced in the process of integration.

If we can be of any assistance to you in bringing this prospect along, please call on us.

Cordially,

(signed)

Maury J. Glaubman
Director, Audio-Visual Depts.

MJG:CJ

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THE RADIO AND FILM COMMISSION
THE METHODIST CHURCH

1525 McGavock Street Nashville 2, Tennessee

July 23, 1956

Mr. George Stoney
Cinema Department
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, California

Dear George:

I was talking to Nick Read this morning and he mentioned the fact that you are interested in doing a documentary film on school integration. This is to indicate that the Methodist Church is very much interested in this problem and have had under consideration the production of a film. It is quite possible that we would approach the problem from a different angle, but we know there is an interest in and need for such a film on our problem and we would be interested in conferring with you about your project.

Sincerely yours,

Howard E. Tower, Director
Program and Production

HET:D

CC to Harry C. Spencer

THE NATIONAL CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

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July 30, 1956

Mr. Nicholas C. Read
Potomac Film Producers, Inc.
1536 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Read:

I appreciated very much the opportunity to discuss with you the proposal which you plan to put before the Fund for the Republic. My own organization, the National Catholic Educational Association, has been very interested in the orderly resolution of the problem of school segregation. As an instance may I indicate the resolution passed by our general convention of more than ten thousand educators at St. Louis, Missouri, April 6, 1956. The resolution referring to the problem of integration said:

> "Whereas, the integration of white and Negro children in our schools will give evidence of the observance of the precepts of justice and Christian charity, and whereas, through careful planning this integration has been and can be successfully achieved, therefore be it resolved that this Association's members be guided by the precepts of justice, charity and prudence in giving leadership toward the orderly integration of Negro and white children in the nation's schools."

Many of the parochial schools are in the same process of transition to which you are directing your research and therefore your proposal should be of considerable help to many Catholic school administrators. I can readily see that there is need for more factual information on this subject and an objective film, such as you plan, could and should be a valuable contribution. It seems to me that its special value will be found in that it will serve as a tool for discussion groups in the deep South, as well as in the border areas.

I can see considerable wisdom in the decision to steer away from a school situation in the lower South in which special problems are being made in the process of desegregation. Ultimately we may have some schools there which could cooperate in the production of the film should your plans change and should you decide to treat this problem of transition in the deep South, as well as in the border areas.

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I am sure that our school superintendent will be interested in the widespread distribution and use of your film after it is completed. Our Bulletin reaches more than ten thousand schools and our Superintendent's Newsletter in which we would review the film would make its impact felt upon the chief administrators in each diocesan school system.

If there is any way in which we can be of assistance in helping you at the planning stage, please feel free to call upon us. Meanwhile, I want to extend my own personal good wishes and encouragement to you in going forward with this eminently worthwhile project.

Cordially yours,

(signed,
Frederick G. Hochwalt)

Secretary General

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CENTER FOR MASS COMMUNICATION
A Division of Columbia University Press
1125 Amsterdam Avenue New York 25, New York

July 23, 1956

Mr. George C. Stoney
Potomac Film Producers, Inc.
1536 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stoney:

We have gone over your proposal for a film on the process of integration in the border states. It seems to us to be a very constructive proposal. We also have no doubt that you would be able to make a most effective film on this subject. The procedure for making the film, as you have outlined it, seems entirely right. We are especially pleased that the proposed plan lends itself to an objective, unemotional approach, free from finger-pointing.

We feel that we would have no difficulty finding a substantial market for this film. This might include some theatrical use, and considerable 16 mm use. We believe there would be immediate interest from various kinds of organizations in the north and in the border states, and that use of the film might gradually move southward. In the South, religious groups would probably be among the first to make some use of the film.

In general, groups to which we feel we could sell or rent prints would include: religious groups, clubs, unions, PTA's, libraries, universities, business firms, voluntary associations. Our policy would be to permit purchasers of prints to arrange local telecasts. We ourselves would attempt to obtain network use, but local usage would be a more important factor in the distribution of this film.

As with most informational and educational films, there is little possibility of distribution financing production. However, if a production grant can be obtained, it is possible that we can take care of the distribution. Of course, we want to keep the sales and rental prices low enough to encourage the widest use.

Mr. George C. Stoney July 23, 1956

We probably don't need to assure you that we would very much like to distribute the proposed film. For one thing, it would be an excellent follow-up on the films and programs produced for our bicentennial, featuring the theme Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof. The materials produced on this theme had enormously wide use throughout the United States by organizations of the types listed above. Many have expressed interest in further materials in this subject area.

In addition, we find that our distribution of All My Babies, Feeling All Right, Birthright, The Invader, and Palmour Street has built up such an eagor audience for Stoney films that we feel confident the proposed film would have immediate interest on this ground alone. The fact that your name carries such wide acceptance in the South, among governmental units at all levels (we have sold many hundreds of prints of your films to state and local governments in the South) can be a very important asset to the proposed film.

We are very much interested in hearing further about this film.

Sincerely,

Erik Barnouw
Editor
CENTER FOR MASS COMMUNICATION

EB:jb

NOTES ON INTEGRATION STORY

April 17

Prepared by Nicholas C. Read

Today I visited McKinley High School in Southeast Washington and talked at length with Dr. Charles E. Bish, principal. I also talked with Mr. Jewell, assistant principal, and other members of the faculty.

McKinley has an enrollment of some 1200 students. Approximately 45 per cent are Negro. There was a student strike at the school which coincided with similar demonstrations at Anacostia High in the Fall of 1954. The school has a special advanced science curriculum in addition to general high school courses and draws students who expect to major in science at college from various sections of Washington. For this reason, it has a more heterogeneous student body than some other schools in the District. About 35 per cent of its graduates go on to college or university training.

McKinley's well constructed "plant" is situated in what is now a predominantly Negro district of middle class homes. It's zone includes an area of predominantly white residents, also of the middle class character and one small slum section, entirely Negro.

I explained to Dr. Bish that my purpose was to gather information for an objective reporting film on integration of schools in "the border state areas." It was not our purpose, I stated, to debate the pros and cons of integration, nor did we expect our film report to conclude that where integration has been achieved all problems were solved.

Dr. Bish then questioned the purpose of such a film. He said that he had made a good many speeches on this subject, some of them down in Virginia, and he felt that since these talks produced no change in policy a film would be equally ineffective.

I pointed out that, in our opinion, the film had another function to perform than to influence legislation or political policy. The political attacks on integration in the lower South have had a dual effect, in our opinion. First, they have silenced and possibly undermined the constructive opinions of the moderates in the lower South. Second, they have slowed up and possibly jeopardized the integration process in the "border states." A film such as we contemplate, I pointed out, could re-affirm a widely held but largely unexpressed belief, on the part of many people in both Southern and border areas, that orderly progress toward integration is possible under the law. I said that I felt confident that many school teachers in the lower south would be greatly interested in seeing such a film, even if they could not endorse it, and that teachers and other groups in the "border areas" would be strengthened in their present resolve to work things out by seeing the film.

Dr. Bish fully agreed with these conclusions. He could not have been more co-operative in answering questions and showing me around the school.

I asked Dr. Bish how he felt about integration before the Supreme Court decision. He said that intellectually he accepted and anticipated integration as an inevitable and logical

development, but that when the decision came, he was worried and a little frightened. "We had discussed it in our faculty meetings. We had tried to make some plans. This amounted to nothing. We had to experience it."

"And how do you feel now?" I inquired.

"I would not have missed it for the world," he replied. "It will never happen again. It was an historic event and I'm glad I was and am a part of it."

Dr. Bish talked freely about the student strike in 1954. It was a very touchy situation for a while, he recalled, and he was not at all sure that he was doing the right thing, but he tried to keep the initiative and maintain the leadership. Reports of events of that time indicate that, in contrast to the authorities at Anacostia High, he succeeded in doing just that. His first step was to get the striking students inside the school. Then he invited them to express their grievances. "I'm not sure this was such a good idea," he now confides, "because some of the students said things they later regretted."

Then Dr. Bish persuaded the strike leaders to express their grievances and complaints to a group of Negro student leaders. A committee was formed of the two groups. "I never let the students think for a minute that anything they did would alter the fact that we were going to have integration," Dr. Bish recalls. "But this was a way of making the change work more smoothly."

A meeting of the entire school was held in the auditorium and Dr. Bish explained the formation of the committee. "At this meeting, I indulged in what some people might consider a shady trick," Dr. Bish confesses. "I got up and said that there

was something else that was worrying me and I wanted the students' help. We were to play Roosevelt High the next Saturday and I said I was mighty worried about that game. With the school all wrought up and divided, I didn't see how we could possibly beat Roosevelt. I asked if there were any cheer leaders present who could help restore the old Tech spirit."

Several cheer leaders came forward. The students joined in enthusiastic cheers, then broke into the traditional school song, "Onward McKinley." "You know," Dr. Bish said with a grin, "I never did dismiss that meeting. Everyone marched back to class singing. That was the end of the strike."

But the story had a Hollywood ending. Next Saturday, the score was tied 7-7. Roosevelt passed and for a moment, it looked as though it would be completed for a touchdown. McKinley's star end intercepted at the last split second. The end was a Negro. He was carried off the field on the shoulders of McKinley students. "We've been getting the good breaks from that time on," Dr. Bish said.

The class bell sounded and from the door of Dr. Bish's office, I watched students in the hallway on their way to and from class. Some wore blue jeans, but most of the boys wore slacks, sports shirts and sweaters. A few, and these were mostly Negroes, wore jackets. Girls of both races walked by themselves. There was one Negro girl among a group of white girls. I saw one Negro boy walking and talking with a white boy. Mostly, there were groups of Negro boys, groups of white boys. All were orderly, cheerful.

"What about the charge that admitting Negroes has lowered the academic standards?" I asked Dr. Bish when we returned to his desk.

"Not so," he replied. "That question doesn't mean anything when you consider how our curriculum is organized and taught. It is true that the average I.Q. of the Negro students is lower than the white average, but we don't put a dull student of either race in a calculus course or in organic chemistry. We have bright students of both races in those classes. You may find more Negroes specializing in physical education or in shop work and they are as capable, on the whole, of progressing in these courses as their fellow white students of the same sections . . ." "We haven't changed our standards. Only some sections are a little more crowded than before."

I asked about the Negro faculty members. "Have they found teaching mixed classes difficult?"

Dr. Bish told me a story about Miss Smith, the new Negro biology teacher. It seems that shortly after the student strike, Dr. Bish asked Miss Smith if she thought she could handle her class which included several students who were strike leaders. Miss Smith asked Dr. Bish to come into her classroom. Then she turned to the students. "Do you think you can accept me as your teacher, or will you think of me first as a Negro?" she asked the class. Dr. Bish says that he held his breath. "I would not have had the guts to do that," he confided. The response was a positive affirmation of Miss Smith as a teacher.

"Some of the Negro students have complained to me that Mr. Jewell, our Negro assistant principal treats them too harshly because, as they put it, 'we are Negroes,'" Dr. Bish told me. I reflected on this rather natural reaction of a sensitive minority as I later sat in Mr. Jewell's office and heard him and watched him handle student complaints or problems. Mr. Jewell, a graduate of MIT, grew up and went to school in New England. It obviously does not occur to him to differentiate in his treatment of students on any racial basis. He expects, and demands in a very friendly way, high performance standards of all students. As I sat in his office, a white youth who had been cutting some chemistry classes came in with the excuse that he hadn't really missed anything important.

"What is a hydrocarbon?" Jewell asked.

"We haven't had that explained," the youth replied.

"It was explained in your class yesterday. I'll ask you again tomorrow," said Mr. Jewell with a grin. "Now get on to class on the double."

A Negro boy limped in hoping to be excused from classes.

"The nurse has fixed you up. She says you can attend classes. Now, get on your way," Jewell instructed this gold-bricker.

Another group of several Negro youths came in to see the Senior class picture.

"I don't think you're in the picture," Mr. Jewell said with a twinkle.

The boys looked dismayed.

"All those people were wearing neckties. Seniors wear ties, you know."

"Aw, you don't wear a tie with a sports shirt, Mr. Jewell," said one of the boys reaching for his neck.

Mr. Jewell brought out the class picture and helped spot the individuals in the large group.

"Why do the other faculty members say there are many problems left to be solved?" I asked the assistant principal. I was thinking of my conversation with two white women teachers over lunch in the faculty dining room where members of both races eat together daily.

Mr. Jewell looked thoughtful. "It's not easy to say," he replied after a pause. I think it's because they are still a bit afraid. Not of what is going on today. . . they are good teachers and they have today under control. . .but they are afraid of something unexpected which might happen tomorrow. Remember that most of these white teachers have had no contact with Negroes before. These boys and girls are pretty big. We've only been going on this basis for less than two years. It will take time for this fear to go away."

Dr. Bish, too, had spoken of "problems". "It's like a pebble dropped into a pool of water. The ripple widens out. You solve one group of problems, make certain decisions, get over hurdles and that leads you to a new set of decisions which have to be made."

I gathered that many of the new problems are social in nature. Student activities within the school are smoothly integrated. Mixed glee club, mixed athletic teams and students of both races have been elected to class offices. The annual dance, held at the Statler Hotel with a name band supplying the music, is attended by students of both races, but mixed

dancing is officially discouraged--in fact, forbidden.

"Oh, I'll be challenged on it some day," Dr. Bish admitted, "but for the time being, I'm sure it's the best policy. We're doing things today that seemed impossible a few years ago. Let's not endanger our progress by pushing ahead too fast."

Negro and white students eat in the same school cafeteria, but I noticed that they sat at separate tables. There is no rule about this, but Dr. Bish seems to feel this is the way it should be. He worries about mixed eating at a nearby off-campus store where the school exercises no control.

Dr. Bish mentioned another small worry. Social mixing of his faculty members outside of school. Dr. Bish confessed perhaps his Maryland background influenced his feelings on these matters.

Time did not permit me to confer very long with other members of the faculty, but I got the impression from talking briefly with two of the white female teachers that they were feeling just a bit sorry for themselves and were somehow seeking approval for the extra effort they have put forth. One of them spoke of the difficulties of dealing with students from a strange and different culture. She seemed to feel something threatening in this culture.

I mentioned this to Dr. Bish and he seemed to understand, although he didn't explain it very well.

"It's awfully difficult," he said, "for a white teacher not to go too far in one direction or the other-- in being over solicitous and helpful or in being over-demanding. And don't forget that not only do these children of the Negro

race come from different home backgrounds, they come from different school backgrounds. The Negro junior high schools in Washington have been very authoritarian. There were rules for everything. A boy had to have a slip to go to the toilet and he had to hand it in on his return. In this school, we give the students a wide degree of responsibility and freedom--too much for the security feelings of some of our new Negro students. I'm amazed that they have been able to accept this responsibility as well as they have."

"We'll be all right," Dr. Bish concluded, "if we don't get flooded with more and more Negroes from the deep South. The ones already here are being culturally assimilated, but Washington is the first step on the escape route. I just hope we can hold our own."

As I walked out of the building and across the campus toward "R" Street and my car, I watched Negro and white athletes warming up for some track trials. I glanced over at the baseball diamond and the Negro houses beyond on "R" Street and I recalled what Dr. Bish had said about the lost balls. Before integration, a ball over the fance was lost forever. Now it is returned immediately or the next day. After all, it belongs to their own ball team.

File

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of B'nai B'rith

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

March 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I had word from Murray Friedman of our Richmond office with regard to his efforts to have a conference on Human Relations Education in North Carolina this year. He met with Guy Johnson who talked to university officials. In brief, it is impossible this year. They would like to hold such a conference but want to get past the desegregation of Chapel Hill which will take place this Fall. However, they feel that such a conference will be valuable next Spring. So we look forward to the Spring of 1958 in this regard.

I also had a letter from Mort Feigenbaum of our New Orleans office with regard to a conference on Human Relations Education in Arkansas. The University of Arkansas people as well as those at Hendrix College stated that it was impossible this year. Apparently new segregation legislation has been proposed in Arkansas and the educational institutions are very cautious.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

cc: Arthur J. Levin

April 8, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am delighted to hear that the Fund is going to help with the printing of the Field Reports. I'll look forward to hearing from you further as your distribution plans take shape.

It was good to see you, however briefly, in Washington and to learn that your Conference at the Shoreham was going well. I'm glad that Mrs. Tilly could be with you and am looking forward to her account of the proceedings.

Incidentally, I received a letter yesterday from Mr. May saying that he would be in Atlanta early next month and will be calling me about the 6th. I wrote him that you had mentioned his coming, and that I was looking forward to seeing him.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:mm

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

April 2, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have had word from the Fund that they cannot support the Washington pamphlet or the Tumin piece but will help with printing the Field Reports. We will proceed to print, and I will be in touch with you in this regard.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

cc: Arthur J. Levin

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of B'nai B'rith

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RECEIVED APR 15 1957

April 9, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Have you seen the report of the "Richmond First" Committee on Desegregation? If you do not have it in your files, I would certainly suggest that you write to Murray Friedman, our director in Richmond to see if he can secure you a copy. It is a most interesting and important document since it assumes the advent of desegregation.

Regards.

Cordially,

Oscar Cohen, Director
Program Division

OC/jls
cc: Art Levin

April 16, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Mrs. Tilly came back from the Women's Conference with a glowing account of the occasion. You should be feeling very good about it.

Thanks for the word about Mr. May. I will be as helpful as I can.

Perhaps your grant for the Field Reports will be considered by the Fund's Board at the same meeting when our request will be up, on May 15th. Let us hope that a kind providence will be watching over us.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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RECEIVED APR 15 1957

April 12, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks very much for your letters and for the commercial in your publication. I appreciate it a great deal.

Incidentally, I have had word from Ed Reed that the grant for printing the Field Reports has not yet been approved, although I should hear in a couple of weeks. I thought it was all settled - but apparently not.

We had an absolutely terrific Women's Conference on Intergroup Relations in Washington. It was about one of the best conferences I have ever been at and what impressed me most of all was the determination on the part of the women that they must "do something" when they get home. I am enclosing a copy of the program.

I am glad that Mr. May was in touch with you. As I remember, he was going to rent a car in Atlanta and drive North, spending five or six days in the South. You might think of the places he could go to en route to New York and the people he might see. I am sure Art Levin would be happy to help with regard to any contact that might be of interest to him in our constituency. Incidentally, he expressed an interest in seeing the Highlander Folk School and I would hope you would brief him thoroughly on the school.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
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. . . an exchange of information and techniques, and of mutual problems and their solutions in the areas of intergroup attitudes, prejudice and discrimination as they affect the Family, the School, the Church and Synagogue, the Community.

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NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

on

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

Shoreham Hotel

Washington, D.C.

April 3-5, 1957

Sponsor:

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN'S SUPREME COUNCIL

in cooperation with the

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1957

7:00 - 8:00 P.M. REGISTRATION

Foyer, Main Ballroom

8:00 - 9:45 P.M. GENERAL SESSION

Main Ballroom

Chairman:

MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN

National President, B'nai B'rith Women (Chicago, Ill.)

Invocation

Greetings

Addresses: Implications for Intergroup Understanding

The International Scene

MRS. EUGENIE ANDERSON

Former U. S. Ambassador to Denmark (Red Wing, Minn.)

Our American Society

DR. ETHEL ALPENFELS

Professor of Anthropology, New York University (New York, N. Y.)

10:00 - 10:45 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

(Get-together and Coffee Hour for Registered Conference Delegates)

THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1957

8:30 - 9:00 A.M. REGISTRATION

Foyer, Main Ballroom

9:10 - 10:50 A.M. GENERAL SESSION

Main Ballroom

Chairman:

JUDGE LENORE UNDERWOOD

Past National President, B'nai B'rith Women (San Francisco, Calif.)

Address: Our Responsibilities

MISS MARGARET GARRITY

Former Race Relations Chairman, National Catholic Welfare Conference

President's Committee on Government Contracts (Washington, D. C.)

Panel Discussion

The School

DR. ANNA BURRELL

Professor of Education, State University of New York, College for Teachers (Buffalo, N. Y.)

The Church

MRS. EDMUND CAMPBELL

Former Dean of Women, Mary Baldwin College,

Chairman, Social Relations, Arlington Council of Church Women (Arlington, Va.)

The Family

DR. ROSE FRANZBLAU

Psychologist, Newspaper Columnist, "Human Relations", New York Post (New York, N. Y.)

The Community

MRS. CHASE GOING WOODHOUSE

Former Congresswoman from Connecticut,
Director, Service Bureau for Women's Organizations (Hartford, Conn.)

11:00 A.M. - 12:15 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

12:30 - 2:30 P.M. LUNCHEON

Terrace Room

Chairman:

MRS. ISRAEL GOLDMAN
National ADL Chairman, B'nai B'rith Women (Belmont, Mass.)

Invocation

Addresses: People and Government

HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
Congresswoman from New Jersey

HON. EDITH GREEN
Congresswoman from Oregon

2:45 - 4:45 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1957

9:30 A.M. - 12:00 P.M. DISCUSSION GROUP MEETINGS

"What can we bring back to our groups, to our communities?"

12:30 - 3:00 P.M. LUNCHEON

Terrace Room

Chairman:

MRS. LOUIS L. PERLMAN

Invocation

Summary and Interpretation

MISS GERTRUDE NOAR
National Director, Education Department,
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New York, N. Y.)

Closing Address

MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

Announcements

Closing Prayer

MRS. WILLIAM THOMAS MASON, *President*
National Council of Negro Women (Washington, D. C.)

DISCUSSION GROUPS

Wednesday, April 3 10:00 - 10:45 P.M.
Thursday, April 4 11:00 A.M. - 12:15 P.M.
2:45 - 4:45 P.M.
Friday, April 5 9:00 A.M. - 12:00 P.M.

Group 1

Room: Bird Cage Walk

Chairman:

MRS. HYMAN C. WEISMAN, *Past National President, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, ADL Commission (St. Louis, Mo.)*

Leader:

MRS. LILLIAN HATCHER, *Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, UAW-AFL-CIO (Detroit, Mich.)*

Consultants:

DR. MARLENE WEINSTEIN, *Associate Professor of Psychiatry, Post Graduate School of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

DR. MARY ELLEN GOODMAN, *Anthropologist. Lecturer, Author, "Race Awareness in Young Children" (Washington, D. C.)*

Recorder:

MRS. CHARLES SOLOVICH, *Past President District Six, Co-Chairman National Allocations Committee, B'nai B'rith Women (Detroit, Mich.)*

Group 2

Room: Main Ballroom

Chairman:

MRS. ARTHUR G. ROSENBLUTH, *Past President District One, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, Eastern Regional ADL Board (Forest Hills, New York)*

Leader:

MRS. NORBERT J. KLEIN, *Chairman, Department of International Affairs, 1954-56, General Federation of Women's Clubs (Milwaukee, Wis.)*

Consultants:

MRS. MARIA KUNCEWICZ, *Honorary President of the International PEN Club Center for Writers in Exile (Sea Cliff, N. Y.)*

MRS. STELLA COUNSELBAUM, *Mid-West Regional Office, ADL of B'nai B'rith (Chicago, Illinois)*

Recorder:

MRS. ROBERT ARONSON, *Past President District Two (St. Louis, Mo.)*

Group 3

Room: Main Ballroom

Chairman:

MRS. ALBERT BAZROD, *Past President District Three. B'nai B'rith Women (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

Leader:

MRS. MILDRED JEFFREY, *Director, Community Relations Department, UAW-AFL-CIO (Detroit, Mich.)*

Consultant:

DR. BONITA VALIEN, *Associate Professor of Sociology, Fisk University. Author, "The St. Louis Story: A Study of Desegregation" (Nashville Tenn.)*

Recorder:

MRS. WILLIAM RABKIN, *Past President District One, National Leadership Training Chairman, B'nai B'rith Women (New York, N. Y.)*

Group 4

Room: North Room

Chairman:

MRS. IDA COOK FARBER, *Past National President, B'nai B'rith Women's Representative to the United Nations (Brooklyn, N. Y.)*

Leader:

MISS PATTIE ELLIS, *Assistant Director, Board of Community Relations (Buffalo, N. Y.)*

Consultants:

DR. ANNABEL PRESCOTT, *Secretary, Human Relations Committee, Board of Education (Chicago, Ill.)*

MRS. THOMAS L. PURYEAR, *Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches (Petersburg, Va.)*

Recorder:

MISS CELIA LESMAN, *Past President District Four, B'nai B'rith Women (Portland, Ore.)*

Group 5

Room: South Room

Chairman:

Mrs. Israel Goldman, *Past President District One, National ADL Chairman, B'nai B'rith Women (Belmont, Mass.)*

Leader:

Mrs. Lois McCarthy, *Executive Secretary, Council of National Organizations of the Adult Education Association (New York, N. Y.)*

Consultant:

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, *Director, Women's Work, Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, Ga.)*

Recorder:

Mrs. Isadore Binstock, *ADL Chairman, District Three, B'nai B'rith Women (Pittsburgh, Pa.)*

Group 6

Room: West Room

Chairman:

Mrs. Harry Strauss, *Past President District Seven, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, ADL Commission (Knoxville, Tenn.)*

Leader:

Mrs. Jean Grambs, *Prince George's County Schools, Maryland, Author and consultant on intercultural education (Washington, D. C.)*

Consultants:

Mrs. Besse Kranz, *Advisor on Intergroup Relations, Community Relations Division, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A. (New York, N. Y.).*

Mrs. B. R. Donaldson, *President, United Church Women of Michigan (Dearborn, Michigan)*

Recorder:

Mrs. Philip Boblasky, *President District Five, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, Southeastern Regional ADL Board (Savannah, Ga.)*

Group 7

Room: Club Room

Chairman:

Mrs. Leonard Sims, *Past President District Six, National Membership Chairman, B'nai B'rith Women (Detroit, Mich.)*

Leader:

Mrs. Beulah T. Whitby, *Detroit Commission on Community Relations, National Board member, National Urban League (Detroit, Mich.)*

Consultants:

Miss June Shagaloff, *Coordinator, Committee of Social Science Consultants, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (New York, N. Y.)*

Mrs. Ruth Z. Murphy, *Executive Vice-President, National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship (New York, N. Y.)*

Recorder:

Mrs. S. Thomas Friedman, *Past President District Seven, Member, National Leadership Training Committee, B'nai B'rith Women (Houston, Texas)*

Group 8

Room: Foyer A

Chairman:

Mrs. Ben Rosenthal, *Past National President, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, Pacific Southeast Regional ADL Board (Los Angeles, Calif.)*

Leader:

Mrs. Beatrice Harrison, *Pennsylvania—West Va.—Delaware Regional Office, ADL of B'nai B'rith (Philadelphia, Pa.)*

Consultants:

Miss Judith Hershcopf, *National Interreligious Cooperation Department, ADL of B'nai B'rith (New York, N. Y.)*

Mrs. Jessamine Merrill, *Secretary, Trenton Council of Human Relations, Former President, New Jersey League of Women Voters (Trenton, N. J.)*

Recorder:

Mrs. Hyman Israel, *Past President District Six, B'nai B'rith Women, Member, Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Human Rights (Waukesha, Wis.)*

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MRS. MAURICE BISGYER, *Co-Chairman (Washington, D.C.)*

MRS. ARTHUR G. ROSENBLUTH, *Public Relations (New York, N. Y.)*

MRS. ISRAEL GOLDMAN, *(Belmont, Mass.)*

MRS. ALBERT BAZROD *(Philadelphia, Pa.)*

B'NAI B'RITH WOMEN'S STAFF

MRS. ARTHUR G. LAUFMAN, *National Director (Chicago, Ill.)*

MISS MIRIAM ALBERT, *Assistant National Director (Chicago, Ill.)*

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The B'nai B'rith Women's Supreme Council extends its sincere appreciation to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith for its cooperation, and to Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director, Oscar Cohen, National Program Director, and Israel Moss, National Organizations Department Director, for their assistance and guidance in planning the Conference.

May 13, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks both for the copy of "Segregation and Desegregation" and your letter advising that the field research studies will soon be in print. Tumin's report is exceedingly well done, and though we are not able to order it in quantity, we are advising our state groups and interested persons of its availability.

I am delighted to know that the Fund for the Republic is making it possible for you to distribute free copies of the field studies. We could certainly use some. Your letter gives me no idea of the quantities that might be possible. I can only say that any number up to 500 each would be carefully and effectively used by us.

With best regards as always,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

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of B'nai B'rith

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May 6, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I think you will be pleased to know that within the next ten days or so our four Field Research Studies will be in print. Through the courtesy of the Fund for the Republic, we are able to make a number of free copies available and in order to make most effective distribution, we wonder how many copies of each of the four studies you would like for your own needs. Since we are trying to plan our distribution now, I wonder if I may hear from you as soon as possible.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

RECEIVED MAY 2 1957

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[illegible]ESTER J. WALDMAN
[illegible]istant

April 29, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of "Segregation and Desegregation" by Dr. Melvin M. Tumin.

I trust you will find this publication of value. We will be circulating libraries, heads of social science departments, etc. offering the volume for sale at $2.00 per copy.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

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Executive Assistant

Received
~~ENTERED~~ MAY 17 1957

May 15, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We do not know yet how many copies on the studies on desegregation we will have available for distribution, but you will receive them in due course.

At the moment we have a little problem now that they are going to be printed, we must check for libel.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

June 11, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Many thanks for your welcome note about John May. I thought he and his wife were both very pleasant people, and certainly his head and his heart are both sound on matters of race relations. I am most grateful to you for helping to steer him to us.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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of B'nai B'rith

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June 4, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you would be interested in knowing that I had a visit from John R. May, whom you saw in Atlanta. John thought very highly of you and your operation and indicated that as funds became more available to the foundations with which he is associated, the Southern Regional Council would benefit.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

File copy

June 20, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming who is out of the office until the first of next week, I gratefully acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 18 and the enclosed publication dealing with fraternity discrimination. I am sure that Mr. Fleming will find this material of interest and will make further mention of it upon his return.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary

MF

RECEIVED JUN 20 1957
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Executive Assistant

June 18, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold

I am enclosing herewith a publication on the question of fraternity discrimination. I thought you might be interested in this.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

Vol. 1, No. 6, April-May, 1957

RIGHTS

ADL REPORTS ON SOCIAL, EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATIONAL AND HOUSING DISCRIMINATION.

THE DECLINE OF FRATERNITY BIAS

UNDER pressure of tremendous growth in student enrollment, the postwar years have produced profound changes in the American college scene. The demand for higher education has not only severely taxed the educational, campus and housing facilities of our universities, but has brought with it something of a revolution in social attitudes. These attitudes have been marked by an increasingly critical view, taken by both students and faculty, of fraternities and sororities which set up racial and religious barriers to membership. All over the country, campus sentiment is on the rise against the hallmark of exclusiveness which has shut out a certain section of the student body from equal enjoyment of what the college has to offer, in educational and social opportunities and in desirable campus housing facilities.

The current movement against fraternity discrimination has been principally centered in the student body. Undergraduate members of local chapters have taken the lead in the struggle for a non-discriminatory policy. They have risked the loss of their affilations by challenging and defying the leadership of their nationals. But they have received strong support from college officials and numerous alumni.

The belief is now prevalent that fraternities are no longer a matter of private social concern. Many college officials and leaders have taken the position that they have a direct bearing on the overall educational development of the student body.

As summed up by one educator, President William S. Carlson of the State University of New York, academic and extracurricular programs are so closely tied together in educating and molding the student "that they cannot be severed and each judged by contradictory standards."

This view has been given formal recognition by the fraternities themselves. The National Interfraternity Conference has stated that it considers the fraternity "responsible for a positive contribution to the primary function of the colleges and universities, and therefore under an obligation to encourage the most complete personal development of its members, intellectual, physical and social."

Therefore, the statement emphasizes, "the objective and activities of the fraternity should be in entire accord with the aims and purposes of the institutions at which it has chapters." (Baird's Manual, American College Fraternities, 1949.)

The fraternities thus have recorded their role as an integral part of the educational process, assisting the college in the total development of its students.

According to the conservative Chicago Tribune (May 5, 1957), "fraternity men themselves are the first to admit that there is room for improvement in the fraternity system, notably in the matter of racial and religious membership restrictions," although they "are genuinely disappointed by the failure of outsiders to appreciate the reforms and achievements of the system."

It is widely felt that fraternity discrimination retards the educational process, impairing the intellectual growth of both those students who are accepted for membership and those who are rejected.

As pointed out by an Amherst College committee comprised mostly of fraternity men, "the sense of exclusiveness and social preferment is hurtful to the young men who are in the fraternities because it gives them a false and undemocratic sense of superiority. And it hurts the students who are outside the fraternities by giving them a wholly unwarranted sense of being inferior and of being social outcasts."

Tied to the question of fraternity discrimination is the problem of housing. At many universities, there are inadequate college-owned dormitories and the choicest campus facilities are often the fraternity houses. Thus, fraternity discrimination is in direct conflict with the university's efforts to make housing facilities available to all students on an equal basis.

How It Began

The movement against the discriminatory fraternity system began to grow shortly after the close of the last world war, under the influence of the large number of veterans who entered the nation's colleges under the GI bill. Returning from the world's fighting fronts, they brought to college campuses a broad cosmopolitan outlook which could not be reconciled with the snobbery and prejudice long prevalent among many fraternities.

The old fraternity system met its first important challenge from Amherst College when, in 1946, President Charles W. Cole announced that fraternities on the campus must abolish racial and religious restrictions by 1951. All thirteen fraternities at Amherst complied with the order. In 1948, the Amherst chapter of Phi Kappa Psi pledged a Negro student and was suspended by its national organization. It was the first time in Amherst's 127 years of exist-

ence that a Negro was accepted for fraternity membership.

The action at Amherst was followed by similar moves at other institutions, precipating a struggle by undergraduate fraternity members against national officers for the freedom of local chapters to pick their membership on a basis of individual merit.

A number of student bodies petitioned their college administrations to enforce non-discriminatory policies with respect to fraternity membership. Some student organizations which were empowered to do so took such measures themselves.

But the national fraternity executives rose up to meet this threat to their leadership and influence.

President David A. Embury of the National Interfraternity Conference exhorted all fraternities to join in the fight against the effort by college authorities to force the removal of discriminatory clauses from the by-laws of nationals.

A proposal for the removal of such clauses was defeated in committee at the 39th meeting of the National Interfraternity Conference. In the following year, 1948, a similar proposal was again defeated, and a resolution was adopted which denied to local chapters the right to decide for themselves what action should be taken on the question of religious discrimination. The resolution also called upon the locals to abide by the constitutions of their national organizations.

In the years that followed, the NIC has maintained its position that no college administration has a right to interfere with the autonomy of national fraternities and that any such interference is an infringement of "the democratic process of self-government" and of "the fundamental principle of free association."

College officials and chapter leaders hold, however, that it is the national executives who are violating the principle of free association by denying to the locals the right to select their own members.

Thus, the issue has been joined. Another phase of the challenge to the membership prerogatives of the nationals has come from the State universities whose authority to regulate the membership practices of their student organizations was supported in a far-reaching decision reached by the United States Supreme Court on November 8, 1954.

The decision was taken on an appeal from an action by the State University of New York, which had ordered the elimination of racial and religious discrimination by fraternities on its 27 campuses. Local fraternity groups with no national affiliations complied with the order. But those chapters affiliated with nationals were adamant in their resistance to it. These chapters were then given an October 1958 deadline to disaffiliate from their nationals or go out of existence.

The Supreme Court ruling gave legal sanction to the right of control by public educational institutions over policies affecting fraternity organizations on their campuses.

Alfred McClung Lee points out that at many state colleges where fraternity and sorority houses are erected on state property their discriminatory practices "involve public property," especially when little or no rent is charged for the use of state land. ("Fraternities Without Brotherhood," Beacon Press, Boston, 1955.)

In 1949, discriminatory fraternities and sororities were ordered to discontinue "on that land owned by the people of this State, and known as the University of Connecticut."

The Remedies

The elimination of discrimination among fraternities involves more than a change in national by-laws. Many nationals have altered their restrictive charters, but continue to discriminate by "gentlemen's agreement" and by disguises in ritual practices or other subterfuges.

But these dodges have come under increasing scrutiny. There have been several approaches to meeting the problem of fraternity discrimination. Some local fraternity chapters have severed ties with their nationals and have established themselves, with the encouragement of college administrators, as independent units. Others have decided to stay inside their nationals and fight alumni resistance to change. Many have complied with orders set down by college officials to end restrictive practices or to break their bonds with nationals which refuse to do so. A sizeable number have been given a specified date for compliance. In quite a few institutions, restrictive fraternities have been expelled outright. Some colleges have witnessed the establishment of interracial fraternities.

Notwithstanding the effectiveness of these various actions, the end of discriminatory fraternities is a long way from sight. A successful solution of the problem will come about in gradual stages. But the momentum of change is strong.

A few decades ago, a large majority of the 61 national groups included in the National Interfraternity Conference carried restrictive clauses in their constitutions. In 1948, 25 of the total still retained such discriminatory provisions. By 1955 this number had dropped to a total of 10 social fraternities.

The language of such clauses shows little variation. Generally, they limit membership to students of "the Aryan race" or "whites of full Aryan blood," specifically barring those of "the black, Malay, Mongolian or Semitic races."

The most recent declaration against fraternity discrimination was issued April 13 by the fraternity and sorority leaders of ten leading midwest universities. Known as the "Big Ten," they include Minnesota, Michigan, Michigan State, Wisconsin, Northwestern, Purdue, Ohio State, Indiana, Iowa and Illinois.

These leaders adopted a resolution supporting the free choice of local chapters in selecting their membership without restriction. "We feel," the resolution said, "that each fraternity should choose members on individual merit without regard to race, creed or nationality."

The statement also called for the utmost effort "toward eventual elimination of all discriminatory practices."

An amendment introduced by University of Wisconsin delegates and

RIGHTS

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meier Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, A. K. Cohen, Frank R. S. Kaplan, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, Benjamin Samuels, Melvin H. Schlesinger, Jesse Steinhart and William Sachs, honorary vice-chairmen; Joseph Cohen, Jefferson E. Peyser, Max J. Schneider, vice-chairmen; Bernard Nath, chairman, and Paul Sampliner, vice-chairman, of Executive Committee; Jacob Alson, treasurer; Benjamin R. Epstein, secretary and national director; David A. Rose, chairman of Civil Rights Committee; Arnold Forster, Civil Rights Director.

Edited by Harold Braverman, Director Discriminations Department; Harold Berman, associate editor.

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approved by the full interfraternity council body expressed opposition, however, to university or state legislation requiring the elimination of discriminatory clauses from fraternity or sorority rules by specific dates. It said this did not accord "with proper academic or human relations principles." (The Wisconsin chapters are among those which have been given a specific deadline for the removal of discriminatory membership provisions.)

Campus Action

Those colleges where some stand or action has been taken in opposition to discrimination by fraternities present a long list:

Allegheny College: The local chapter of Delta Tau Delta accepted a Jewish student, at the cost of having its charter suspended by its national.

Amherst College: All fraternities have complied with deadline for removal of discrimination.

Arizona State College: Ordered the barring of fraternity and sorority chapters whose national charters discriminate because of race, color or creed.

Boston University: A fraternity chapter pledged a Negro and defied the national organization in the face of suspension.

Bowdoin College: Delta Upsilon chapter accepted suspension from its national by refusing to withdraw its pledge to a Negro student.

Brown University: Authorities have issued a warning that fraternities would be abolished unless their discriminatory practices were abandoned.

University of California: A chapter of Beta Sigma Tau, new non-sectarian, interracial fraternity, was organized. A bill has been introduced in the state legislature which provides that state-owned colleges shall refuse recognition to fraternities that discriminate on the basis of race, religion or national origin. The proposed legislation declares discriminatory fraternities to be unconstitutional under the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution and contrary to the public policy of the State of California.

University of Chicago: All campus fraternities have complied with an October 1954 deadline for removing discriminatory charter clauses.

Colby College: Fraternity leaders have expressed concerted opposition to fraternity segregation and are undertaking action to eliminate it.

Colgate University: Student body has set a 1964 deadline for the elimination of fraternity discrimination.

University of Colorado: The Board of Regents has voted to expel from the campus after September 1, 1962 any fraternity or sorority which still has racial or religious restrictions in its national charter, rituals or practices.

Columbia University: Authorities have set a 1964 deadline for the elimination of restrictions.

Cornell University: Authorities have agreed to support any local chapter defying restrictive practices imposed by its national organization. Officials made representations to national headquarters of Sigma Kappa Sorority which suspended its Cornell chapter for pledging a Negro student. The local sorority voted to function independently.

Dartmouth College: Authorities have set a 1960 deadline for the removal of fraternity restrictions.

Denver University: University Board of Trustees voted unanimous opposition to fraternity discrimination.

Dickinson College: The college faculty has called on restrictive fraternities to take measures to remove discriminatory charter provisions and to abandon discrimination in practice.

Harvard University: Student Council by 7-6 vote called for a ban on discrimination in all campus organizations because of race, religion or nationality.

University of Houston: Board of Regents has stipulated that all fraternities and sororities must remove discriminatory provisions in their charters.

Hunter College: Epsilon Eta Pi, honorary journalism sorority, has withdrawn from its national because of anti-Negro clause in its constitution.

Howard University: Chi Delta Mu broke a 33-year precedent by admitting a white student to membership.

Idaho College: President Paul M. Pitman, noting that the college has no national fraternities or sororities as yet, emphasized that "when they come to this campus, they will come without restrictive clauses, either open or hidden—otherwise, they won't stay."

Knox College: President of local chapter of Phi Sigma Kappa, joined by half the membership, declared he was resigning because the national refused to allow the chapter to induct a Negro.

Lafayette College: The faculty pledged its support to any local chapter defying its national body in ending discrimination. It also agreed to refuse recognition to any national which does not permit a local chapter to select members on the basis of individual merit.

Lewis and Clark College: Authorities have agreed to accept only those fraternities which admit to membership "persons of all races, creeds and colors."

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Student body has initiated action to bring about the elimination of fraternity discrimination. The faculty has pledged its support. Alpha Chi Sigma chapter returned its charter when the fraternity's national officers refused to repeal a charter clause limiting membership to "non-Semitic members of the Caucasian race." (Since then, Alpha Chi Sigma has removed the discriminatory clause.)

University of Massachusetts: Authorities have set a 1960 deadline for the termination of fraternity discrimination. President J. Paul Mather said the 1960 deadline was selected to allow time for the fraternities themselves to eliminate their restrictive charter clauses at their biennial meetings.

University of Michigan: The student government ruled that Sigma Kappa Sorority had violated the university's anti-discrimination regulations when it suspended its Cornell and Tufts chapters for pledging Negro girls. The sorority lost its appeal before a university Board of Review. The sorority faces suspension and permanent removal from the campus, or may be put on probation.

Middlebury College: Authorities have ruled that fraternities must take steps to remove discriminatory practices.

University of Miami: Phi Delta Sigma unanimously voted to admit Negroes.

University of Minnesota: Students and college authorities have taken steps to abolish fraternity discrimination. Phi Rho Sigma, medical fra-

ternity, pledged Jewish and Nisei students. Tau Delta Phi opened membership to non-Jews.

Montana State College: Authorities have pledged a sustained effort to eliminate "racial and religious barriers of any kind" on the campus.

New York University: All fraternities have removed discriminatory charter clauses. Two central fraternity councils, one consisting of a majority Jewish membership, the other, non-Jewish, have merged into one organization.

Ohio State University: Phi Sigma Delta adopted a non-discriminatory policy. Omega Psi Phi eliminated restrictions against white students. Lambda Alpha Gamma, local interracial fraternity, organized.

University of Rochester: Local chapter of Psi Upsilon made an honorary pledge of a Chinese student who was previously depledged by a chapter of the same fraternity at Northwestern University.

Rutgers University: Three fraternities have been ordered to end discriminatory practices by September 1, 1959. Twenty-two other fraternities have already done so.

San Francisco College: All fraternities are operating on a non-discriminatory basis.

State University of New York: Trustees have ordered all recognized student social organizations at State-operated colleges to withdraw national fraternal connections, and to eliminate any "artificial criteria" such as discrimination on the basis of race or religion in selecting members. The action was ruled constitutional by a Federal court and upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

Stanford University: The presidents of 24 national fraternities on campus have declared in a formal statement that discriminatory membership restrictions are "contrary to the ideals of the university, the fraternity system and the fraternity men at Stanford."

Swarthmore College: Student Council has adopted resolution opposing fraternity charter restrictions on the basis of race or religion.

Temple University: Student body voted to refuse recognition to any organization with constitutional restrictions because of race or religion.

Tufts University: Authorities have instructed each local chapter to request its national organization to abandon restrictive practices. University officials protested the action of Sigma Kappa Sorority in ousting the local chapter for pledging two Negro girls as members.

University of Vermont: Trustees have set a 1962 deadline for the removal of restrictions from fraternity and sorority charters. Tau Epsilon Phi has elected a Negro as president.

Wagner College: Trustees issued a formal statement attacking fraternities or sororities that exclude students from membership because of race, religion or national origin.

University of Washington: Will not recognize any new organization with religious or racial restrictions.

Wayne University: College of Education has adopted policy of non-recognition of student groups that discriminate on grounds of race, religion or nationality.

Wesleyan University: Ten fraternities have abolished restrictive membership clauses. The remaining two are urging their nationals to remove restrictions.

Williams College: An undergraduate study released May 18, 1957, reports that racial and religious discrimination still continue, although great progress has been achieved in the elimination of fraternity membership bias. The report was prepared by a special committee established by the College Council, student governing body, and was completed after six years of investigation. The committee urged the trustees to put a stop to "unwritten agreements" between local chapters and their nationals which are designed to keep out minority group members. It said that at Williams two such agreements were directed against Jews, while at least three were against Negroes.

The report found that while Jewish students are not excluded from fraternity membership, they are limited by a quota system. The committee said that four fraternities at Williams "can be described as having segments in their membership which act to prevent the pledging of Jewish students as a group. Of these four houses, two have had no Jewish members over the six-year period, 1950-1956, and two have. Of the four, only one has a Jewish student at the present time." The committee noted, however, that the practice was not institutionalized in any of the four houses, "except to the extent that a tendency to perpetuate this type in a house might exist."

Roman Catholics, the committee said, enjoy full and equal opportunity for membership, but Negro students are for the most part vetoed as pledgees.

The committee endorsed a statement issued in 1955 by the trustees "that no fraternity may operate on the Williams campus whose Williams chapter is not free to elect to membership any individual on the basis of his merits as a person." The trustees implemented this declaration when in 1957 it supported the local chapter of Sigma Phi, which was threatened by its national with expulsion for pledging two Negro students. The national then withdrew its threat.

The committee recommended that the Board of Trustees require each local chapter to request from its next national meeting or convention a clear policy statement that the local is free to pledge anyone it desires, without regard to race, creed or color.

The committee predicted that the changing atmosphere on the campus would bring "still further progress in the elimination of discrimination inconsistent with the ideals of this college."

University of Wisconsin: Twenty-six fraternities have eliminated charter provisions barring students because of race, religion or national origin. Nine social and two professional fraternities which still discriminate face a 1960 deadline for their abandonment of restrictions. The two professional groups are Theta Pi, legal fraternity, and Theta Tau, engineering fraternity. None of the campus sororities have charter restrictions against minority students. College officials noted that the Wisconsin fraternities are confronted with a difficult problem when they belong to a national with chapters in the South. It was pointed out that the Southern locals put up strong opposition at national conventions to the removal of restrictive charter provisions.

June 28, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Here is the promised material.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encls.

cc: Emory F. Via

August 1, 1957

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Harold is out of the office on his annual vacation so I hasten to answer your letter of July 30.

Glad to hear that James Michener is coming South. Since I didn't know how far his itinerary would take him I have listed a few people in each of the twelve states which we cover. I recognize the list is probably longer than he can cover but he can choose almost at random from the list and come up with a good group.

I would highlight or "star" a few names: Patty Boyle, Charlottesville, Virginia; M. A. Wright, Linville Falls, North Carolina; James M. Dabbs, Mayesville, South Carolina; Ralph McGill, Atlanta, Georgia; Martin Luther King, Jr., Montgomery, Alabama and Hodding Carter, Greenville, Mississippi.

We will, of course, be glad to introduce him to the people in Hotlanta.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosure - 1 List

P. S. Note that the list runs geographically rather than alphabetically.

cc: Art Levin

List - Possible Contacts for James Michener
in Twelve Southern States

ALABAMA

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Reverend Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

Mr. Grover Hall
Montgomery Advertiser
Montgomery, Alabama

ARKANSAS

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
211 Izard Street (South)
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mr. Harry Ashmore, Editor
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mrs. L. C. Bates
State President - NAACP
1804 Bishop Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

FLORIDA

Reverend Edward Graham
Mt. Zion Baptist Church
Miami, Florida

Mr. William K. Williams
Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Florida - continued

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

GEORGIA

Harold C. Fleming & Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Mr. Arthur Levin, Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

KENTUCKY

Mr. Charles Steele
Executive Secretary
Louisville Urban League
608 West Walnut Street, Suite 509
Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. C. H. Parrish
Department of Sociology
University of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky

LOUISIANA

Dr. Albert W. Dent, President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Father Louis Twomey, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans 18, Louisiana

Miss Mary C. Raymond
Executive Director
Council of Social Agencies
211 Camp Street - Rm. 602
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

MISSISSIPPI

Bishop Joseph Brunini
Auxiliary Bishop of Natchez
P. O. Box 57 or 123 Northwest Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Mr. Hodding Carter
Delta-Times-Democrat
Greensville, Mississippi

Mrs. R. S. Lyells
Mississippi Council on Human Relations
P. O. Box 9096
Jackson 3, Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

Mr. M. A. Wright
President - SRC
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, North Carolina

Mr. John H. Wheeler
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
116 Parrish Street
Durham, North Carolina

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mr. J. M. Dabbs
"Rip Rap" Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina

Mrs. Alice Spearman & Mr. James McCain
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1508 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

TENNESSEE

Messrs. Herman Long & John Hope, II
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Will D. Campbell
Race Relations Division
National Council of Churches
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Tennessee - continued

Mr. Lucius Birch, Attorney
Court Square Building
128 North Court Avenue
Memphis, Tennessee

Mr. Galen Martin
Southern Representative
Unitarian Service Committee
Box 887
Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. & Mrs. James R. Stokely
405 Clifton Heights
Newport, Tennessee

TEXAS

Mr. Ed. Kloppe
Executive Director
Texas Council on Human Relations
504 West Twenty-Fourth Street
Austin, Texas

Dr. Fitzpatrick
Executive Secretary
Texas Council of Churches
Austin, Texas

Mr. Ronnie Duggers, Editor
Texas Observer
Austin, Texas

VIRGINIA

Charlottesville

Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle
Box 3183
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dr. David Wilson, M.D.
Medical School
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Richmond

Dr. John H. Marvin
Virginia Council on Human Relations
100 East Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

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of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

July 30, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

James Michener is writing something in our field and I have conferred with him at some length. He is considering a Southern motor trip for about ten days duration during the middle of August. I wonder if you would let me know, as soon as possible, what people and which cities he should visit. He would like to get an overal impression of what is happening in the South.

Of course I have already indicated that he must visit Atlanta and see you.

I would appreciate your thinking as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
el

cc: Arthur J. Levin

Write re: Wilton Dillon

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED SEP 6 1957

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold Fleming and Arthur Levin

From: Oscar Cohen

Date: September 4, 1957

Subject:

An idea has come up about which I would like the reaction of you fellows. One of our concerns has been the lack of communication of research in the field of race relations. Practitioners in the field just don't know what is happening. Suppose the Southern School News was to devote a small section on research in race relations. The difficulty would be providing the paper with the information. I do not know whether or not we would be able to do it. As you know, Tumin did a compilation for us and now will be working on a supplement which will probably be an annual proposition. It is quite possible that in the development of the supplement we could feed appropriate material to the Southern School News.

Before going any further, I would like to know how you feel about it. May I have your thinking jointly or individually?

Regards.

OC
dp

JA1-2100

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

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Circulate

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Arthur Levin and Harold Fleming

From: Oscar Cohen

Date: March 3, 1958

Subject: "Tentative Outline for Little Rock Desegregation Crisis Project"

Dear Guys:

Here is a first draft of the Little Rock Study outline prepared by Tilman Cothran. I would very much like to have your reactions as soon as I can get them.

Regards.

Oc

OC:ms
Attachment

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

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TENTATIVE OUTLINE FOR LITTLE ROCK DESEGREGATION CRISIS PROJECT

Purpose -- This study is designed to secure a description and an impressionistic analysis of the Little Rock school desegregation crisis. It is understood that the continuing crisis aspect of the Little Rock story requires repeated analysis in order to provide an accurate account of the changing and dynamic forces operating in the community. This study will attempt to apply techniques of social science research insofar as time and resources will permit. There will be no claims of covering all significant facets of the problem and no claims of finality.

Problem -- What are the principal forces presently operating in the Little Rock school desegregation crisis?

Tentative Hypotheses:

1. Negro and white citizens of Little Rock generally feel that race relations were improving prior to the school crisis.

   a. What kind of community is Little Rock in terms of its ecology and population composition?
   b. How do Negro and white citizens assess race relations before and after the school crisis?
   c. How did the community react to train and bus desegregation?
   d. What is the character of economic and other threats growing out of the crisis? AG 10/7
   e. What is the chronology of events in the desegregation crisis?

2. While a significant majority of Little Rock white citizens condone continued school segregation, active and aggressive resistance to desegregation stems mainly from the lower socio-economic classes.

   a. Do white citizens favor or oppose desegregation? (What does term mean to informant?)
   b. What is the group identification of persons arrested for violence or persons known to be on the scene through newspaper identification? (Church and organizational affiliation, occupation, etc.)
   c. Is there class feeling developing among white people in Little Rock over sending their children to Hall High School or to Central High School?

3. Preparation for desegregation at Central High School was not sufficiently comprehensive.

   a. What was the nature of community preparation by the Superintendent?
   b. What were the methods used? What groups and persons were contacted?
   c. What is the attitude of the local press, civic officials, school officials, PTA and law enforcement agencies?
   d. What is the attitude toward the superintendent and board members?
   e. Is token compliance toward desegregation any more likely to succeed than full compliance?

4. The channels of inter-racial communication do not provide white citizens with sufficient understanding of Negro desires and ambitions.

   a. What was the extent of inter-racial organization and cooperation and what has happened?
   b. What are the opinions toward desegregation in the Negro community?
   c. Do Negroes feel that desegregation should be pushed regardless of consequences?

5. Those groups and people who oppose desegregation anticipate consequences separate and apart from the educational process.

   a. Are these people afraid of intermarriage, social mingling?
   b. Is desegregation viewed as outside meddling or an invasion of states rights?
   c. What are their feelings toward the 101st Airborne Division and the Federalized National Guards?

6. The social value of "law and order" alone is not sufficient in bringing about a change in established patterns of behavior.

   a. Do people favor maintaining "law and order" even if it means desegregation?
   b. Do they feel that the problem has moral and religious aspects as well as legal aspects?
   c. What are their attitudes toward continued racial incidents inside the school?
   d. What are their attitudes toward the WCC? Mother's League?
   e. What are their predictions for the future?

7. In attempts to change custom, confusion in leadership tends to precipitate a crisis situation.

   a. What was the nature of confusion in leadership?
   b. What are the sources and kinds of leadership? (Harvard group has studied religious and business leadership)
   c. What organizations are active in the crisis situation?
   d. What outside persons have come to the state in support of segregation? (Sen. Harris and Gov. Griffin of Ga., check newspaper)
   e. What do you feel can be done to resolve the crisis?

8. The Little Rock Negro community has developed strong solidarity as a result of the crisis.

   a. What is the position of Negro leadership?
   b. Have Negroes increased support of the NAACP?
   c. How have various forms of threat affected the Negro position?

9. The attitudes and behavior of white students have changed since the withdrawal of federal troops.

   a. What are the opinions and reactions of the Negro nine?

Methods of collecting materials:

1. From newspapers and magazines

   a. Arkansas Gazette, Arkansas Democrat, The Recorder, The State Press, Southern Mediator Journal
   b. Magazine articles from national publications

2. Open-ended interviews

   a. With strategic white people -- such as Moses, Stevens, Jackson Thompson, ministers, businessmen, former alderman, former mayor Mann, editors, Governor, Pulaski county legislators, white liberals, members of the League of Women Voters, etc.
   b. With strategic Negroes -- such as teachers, lawyers, doctors, ministers, Mercer, Brunton, Urban League Officials, Bishop Sherman, College Presidents, Mrs. Bates, Mr. McClinton, businessmen, Hicks and Williams.

3. The open-ended interviews are to be followed up with a Likert type scale in the Negro community in order to gain some insight into the reactions of the Negro masses toward desegregation.

   a. A small probability sample will be used in the administration of the scale.

4. The same interview schedule can be used in the Negro and white communities with a few necessary exceptions.

Limitations:

1. Limited time and finances will undoubtedly restrict the scope of the study.

2. Little Rock citizens, especially those in strategic positions, have been interviewed many times by newspapermen and others and have quite possibly developed a fixed set of replies.

3. Fear of possible reprisals may inhibit some respondents.

VIA AIR MAIL

February 20, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for your good note. I was glad to see you, albeit briefly, in Atlanta, but awfully sorry that I missed talking with you in New York. I thought you were still in Little Rock and didn't find out otherwise until just before I left.

Maybe we will have a chance later to compare notes on Little Rock; meanwhile, I will be glad to give any suggestions or help I can to the field study.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 2/13/58

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of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

February 11, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Wonderful seeing you and your colleagues in Atlanta.

I had a wonderful time too in Little Rock and our study will get under way shortly. I will be sending you our plans as they develop and would appreciate your advice very much.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms

VIA AIR MAIL March 13, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

First of all, my hearty thanks for the fine dinner and company you gave me. This made the panel discussion much more bearable. I was most impressed with Tumin's presentation; you've got a good man there.

Many thanks too for the copies of the Wall Street Journal reprint, which I gather are on the way.

I have read the draft outline of your Little Rock study, prepared by Tillman Cothran, with much interest. I think it is a very solid job. The two aspects that interested me most are those that deal with the role and importance of leadership (positive and negative) and those concerning self interest as perceived by the people involved. I have some reservation about tentative hypothesis number 6. Of course, no one social value alone is likely to be sufficient in bringing about a change in established patterns of behavior (this, it seems to me, was the central point of Tumin's findings).

But I sensed in the hypothesis as stated the implication that Little Rock went sour because of the major reliance on the "law and order" rationale. If this is a correct assumption, I am not sure I agree. In Louisville, the "law and order" philosophy was the main reliance, as it was in the North Carolina cities and ultimately in Nashville. The difference lay in the abuse of power and authority by Faubus. I am afraid that it is just not realistic to hope for any widespread moral acceptance of desegregation by white Southerners. Certainly, the more moral influence that can be brought to bear, the better. But I think it would be self defeating to conclude that Little Rock failed because of the lack of general moral support for desegregation. As Tumin, again, stated very well, people's attitudes change after rather than before a change in behavior. I strongly hope that this hypothesis and the others he put forward may serve as tentative guides for those who will be doing the Little Rock study.

I hope you will let me know if there is any way my many associates and I can assist as the study gets under way.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin

P. S. I recall that you were to send galleys of the Hannson pamphlet, with word of the anticipated release date, so that I can urge a series on Bem Price.

H.C.F.

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Executive Assistant

March 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am very grateful to you for your comment on the Little Rock study. I have transmitted your thinking, with which I fully agree, to those concerned.

Incidentally, I have suggested pretty strongly that this is a field study and not one which should be cast in the usual academic pattern. Therefore, I feel that each aspect of the study should not be undertaken with a hypothesis in mind. Moreover, I feel that if the study is scrutinized and a copy of the outline requested, we may be accused of slanting it.

Many thanks. I will keep in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms

April 2, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am too long in answering your good letter of March 12 in which you discuss the possibility of a pamphlet on threats to civil liberties in the South. I find the idea in general an attractive one and hope that you will keep the door open to our cooperation on it. It does occur to me, however, that implementation might well await the completion of the Joint Fact-Finding Project on Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisals. The results of that survey should be helpful in selecting the incidents for the more detailed and dramatic treatment you propose. This would not mean too much delay, since the fact-finding project will get under way next week. We have arranged for Margaret Price to begin her work as the temporary project director then.

How are the plans for the Little Rock study progressing?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

EV -
Reactions, please -
verbally is ok. HCT

There are several parts of the problem of civil liberties aspects of the civil rights struggle which could be pamphletized. Oscar's idea could be a good one if well implemented. A good name author is probably the right approach, who publishes it is less important except as it affects the audience - and this is a story for the Uncommitted. Any estimate on how much it would cost SRC?

Ben and I are discussing a different approach, but are definitely interested in this kind of material for Union. E.F.V.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

3/19/58

HCF:

This idea sounds rather good just on the surface.

Is the idea to get a person to write such a pamphlet once our joint staffs pull together the material?

We get a good many queries just about civil liberties and a good collection of threats in this ~~fiexxxxxx~~ field would be useful.

FBR -
View, please

It would seem to me that this oblique attack on the problem would be helpful in reaching an audience other than our usual one. This could be project #1 of our joint-fact finding effort.

I believe Morris Abrams, as a former representative of ACLU and as a lawyer, would be best for the job of final draft.

J.

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Executive Assistant

March 12, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Delighted to see you in New York. We must have more of those dinners.

I am particularly happy to have had the opportunity to talk to you about various projects and especially the one about freedom of speech, etc. in the South, about which I think we had some misunderstanding. As I indicated to you, we are not out to document the full story of repression of expressions of opinion favoring desegregation, freedom of association, academic freedom, etc. We were thinking in terms of a pamphlet which starts with a statement that the publication would not deal with the problem of desegregation in the South nor make any judgments for or against desegregation; rather, the pamphlet would deal with the various threats to civil liberties in the South. There should be enough documentation of dramatic cases in regard to this that would paint a rather serious picture. These would be spelled out in a dramatic form rather than in a simple documented account, of all the situations that have taken place. Moreover, we would have an opportunity in this pamphlet to indicate that quite a number of individuals and organizations have spoken out. This might or might not be good strategy, but we should give the idea some more thought.

The best author's name I could think of so far is Dykeman. As I also indicated to you, it would be very good if we could produce this pamphlet jointly. Please think about it.

Oscar Tarcov has told me that he sent you 500 copies of the reprint from The Wall Street Journal. I hope they are useful to you.

As soon as I get the corrected galleys of the Hannson pamphlet, I shall send them to you.

You indicated that you would go over the Little Rock

outline rather carefully and advise me of your thinking. I would greatly appreciate it. The study will not get under way with any degree of momentum until about April 1st. I would, however, appreciate hearing from you in this regard as soon as possible.

We will keep you informed of what we are doing.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

cc: Arthur Levin

VIA AIR MAIL

April 23, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am glad to report that the research on the fact-finding project is nearing completion. Margaret Price is returning to her home in Virginia at the end of this week, where she will undertake to produce the first draft of the report with all possible speed.

This means that within two or three weeks I should be able to send you a copy of the report in draft form which can be used as a basis for planning a case study treatment of civil liberties violations. Naturally, the clipping files from which these data are drawn will be available for further initial background on the cases considered.

I am hoping that you will be in town and available when I meet with the ADL National Staff next Tuesday. If so, perhaps we can discuss this proposed project further at that time.

I hope all goes well with the Little Rock study and your many other fruitful activities.

All the best until I see you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Executive Assistant

April 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letters.

I am delighted that the fact-finding project is under way. When do you think it may be completed? If the study will be unduly prolonged, I wonder if it would be well to delay the pamphlet on civil liberties. However, I will abide by your judgment in this connection.

With regard to the Little Rock study, it should be getting under way just about now. Anna Holden will be going to Little Rock next week. If I have not had any detailed information in a few weeks, I will probably phone Tillman Cothran. I shall of course keep you advised.

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Oscar Cohen

OC:le
cc: Arthur Levin

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Executive Assistant

April 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Good to hear from you but unfortunately I will be out of town tomorrow. I am delighted that the study is coming along.

With regard to Little Rock we have decided not to release this study until after the election. This means that we will include data assembled after the beginning of the school year in September. Don't you think this is wise?

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms

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Executive Assistant

June 26, 1958

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed at long last is the pamphlet, "The South Speaks Out for Law and Order". Confer with Art Levin on any plans for distribution.

I am sending you this copy because I believe, Art only has one at this point. The others are en route to him via third class mail.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
cc: Art Levin

June 26, 1958

Miss Miriam Sample
Secretary to Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Miss Sample:

Many thanks for sending me so promptly the Tuskegee report and the reprints of Mel Tumin's articles. These materials are very interesting and helpful.

If more copies are available, I should like to have a dozen copies of each. If you will see that they are sent to me with an invoice, I will be grateful.

Please tell Oscar that I am sorry I missed him but will hope to see him in the near future.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Executive Assistant

June 20, 1958

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

In accordance with our telephone conversation today, I am enclosing the new field report on Tuskegee, Alabama, "Voting Rights and Economic Pressure", plus three reprints by Dr. Melvin M. Tumin.

I am sure that Mr. Cohen will want you to have them, and that he will be sorry to know he missed your call.

Sincerely yours,

Miriam Sample

Miriam Sample
Secretary to Oscar Cohen

ms
Enc.
cc: Oscar Cohen

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OF B'NAI B'RITH

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TO

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

INVOICE № 49929

DATE 6/20/58

RETURN UPPER PORTION OF THIS INVOICE WITH YOUR REMITTANCE TO 515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

QUAN.	TITLES—DESCRIPTION	@	AMOUNT
	UNDER SEPARATE COVER WE ARE SENDING YOU THE FOLLOWING:		
3	Reprints - by Dr. Melvin M.Tumin		N/C
1	Tuskegee, Ala. Field Report		"
	From Miriam Sample Secy. to Oscar Cohen per her letter of 6/20		

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

July 1, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

You should be receiving shortly the material you requested in your recent letter to me. The pamphlets on the Tuskegee story, plus two of the Tumin articles were forwarded to you yesterday, under separate cover.

This is just to advise you we are out of stock on the third Tumin reprint, "Leaders, The Led and The Law", and could not comply with your request for this item. We only have one copy left for our files.

Mr. Cohen sends you his best.

Sincerely,

Miriam Sample

Miriam Sample
Secretary to Oscar Cohen

mm

cc: Oscar Cohen

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Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

July 18, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Fleming:

Your letter of July 16th to Mr. Cohen has been received, and will be brought to his attention as soon as he returns to the office in about two weeks.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Miriam Sample

Miriam Sample
Secretary to Oscar Cohen

ms

July 16, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

It's true that we don't often disagree, and evidently also true that we do so in regard to Harry Ashmore's article in Harper's.

I must confess that I even doubted whether we read the same article. The burden of the piece, as I understood it, was that the press had done a poor job of communicating the realities and significance of Little Rock to the country-at-large. This happens to be a favorite thesis of mine and one that I think important for as many people as possible to understand - most especially representatives of the press itself, to whom Ashmore's remarks were originally addressed.

It's true that Ashmore's main illustration of this shortcoming was the failure of the press to report and interpret the lack of leadership given by the executive branch of the Federal Government in the whole miserable sequence of events. I think this was a good illustration to use, especially since the default of leadership in the South has had so much righteous attention, while the failure of leadership in

the national government is only now beginning to be recognized as the critical and incomprehensible phenomenon that it is. Anybody who knows the South and the way in which power is distributed and used in the South may deplore the lack of responsible leadership down here, but can hardly fail to understand it. The default of leadership in the White House and in the Justice Department is not so easily explained or understood.

As you know, I am committed to the proposition that Southerners themselves have an obligation to give positive leadership, even if this entails a pretty high price in terms of abuse and reprisals. But I am sensitive to the demoralizing effect which inaction and cowardice in Washington have on good people in Southern communities. And I have yet to be convinced that the price tag on leadership in Washington compares with the price tag on local leadership for desegregation in the South.

So we disagree. But I am sure our friendship is of such fibre that it will survive and even grow stronger on an occasional difference of opinion.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mr. Irwin Schulman

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

July 3, 1958

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is not often that you and I disagree, but I feel we will do so in regard to the article by Harry Ashmore in the recent issue of Harper's.

Harry pointed out that the Little Rock situation is the result of the failure of the administration in Washington to act. This may be true in part, but the big failure was the leaders who figured in the abdication of responsibility for leadership in Little Rock. The cowardice of community leadership, the lack of support of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations, the spinelessness of nearly all of the clergy contributed to disrespect for the law and the ability of the White Citizens Council people to take over. Moreover, to be completely fair, Ashmore should have had a word to say about Virgil Blossom and the School Board. Their coddling of the ruffians and their despicable action against the Negro children at the High School will go down in history as a striking example of how not to run a school.

You may gather, therefore, that I am not very enthusiastic about the circulation of the reprint.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
cc: Arthur Levin and Irwin Schulman

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

August 1, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Okay my friend. So we don't agree about the Ashmore article. So when am I seeing you? Are you coming up this way soon so that we can sit down over a cool drink and argue ourselves into agreement?

My very best.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

cc: Arthur J. Levin

OSCAR COHEN

515 MADISON AVENUE • SUITE 300

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 1-1801

August 14, 1958

Mr. Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Emory:

Thanks for sending me Ben Segal's pamphlet, "Accent on the South".

I had read it before, but do appreciate having the extra copy.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms

167

OSCAR COHEN
515 MADISON AVENUE • SUITE 300
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 1-1801

JC - I think we should seek permission to reprint this - minus the opening amenities. If you agree, write Perlmutter.
HCF

August 15, 1958

Dear Harold:

I am enclosing a copy of a speech made be H. Franklin Williams, a vice-president of Miami University, on the "Role of the Moderate". I think this would make good copy for THE NEW SOUTH.

If you have any questions in this connection, would you communicate directly with Nate Perlmutter.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
cc: Nate Perlmutter
Art Levin

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Remarks by Dr. H. Franklin Williams
Re: Anti-Defamation League's Annual L. Abess Award in Human Relations
Lucerne Hotel, Miami Beach, June 1, 1958

This award is one which I value very highly. I am deeply grateful for the honor you have done me in giving it to me. I am honored and grateful because of the tremendous respect which I have for the organization which gave it, the Anti-Defamation League, and because of the deep respect in which I hold the donor, Mr. Leonard L. Abess, a man whose many good works and fine spirit are well known to me. I am honored also because of the distinguished men who have received this award in previous years, men whose devotion to humanity and whose courage are greater than mine, because they were holders of public office. I feel also that I should express my thanks to the University of Miami for enabling me to participate in civic activities that have led to this award. The University has for many years tolerated my giving time to many different organizations, for attending meetings and for sitting on committees. Finally in the last few years, the University has made this kind of thing part of my work as Director of Community Affairs. The University has given me freedom to make my own choices of organizations with which I should work in carrying out my activities as Director of Community Affairs. I want also to thank my family who have borne with my absence on many occasions when I should have been with them. I am particularly glad that Mr. Abess spoke of the contribution which my wife has made in this. Her forthrightness and courage have played a large part in making it possible for me to participate in many community activities. While I am tremendously grateful for this award, I must say that my greatest reward is the friendship of many people, many of whom I see here before me. Such friendships have been a rich return for any work which I have done.

Your chairman has asked me to say a few words about the position of the moderate in the South today. I assume that this request was made because I am regarded as a moderate, a position which is easy for a historian to take.

continued

Studying the events of the past and the changes in society, the historian finds it easy to understand how progress has been made by the vast majority of men who stand between the extremes of the agitator and the die-hard conservative. He sees that those nations have been greatest and freest which have learned to accept gradual progress rather than revolutionary change. In the past the moderate has been a man in a secure position, esteemed by the majority because he has seemed neither to advocate radical change nor to refuse all possibility of change. In the Anglo-Saxon tradition where freedom has grown from precedent to precedent, the moderate has had wide support because he has stood for legality and conformity. He has been one of many. He has not had to sing alone, for many of us are afraid that we cannot carry a tune as a solo, but has enjoyed the comforting sound of a chorus of voices around him, to which he can happily contribute his song. This happy situation no longer exists, because now and here in the South the stand for moderation has become controversial. In these troubled times it has even become controversial to stand for respect of the law. And this concerns me personally because, as a member of the administration of the University of Miami, I have the responsibility to make it clear that in what I have to say today I speak for myself alone, not for the University of Miami nor for any other organization of which I am a member. To such a pass have we come today.

The moderate in America is a man who accepts principles of our society as essential to the existence of a moral society. He sees our society as based on the fundamental moral principle that the individual personality, the individual freedom of choice, the development of the individual character are the basic purposes of a moral society. He has moved readily to the application of this principle in the positical doctrine of equality before the law. In the last few years the thoughtful moderate has had to face question of race relations and has found himself forced to accept the position taken by the Supreme Court as essential if we are to have a moral society.

continued

He inevitably has come to the position so cogently stated by Bishop Louttit a few nights ago in his address to the Dade County Council of Community Relations. Now the moderate is essentially a conformist, a man who desires to respect and obey the law. Having heard the Supreme Court state the law in a fashion which his conscience cannot refute, he desires to see that the law applied and enforced. But, being a conformist, he also believes in order. All his past experience has led him to believe that adherence to the law and moral principles will ensure order. Now he is told that the proposed acceptance of law will invite disorder. He seems to be forced to choose between two extremes, both repugnant to him. He is told that he can have principle without order or that he can have order without principle. This is his dilemma.

Moderates have reacted to their present dilemma in different ways. Most of the moderates have fallen silent and become indecisive. They have developed a sort of catatonic schizophrenia. They look for leaders who will embody the principles of law and order which they respect and find none. They have no rallying point. Others heard the statement "I am ready to accept desegregation of the schools, but it is impossible to carry it through". This attitude is common on boards of trustees and school boards. I have wondered whether the moderates should not arrange to interview members of such boards separately, obtain the familiar statement from them, and then confront them in full meeting with their several statements. Some have tried to cover conformity with local customs, in violation of their principles, by quibbles about the state law as in conflict with the Supreme Court decision, or by saying that we must wait for a court decision. Since when have Americans had to wait for a court decision when the law is clear? Some who call themselves moderates have stood for delay without proposing any steps in the direction of acceptance of the law. This attitude is all too common, particularly among those holding elected office in this state. Some, in the name of moderation, have even yielded ground out of caution. There are, for example, a number of Southern cities in which the Urban League has been dropped from Community Chest or United Fund because it stands clearly for desegregation.

continued

I would like to suggest that there is a position for the moderates that comes much closer than any of the stands which I have outlined to satisfying both demands of their consciences, the demand for law and principle, and the demand for order. It is a position of movement. The position is a difficult one, one which sometimes calls for courage, and, in a world of extremists may involve some personal risk to the person who expresses it. It has, however, powerful backing in those parts of the Supreme Court's decision which are often forgotten, the parts which admit the possibility of local variation in the speed with which the decision is to be carried out. Relying on that concept, the moderate can insist that we begin action at once. If conditions forbid action, we can at least plan for it. We must never sit down and wait for conditions to change but must take an initiative to bring out a change. This position means now in the South that the moderate cannot look around for a leader to follow but must himself take a position of leadership on the assumption that because his position is in accord with the underlying principles on which our government is based, others will eventually follow and rally to him. In this fashion he can begin to move out of his dilemma. It may take a long time to reach the objective and can fully enjoy both law and order. But if he does not forget the objective, he can satisfy his conscience by striving toward it.

The moderate taking this position will find himself charged with abandoning the great principle of State's Rights. It seems to me that he has a very pat answer in the fact that State's Rights will be safest when the states do right.

It may be useful to spell out the meaning of this position of motion for the individual man who regards himself as a moderate. First of all, he must cling to his fundamental beliefs. He must hold to the principle that if our society is to be good it must give respect for every individual, that it must offer every individual freedom before the law and freedom of opportunity.

continued

Then he must satisfy himself that his adherence to this principle and its expression in the law as set down by the Supreme Court is compatible with order, because the court has recognized the necessity for gradual achievement of school desegregation. The moderate must not hold this view passively and within himself. He must state his views and must believe that since his view is based on principle there are others who will hold the same view. I can think of no better illustration and encouragement for this action than the experience of last year's winner of this award, Representative John B. Orr. His clear stand in this sense turned out not to be political suicide, as many people said it would be. He spoke at a time when he was up for reelection. He did not lose the election, but was returned to office. Another thing which the moderate must do is to seek out organizations of like-minded individuals, organizations dedicated both to law and to the maintenance of order. If he does not find such organizations, it is his responsibility to create them.

The position which I am proposing for the moderate calls for a deep-seated and alsmot mystic faith in our free system of government and society. No man can take this stand unless he believes, as we all must believe, that a free society is based on right. If a man holds to what is right, he will not stand alone. This lies at the very heart of our system. If any one of us felt that he alone stood for right, he could well ask himself what value there was in his vote, one among millions. But our system is based on the idea that when we take a stand or cast a vote conscientiously, millions will be doing the same thing and the voice will not be a single one, but one voice in a vast chorus. The times call for the moderate now to sing a solo even if he is not sure that he can carry the tune, confident in the belief that before long his fellow citizens will join in the song of freedom. If he has the courage to do this now, he can hope in the future to return to the inconspicuous position of conformity that he prefers, confident that his society is based on moral principles.

END

September 12, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue, Suite 300
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Peters' letter is wordy and weak, but I think it's in good faith. We will continue to cooperate with him and I would be in favor of your doing so, too.

I understand his book is nearing completion, so you might want to get in touch with him soon. Apart from the book, he will no doubt be writing a good bit in this field and should know of your work and materials.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
c.c. Art Levin

OSCAR COHEN

515 MADISON AVENUE • SUITE 300

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

PLAZA 1-1801

September 9, 1958

Dear Harold:

Thanks for sending me a copy of the William Peters letter to you....a pretty weak handful of excuses.

I find to my horror that Peters is now going to do a book. My first inclination was to meet with him and suggest that we might have helpful material. In view of your experience, however, I wonder. Do you have any feelings about this?

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
cc: Art Levin

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

April 9, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I greatly appreciate your letter with regard to our police pamphlet. Your suggestions are carefully noted.

We are trying to get the Southern Police Institute at Louisville to publish the pamphlet. I had acknowledgment from McCandless, who said he would be taking it up with authorities, but no further word since. I can only hope that they will agree to do so.

Regards.

Cordially,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:al

March 30, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I have read the draft of the police pamphlet with interest. Other members of the staff are now reading it, and I will pass along to you soon any significant reactions they may have.

Meanwhile, though, I feel I should give you my immediate impression. I feel it is an able popularization of the existing material on this subject, and it should prove reasonably effective as an elementary booklet for use with policemen. It may be that the chief utility of a pamphlet of this sort would be its educational value for community leaders. I have long been convinced that the improvement of police practices will depend as much on a better community understanding of good police work as on any other factor. But even in its use with private citizens, the effect of the pamphlet will be enhanced by the imprint of the Southern Police Institute or some similar auspices.

On the basis of a single reading, my only specific criticism - only a fly speck - concerns

the use of the word "black" and "blacks" in the first few pages. This has a Kiplingesque tone that is unworthy of the sound values underlying the treatment as a whole. Otherwise, I spotted nothing exceptional. I would feel that the treatment of riot prevention and control at the end seemed unnecessarily brief and perfunctory. But this was merely an impression which might be dispelled by another careful reading.

Do keep me posted on further progress of this one.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

March 5
1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Here is the first draft of a publication on police and intergroup relations (title to be determined), which we hope the Southern Police Institute will sponsor.

I would greatly appreciate your reaction to the content in as much detail as you care to give.

We have been trying to get a suitable statement on schools from a national education organization. The NEA is impossible but Gertrude Noar is appearing before a committee of the Association for School Curriculum Development in Cincinnati this week. We hope we can get a statement of the kind we talked about from this group.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
Enc.
cc: Art Levin

HF

I thought the first 13 pages were very good for the purpose.

also pp 20 to end. Somehow the section "Being Completely Fair" seemed to me to get bogged down. Didn't Arbeum, have firm

suggestion for it:
maybe more use of
anecdotes. The analo-
gies which he uses

---

here ~~are~~ impressed
me as contrived &
awkward & probably
ineffective

D

File - ADL
(or Oscar Cohen)

Not too long ago, a couple of policemen who are also writers decided to do a little research on police lingo, and they sent queries to police chiefs in every English-speaking country in the world. They came up with a couple of laughs:

A nightstick is known as: a baton, a bat, a truncheon, a staff, a rapper and even an "espatoon."

An official complaint is a rip, a dido, a little one, a fizzer, a squeak, a greensheet or a steamer.

We call a police station a house, a night club, a salt mine, a John, a bullhouse, a bobby 'ole or a cop shop.

A police uniform is a bag, blues, monkey suit, formal, gear, kit or Syd's Sport Suit.

A forger also is known as a paperhanger, a short-story writer, a wrangler or a scratch man.

The midnight to 8 a.m. tour is the late one, the owl, the black hat, dogwatch or witchwatch.

But oddly enough, the one word which is known universally by the same four letters is "RIOT."

There's just no fooling with it; it's men going crazy and potentially lots of innocent dead - and it's the one thing every police officer dreads. That's why it's so important that he know every single thing about it - how it starts, the rumors that inflame it, the prejudices that come to the surface and the sheer waste and shame of the whole business.

There's only one good way to handle a riot, and that's never to let it

get started. And there's where the police officer can set the example for the whole community. He can be the most respected man in town and well thought of by black and white and every minority around - but he'll have to earn it by impartial and just treatment of all. OR - he can be regarded with hidden contempt by all who know him - and he'll have earned that, too.

Here's the true story of a young cop who came up against a tough situation while he was, so to speak, still wet behind the ears.

It was about 3 in the morning, shortly after World War II, and this patrolman was walking his beat in New York's Harlem. It's the practice in New York, as it is in most of the big cities around the country, to give the newest men a go at the toughest assignments (critical areas) on the theory that their reflexes are in A-1 order, they can move fast and they have to learn fast.

As the patrolman stood in front of a bar-and-grill in the predominantly black neighborhood, a white Navy petty officer came out of a subway entrance and, lurching slightly, headed for the tavern. He obviously had already had more than he could hold.

The patrolman stepped into his path and began making friendly conversation. "Are you lost, bud?" he asked. As he related the incident later, he said, "I really had no right stopping him - he was free to go anywhere he wanted, and he could just as well have told me to go to hell. But he was drunk, and I felt no good would come of his going into that bar." The Navy man allowed that maybe he did get off at the wrong subway stop, but so long as he was here, he'd just as soon go in and get a drink.

At this point a young colored woman walked by. The Navy man leered at her and called out, "Hey, nigger - want to join me?" The woman ignored him

and walked abruptly into the bar.

"What did you want to do that for?" the patrolman asked angrily. "She wasn't bothering you - that could start real trouble!" This must have penetrated the alcoholic haze, for the Navy man began mumbling an apology. Then the door of the bar opened, and the same young woman walked out, in company with a Negro soldier. They approached the two men, and the soldier addressed himself to the policeman.

"Officer, this man has just insulted my wife."

Immediately, the patrolman said, "He sure did - I heard it myself. If you want to press charges, I'll take him in. But he's already sorry about the whole thing." The Navy man mumbled an apology.

"No, I don't want to press charges. Forget it." The G. I. walked off with his wife, then had an afterthought and came back.

"Tell me, officer," he asked quietly, "what would have been the outcome if I were white and he were Negro?" He smiled wryly, rejoined his wife, and walked off.

Itwas a very good question, but one we'll leave for the sociologists to answer - here we're concerned with police work. And as police work, this patrolman's handling of a potentially dangerous situation couldn't be improved upon. He didn't have time to analyze it - he acted by instinct alone, and when it was over, he wiped the sweat off his brow and continued on his beat.

But let's analyze it:

He smelled danger and moved in.

He held the troublemaker to account without regard to the color of his skin.

He took firm and positive action when it was necessary.

There you have the essence of good professional police work: a) going to the source of trouble b) being completely fair c) acting decisively.

RUMOR

"Getting to the source of the trouble" more often than not means stopping a rumor. That's a much bigger order than it appears to be. We didn't used to know too much about how it should be done - but we do today.

Here are two examples of police action, 24 years apart. The first was known as one of the worst riots in modern American history. It lasted 13 days and when it was over there were 38 dead (23 Negroes, 15 whites) and 520 injured (342 Negroes, 178 whites). The second one never quite got to be a riot; police action was so well organized that this was probably the only riot in American history where police activity was approved on all sides.

The first took place in Chicago in 1919. As is usual shortly after a war, housing was at a premium. The Negro population in the Windy City had increased tremendously. White citizens resented the spread of Negroes into hitherto white areas and showed their resentment. Before the riot really got under way, there had been a dozen bombings of Negro homes as well as real estate dealers, both white and Negro, for renting apartments or selling buildings to Negroes in predominantly white areas of Chicago.

Then a little incident touched off the cannon.

A seventeen-year-old Negro boy was swimming in Lake Michigan at a point used by both whites and Negroes. A fight began on the beach among adults of both races. The Negro boy stayed in the water. Somebody on the beach threw a stone at the boy. He went down - and drowned. He had been holding on to a railroad tie.

Several Negroes charged that a white man had thrown the stone. They asked a white policeman at the scene to arrest the man. The officer refused to do so. (It was never established for certain whether the stone had actually

hit the boy and caused his drowning. But Negroes at the scene were convinced that that was the cause.)

"He was stoned to death," they cried. "And that white cop refused to arrest the white man who threw the stone."

At this unfortunate moment, the very patrolman who had refused to arrest the white man on the complaint of Negroes, arrested a Negro on the complaint of a white man, who alleged that he had been assaulted.

Negroes jumped the white officer.

The riot was now officially on.

Rumor leaped through the city like lightning. Soon it was not a single questionable stone which was thrown, but a whole quarry. Not one antagonistic police officer, but the whole police force. Each rumor touched off another. Soon there was another fatality. A Negro man fired into a group of policemen - and the Negro in turn was shot and killed by a Negro police officer.

The rioting went on for 13 days, though the militia was called out on the fourth day.

When it ended finally, it left in its wake the sick and the dead - and a contempt for the police force which lasted quite awhile.

Now this riot is almost a classic example of the wrong move being made at almost every turn.

1. Not a single arrest had been made as a result of the twelve bombings of Negro homes in the six months prior to the riot.

2. There were insufficient numbers of police sent to the riot scene at the beginning.

3. Police lack of training in how to handle riots.

4. The anti-Negro prejudices of the police, which interfered with the

proper performance of their duty.

Note that the outstanding villain of the piece - the officer who refused to make the original arrest - isn't even mentioned (though this is a good example of what one rotten apple can do to the barrel). But had any of the four points above been properly managed, there would likely have been no casualties.

Now see how a similar situation was handled 24 years later.

The scene is New York City during the Second World War.

On the evening of August 1, 1943, a fight broke out in a South Harlem hotel between a white policeman and a Negro soldier. The policeman was injured, and the soldier wounded in the shoulder. A rumor spread throughout the neighborhood that the soldier had been shot in the back and killed. As a result, large crowds of Negroes immediately began to converge at three points: the front of the hotel; the 123rd Street Police Station; and the hospital to which the wounded soldier had been taken.

These events were immediately reported to police headquarters. Within an hour of the incident, both the police commissioner and the mayor appeared at the 123rd Street Station, set up headquarters, and assumed personal charge of the situation. Upon his arrival, Mayor LaGuardia attempted to talk to the crowd and urged them to disperse. They would not listen and shouted him down. A third of the entire city police force, including several hundred Negro policemen, were mobilized as quickly as possible for Harlem duty.

All leaves and days off were cancelled. Foot and mounted patrolmen, motorcycles, squad cars and detectives were all ordered into Harlem from the five boroughs of New York. Municipal employees were also called in to aid the police. A police cordon was thrown around the area to prevent the entry

of people from other parts of the city. All bus and trolley line service in the neighborhood was suspended. Police guarded the subway stations. Private automobiles were also kept out of the area. This included delivery trucks that operated late at night, except for a few carrying crucial material, which were given a police guard.

All Harlem liquor stores were closed. A 10:30 p.m. curfew was ordered for the area until complete order was restored. Both Negro and white military police were hurried into the area to prevent servicemen from taking part in the riot, and to shunt them back to their posts.

These precautions were highly effective in checking the spread of the riot, but what really gained respect for authority were the strict instructions given by the mayor and police commissioner to all who worked under them to use no more force than was absolutely necessary, to be impersonal, matter-of-fact, and diplomatic in breaking up street mobs.

As a result of their instructions, the police did not attempt to make frontal attacks on the mob, which was beginning to break store windows and loot merchandise. Neither riot guns nor tear gas guns were used. There was no possible basis for accusations of police brutality. Instead, the police prevented newcomers from joining the mob and at the same time concentrated on splitting it up and dispersing it. A number of the ringleaders were arrested and booked according to regular police procedure. Except for these individuals the rioters were released and ordered to go home when they were separated from the mob.

Broadcasting equipment was set up at the 123rd Street Station, and both the mayor and members of his board of strategy (prominent Negro citizens) made many radio addresses over most New York stations. They gave the true

account of the incident that started the disturbance and continued their appeal that people get off the streets and go home.

Both the mayor and police commissioner stayed at their battle posts all night. By morning, the crowd had been dispersed and order restored.

The effect of this policy paid off. The people of Harlem warmly commended the police, describing their behavior during the riot as "excellent, perfect and superb."

Now note the four basic points in which the Chicago police had failed and how they were successfully handled here:

1. There was immediate recognition by the police of an unusual and dangerous situation and a quick report to headquarters.

2. Speedy mobilization of the police force, with large reinforcements held in reserve. Utilization of civilians as police auxiliaries. Cooperation of neighborhood leaders enlisted, both to plan strategy and to appeal directly to rioters.

3. Police well trained for the emergency. Rapid, effective steps taken to prevent curiosity seekers or potential rioters from entering the troubled areas. High civilian officials in direct command of efforts to restore order, staying on the job until it was finished.

4. No show of prejudice. Special precaution against the excessive use of force and insistence on diplomatic and impersonal action on the part of the police officers, as well as extensive use of Negro policemen and Negro volunteers.

* * *

Note the part rumor played in both these riots. It is virtually impossible to have a riot without rumor, and that's why it is so important to have

police officers who don't "run scared" in the face of one.

Look a rumor square in the eye and you'll find one part truth and 99 parts imagination. Sometimes the one part truth isn't even there.

The police officer is paid to use his head and not to lose it. Here's a true story of a sergeant on vacation who was on a motor trip with his wife and two small children. On one of the major highways he witnessed a rather bad accident. He drove his car over to the side of the road, took a blanket and first-aid kit out of the trunk and went over to help. The scene, as you can imagine, was bedlam. Those passengers who weren't unconscious were screaming. As other cars pulled over, he sent one driver to phone for help. Then he took one badly injured passenger out and covered him with the blanket. Methodically and swiftly he attended to the others. One man had a mild heart attack and the sergeant applied artificial respiration for awhile. Then an injured woman passenger, who had been hysterical and crying, suddenly turned to him and demanded, "How can you be so calm? Look at this! Look at the blood!" The sergeant smiled and asked reasonably, "Lady, if I lose my head too, where will <u>you</u> be?"

Now if police officers could understand that losing their heads when an irresponsible rumor comes along is potentially more dangerous than being immobile in the face of physical injury, a lot of trouble could be nipped in the bud.

What makes us believe a rumor? What makes us laugh at some rumors and think others could just possibly be true?

Us. Ourselves. Our backgrounds. What we've been brought up to believe. Lots of things. Part of it will go under the heading of being completely fair.

A rumor is like measles - you never have just one of them.

Back in 1946 there was a disastrous race riot that began like a single measle. Somebody spread a story in the white section that the town's Negroes were arming for an attack. (Now right there is where that should have been stopped. Who said it? On what basis? What did he actually see with his own eyes?) But nobody asked any questions. Instead the story went from mouth to mouth and by late afternoon, many of the whites were armed to the teeth. This inspired the belief in the Negro community that the whites were getting ready to attack; as a result, many Negroes armed themselves for defense. By nightfall that little Southern town was a keg of dynamite and it took very little to set off the fuse.

That is not an unusual happening, incidentally. It's one of the most common and most dangerous of all. The rumor "the Negroes are arming" made its appearance in various forms in place after place during the war. In one large Southern city, a riot was narrowly averted after the story spread that Negroes had brought up all the ice-picks in town. This was pure fiction, of course, but it took repeated public assurances to that effect by the police, radio, newspapers and civic organizations to prevent public disorder from resulting.

There's no need to go into all the different rumors that are circulated concerning minority groups. There are the rape rumors - usually that a Negro has raped a white woman and the unnecessary-killing rumors - usually that a white man has killed a Negro without reason.

But the fact is that people, even those who are usually sensible, can go hog-wild when they hear a rumor.

A police officer, though, may not. He is a trained, professional man

and his job is keeping the peace.

1. The only antidote for poisonous rumor is fact. Get the facts promptly and circulate them as widely as possible. Get in touch with the local newspaper, radio station, civic organizations, and minority group organizations and give them all the facts.

2. Do not repeat a rumor outside of official police circles.

3. Question the tale-bearer and insist upon verification and proof. Make it plain to this person the implications of his actions, and what it could lead to. A rumor stopped at any point can be of great significance in shortening its range.

Once the immediate problem has been settled, look at the larger picture. Was this a single crackpot rumor or have there been quite a number of them lately? Is everything normal or do you feel something is brewing? You should regard these incidents as a doctor would a temperature. Very often, a little too much sun will create a temporary fever. But sometimes a rising temperature is a warning signal that the patient is sick.

If rumors are plentiful, they should be reported. When they are cleared through central police offices, they can become an effective barometer of the state of mind of the community -- a warning of trouble to come.

* * *

Along with the rumors, there are often other trouble signs:

1. The appearance of threatening or insulting signs or pamphlets in commercial and public places.

2. An increasing number of incidents of violence or threats.

3. Public name-calling and other attempts toward provocation.

4. Disturbances at public entertainment places.

5. Raids by juveniles or adults on neighborhoods and party crashing.

6. Threats and attacks on the private property of others.

Any attempt to chalk these happenings off with "prank" or "just some kids" or "a little too much refreshment" is courting the most obvious kind of trouble. It's like the doctor dismissing the headaches and the sniffles and waiting for pneumonia to set in before giving treatment.

The conscientious police officer, like the good doctor, should act intelligently at the first sign of distress in order to keep his community's respect and good will.

BEING COMPLETELY FAIR

Policemen around the country have not always enjoyed the respect of their fellow man. Away back in the days of the silent movies, there were the Keystone Cops - remember them? They ran around aimlessly in packs, like dogs on the scent of a female; they were easily outwitted and their outstanding characteristics were a look of ferocious imbecility and the raised nightsticks in their hands.

Later on, the picture got more subtle. Some of the brutality disappeared, but the lack of intelligence lingered on. It was a rare book, motion picture or piece of fiction in which a policeman ever did the right thing. As a matter of fact, the hero "private eye" always had two battles on his hands - one against the villains, and the other against the police, who were always clumsily fouling things up.

Of more recent vintage comes the odious picture of the cop "on the take." A number of isolated scandals of police corruption in some of the big cities has given rise to the picture of a cynical police officer with a private bank

account in five figures; he throws his weight around with the ordinary citizens and looks the other way when it is to his financial benefit to do so.

Well - we can not say flatly "Its a lie!"

Every profession - doctors, lawyers, physicists - all have their share of blackguards. Considering the vast number of police officers around the country, the percentage of phonies is very small indeed.

Yet, suppose some wise-guy citizen, mindful of a police scandal he once read, greeted a police officer for the first time with, "Well, how's the graft these days?"

What would your reaction be?

Well, now - let's put the shoe on the other foot.

What do you think is the reaction of a law-abiding colored citizen when he hears a police officer say, "All Negroes are alike - they're all bad."

Both of these situations are all wrong because both the obnoxious citizen and the officious policeman are "labelling" - that is, they are assuming that any person is automatically as bad as the worst person bearing the label. One crooked cop doesn't make every police officer in the country dishonorable, any more than one lawbreaking Negro makes the entire Negro population untrustworthy.

Listen to an experienced lieutenant in a big Southern city:

"Some people believe that all Negroes are bad. That is not true. We have Negroes in some areas who give us a lot of trouble, while others in other localities are among the most law-abiding people in the city. In these latter neighborhoods there are as few arrests made as in any other neighborhoods in town. You have to treat each situation and each person as an individual case."

When Francis W. H. Adams was police commissioner of New York City, he once addressed a class of recruits on the responsibilities of their chosen profession:

"Where once perhaps you were indifferent, you must now be interested; where you were permitted to take sides, you must now be impartial and helpful; where you may have been selfish, you must now be generous in your service.

"You must be patient in the face of impatience; level-headed in the midst of panic and hysteria. You must be firm and impersonal, yet kind and understanding and fair.

"Adopting and maintaining such attitudes is a difficult task for most of us. We have our own problems, our own headaches, physical and emotional - our own sick children, our debts, our mothers-in-law. But those human problems do not allow us to fail in our jobs.

"I say the transition is difficult, because most of us have collected prejudices along the way of our lives. It is in our nature to indulge certain harmless prejudices, such as our tastes in food and clothing, preferences for certain baseball teams, or motor cars or hobbies.

"These prejudices injure no one but perhaps ourselves - our waistlines or our pocketbooks. In the larger sense they are helpful; all men need relief from the major preoccupations of life...

"But unfortunately we also are inclined to entertain prejudices against ethnic and religious groups outside our own - prejudices which make of the ordinary individual a bigot, and make of the public servant a tyrant.

"A policeman must believe in our democratic principles of justice and equality of all before the law, and must act consistently with that belief..."

That's a very important paragraph, which can be translated into "We must judge each case on the facts, and not on the faces." That's a hard thing to do, and a man must discipline himself to do it. He must put all his personal prejudices aside and become purely an instrument of logic. When he comes up

against a time-worn generalization, he must say as they do in Missouri, "Show me!"

For instance, we've all heard it said, "Fat people are jolly." They are? Some of the meanest, most ill-tempered criminals I've ever seen were fat. That doesn't mean that all fat people are mean, either. It simply bears out what the Southern lieutenant said, "You have to treat each situation and each person as an individual case."

Delve a little deeper into widespread generalities and we come up with some that are really hurtful: caricatures of the cunning and conniving Jew, for instance; the shiftless and razor-carrying Negro; the drunken, brawling Irishman; the Italian mobster, and so forth. There's just no end to it, and it would be impossible for us to render fair and impersonal service to these people if we fitted them unthinkingly into these narrow stereotypes.

Compare these statements with scientific facts and with the teachings of the great religions of the world and you will see how stupid and baseless they are. For the proven findings of biology, anatomy and physiology give irrefutable evidence of the basic unity among man.

The man who respects himself and his neighbors, who keeps an open and inquiring mind, who marvels at the new wonders and inventions of man and wants to know more about them - in such a man harmful prejudice will not take root. Regardless of his age, his mind is young and alert and ready to absorb new things. A man like this is a credit to any police department because he's trained himself to analyze new situations and absorb the facts. He is not likely to pre-judge anything.

On the other hand, you take the man (and we've all met him in one form or another) whose attitude is "You can't tell me anything, I've handled more

of these cases than you can shake a stick at. I know how these people behave!" Well, now - here's a real world beater. All over our earth, in every institution of higher learning, you have professors studying and researching the habits of people in an effort to FIND OUT how people behave, and why. Here we have a professor in our midst. The thing to do with such a man is either to re-educate him or separate him from the police department. He spells trouble.

Now something here must be clarified. The man who pre-judges, but DOES NOT ACT on it, does no harm except to himself. He can make a good police officer provided he acts on the facts only. Here's an example: a man whose brother has been in trouble with the law, is brought in for questioning on a violation. While the police officer may know about the brother, (who may even have given him a hard time) and may have formed some definite opinions on the basis of the relationship - he does not allow these opinions to influence him. He will question the suspect and act only in accordance with the facts. That is a man who had control of his prejudices. Similarly, if a Negro were brought before this same officer, whatever personal opinions he might have about colored people would not influence his acting upon the facts.

Sometimes I feel that the famous statue of that blindfolded Roman goddess of justice holding the scales has a particular meaning for police officers the world over. Since we sometimes see only what we want to see, she wears a blindfold to make certain that only the facts will be weighed. This is an impractical solution for us, but maybe we can substitute an open mind.

What exactly is prejudice, discrimination and all the rest? How and

where did it get started and how prevalent is it? Basically, it's unfair treatment of a group. Since it's our job as police officers to be fair, we ought to try to understand the why of it.

Understand one thing: discrimination is not limited to any one locale in the United States. Psychologists have estimated that eighty-five per cent of the population is ready in certain situations to "scapegoat" one group or another.

Prejudice is pre-judging without regard to evidence or logic. To one Englishman, all Americans are loud-mouthed spendthrifts. He's prejudiced - he's condemning all for the sins of a few.

From prejudice, the next step is discrimination, and here the muddy water gets deep. Discrimination is acting upon your prejudice. Here the Englishman mentioned above insults and abuses <u>every</u> American he sees because of what he erroneously believes.

Scapegoating is the full-fledged persecution of those who have become victimized. To complete the analogy of the Englishman, we would have to assume that the Americans in England could not return home and that the Englishman, in the role of the majority, made it very difficult for the Americans to earn a decent living, find adequate housing and live a normal life without being hounded.

This may be over-simplified, but those are the basic elements. Change the cast of characters and there's the ABC of prejudice.

Why are people like that? Why are 85% of us ready, under the propitious circumstances, to step on the neck of our fellow-man?

It's a very complex situation and perhaps that's why the psychologists and the psycho-analysts are doing such a rushing business these days. The

mind of man is a jungle of fear, uncertainty, anxiety and guilt - among other things. A ten-year-old who's just been given a dressing-down by his father for some misdeed will go out and beat up a 7-year-old to prove to himself that there's something he can do well. He might even convince himself that it was the 7-year-old's fault in the first place.

There is no more connection between that boy's misdeed and the way he worked his ire off than there is in the world of adult frustration which finds its own scapegoat. The climax of both acts is completely illogical.

But then, prejudice, discrimination et al are not the acts of logical thinking persons.

* * *

THE YOUNGER GENERATION

If there were anything remotely "fair" about prejudice and its consequences, it would eliminate the young and immature. But by its very nature, all are victimized. This is of particular concern to us here in the United States. School integration is posing a tremendous number of headaches and, in addition, the younger generation seems to be kicking up its heels a lot more than usual.

The problem appears to be world-wide. In England they have the "Teddy boys" and throughout France, Italy and even Russia, the kids are acting up. Everything and everybody has been blamed for it, including television and the police departments.

But with this problem as with any other, we must be fair. A number of years ago, during a narcotics scandal in one of our big cities, it was noted with irony that when the son of a wealthy member of the community was found to be addicted, it was referred to in the press as "an unfortunate illness," but when a few school boys from average families were similarly unveiled, they were contemptuously dismissed as "junkies." What was a sickness in the rich was a shameful weakness in the poor.

In a number of communities throughout the country, a somewhat similar situation is arising. Wherever there is racial friction on the adolescent level, some police officers tend to be far more severe with the Negro children than they are with the whites.

Now listen to the facts:

"I think that the delinquency rate is not as high in respectable Negro homes as it is in respectable white homes," says a police captain in a leading Southern city. "I am talking about those respectable people who

think they know exactly what their children are doing, when in fact they do not. I believe this is because Negroes who are respectable and have a nice home for their children are stricter with them. White people feel protected in society - they put more of the burden on the police to look after their youngsters, and they don't look into the activities of the children as much as the Negro does."

And from another officer:

"From a study of case records in the Juvenile Division of this Department, it becomes readily apparent that most delinquents from the Negro race come from broken homes or homes in which both parents are working. The children are on their own from the time school closes until six or seven o'clock. These facts are not peculiar to the Negro race, but are a direct parallel to the pattern which appears in case studies of white delinquents."

Still another report from a troublesome area:

"It is common knowledge among the officers responsible for handling of juveniles that many Negro parents are more solicitous of the welfare and the conduct of their children than are some white parents. In these cases it is because the Negro parents are keenly aware of the necessity of rearing their children as first-rate citizens of the community and also because they realize that the children are exposed to much greater temptation."

* * *

It is particularly important for us, as police officers, to be scrupulously fair in the treatment of adolescents. "As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined" and the next generation of citizens is, in some respects, our responsibility.

We do not make the laws; it is our duty simply to uphold them. Therefore we must set the fair, legal example to our community. School integration is going to be a problem for some time to come. Re-educating adults is an almost impossible job, but youngsters are a lot more flexible. For one, they will listen to authority (if they respect the person, they will tend to go along with his ideas) and for another, they all participate in some sports and therefore they are vulnerable to the call for fair play. But remember one thing: all students resent a teacher who makes a "pet" of one or two pupils and gives them preferential treatment. As a matter of fact, the "pets" themselves, while they have an easier time of it in class, are not really happy about their roles - they would rather be one of the group. In that same vein, any police officer who was foolish enough to show racial partiality before any mixed group of students would be inviting the contempt of both sides. Treat them equally. If you're good and mad, be good and mad at both. They'll respect you for it.

ACTING DECISIVELY

Before a police officer acts decisively, it's a very good idea that he thoroughly acquaint himself with the law and with the people of his community. Otherwise - well, we all know about the "otherwises." There's probably not a precinct in the country in which there hasn't been an embarrassing incident based either upon inexperience or lack of judgment on the part of a police officer.

There's just no substitute for knowing your job.

As one mid-Western lieutenant put it, "If we have to pick up a man, we have to know how to charge that man. It's not like the district attorney's office - he has a shelf of books and he refers to those books before he decides what charge to make. But the police officer has to make a firm decision that is unwavering and correct, and make it on the spot. If he does that, he is looked on by the people as being an efficient officer. If he is uncertain, he is lost. Everybody around is going to try to tell him what to do."

Many a rookie's firm hand and manner has hidden a pounding heart. But if he knows the law, applies himself to his job and has a basic sense of fairness - his instinct will take him the rest of the way.

A good police officer is always working and always learning.

In "good" days, he is laying the groundwork for the successful handling of the "bad" days. For instance, practially all communities have areas within their jurisdictions which are deemed critical insofar as intergroup relations are concerned, and yet experienced officers know that no matter how critical that area may be, the majority of its residents want to be law-abiding citizens. These law-abiding citizens are the backbone of the neighborhood and must be "cultivated" and depended upon for neighborhood leadership in times of trouble.

The time and effort expended by the police officer in gaining the confidence and respect of all citizens will pay dividends in times of stress. Further, he will be able to spot danger signals long before they are fanned into open trouble, and will be able to act on them. People will listen to a man they know and trust.

But supposing one of those lightning "incidents" occurs, and within minutes a crowd or mob forms?

The experienced police officer will size it up and act fast.

1. If the crowd is still collecting, he can make a quick determination of the facts and take the involved parties into custody. This can sharply cut down the size of the crowd and prevent an incident from getting out of hand.

2. If a mob has already formed, call for reinforcements. Here a show of force is necessary, but not the use of force. Look for the troublemakers - the most excited individuals. Tension in a mob is usually highest at a point front and center. Extricate these individuals.

3. A public address system can be a great help in dispersing a mob. The blare of the speaker, reinforced by a tone of authority, will catch and hold individual attention and turn it away from the excitable influences in the mob.

4. A police cordon around a dangerous area will keep curiosity seekers out and thus prevent them from being infected by mob psychosis.

Those are the "do's."

Here are the "don'ts":

Don't allow the antagonists to be near each other; separate them and let them cool off.

Don't show any partiality in any manner.

Don't make indiscriminate or mass arrests.

Above all - don't allow yourself to get excited in any manner. The police officer must be the one calm and neutralizing element or his usefulness is nil.

For when you stop to think of it, we are - in the fullest and most satisfying sense of the words - public servants.

What is a police officer, anyway? He's someone who catches a crook, to be sure, but in a larger sense, he is many things to the community:

He is a friend, to be called on in any emergency.

He represents the law and his powers are derived from the mandate of the people.

He deals with people, and his constant contact with humanity often casts him in the role of psychologist, teacher, clergyman, parent and brother.

He enforces the laws - all the laws - yet he does not punish, for that is not his function.

He stands as a shield between the law-abiding and the forces of evil.

His role is not only to apprehend the guilty but to protect the innocent.

That is a pretty large order, but then, we've come a long way from the days of the Keystone Cops.

The police officer of today is a professional man who must earn his respected standing in the community by fair and impartial treatment to all.

# # #

May 11, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for the copy of your questionnaire on anti-Semitism. Would you like us to send it to the state councils on human relations? If so, send me a dozen or so copies.

I have been invited to take part in the SSSP meeting at the Henry Hudson next weekend, and Les Dunbar may come also. Butler Jones tells me you're the man to write about reservations. Would you make two singles for us, beginning with late arrival Thursday night? I'll appreciate it and will look forward to seeing you again then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

May 1, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I am enclosing a copy of the questionnaire which we have sent to the Christian Friends Bulletin mailing list in the South. I will advise you of results.

Do you think it would serve any purpose if you were to send this questionnaire with your own covering letter to a group of your co-workers in the South?

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:al
Enc.

cc: Art Levin

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Of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

Dear Friend:

If you have been receiving The Christian Friends Bulletin or are familiar with our work, you know that we have been dedicated to the improvement of intergroup relations in general, and specifically to the betterment of Jewish-Christian relations. From time to time, we find it desirable to take an inventory of the particular situation of the Jewish population.

One of the ways to assess our situation is to obtain a picture, from impartial observers, of the current beliefs and feelings about Jewish people held by various segments of the non-Jewish population. Toward this end we are soliciting your help and your understanding.

The questions which follow ask you to tell as frankly and as completely as possible what, in your judgment, people whom you know, from all walks of life, are thinking, feeling and saying about their Jewish neighbors. Would you therefore fill out the enclosed questionnaire just as fully as possible, adding any comments anywhere you think they are required, and adding anything at all which you think will help us understand the situation.

Of course, it is not necessary for you to sign this questionnaire unless you so choose.

Appreciative of your friendship and your help in this effort, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
Editor
Christian Friends Bulletin

ENCL.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. In your judgment, how do you think the Jewish people in your area are getting on with the non-Jewish people, as compared with a year ago?

_____a. There is no significant change that I can notice.

_____b. The relations are better with some portions of the Christian community and worse with others.

_____c. Relations are generally better with most Christian groups.

_____d. Relations are generally worse with most Christian groups.

2. Would you now please take a moment to elaborate the answer you just gave to question 1 above? Specifically, if relations between Jews and Christians are better with some groups, and worse with others, or generally worse with most Christian groups, would you please specify which groups you have in mind, and in what ways the relations have become better or worse, and why?

3. In your judgment, what are the worst things you have heard people say recently about Jewish people? Can you also identify the kind of people who say these things?

4. In your opinion, what are the best things you have heard people say recently about Jewish people? Can you identify the kind of people who say these things?

5. How about the role of the Jews in the controversy over desegregation? Which of the following statements is closest to the actual state of affairs, as you see it.

_____a. Jews are currently believed to have been more active in promoting desegregation than any of the other religious groups.

_____b. Jews are currently believed to have been no more or any less active in promoting desegregation than other religious groups.

_____c. Jews are currently believed to have been less active in promoting desegregation than other religious groups.

6. Would you now check, for each of the following six items, what you think prevailing current opinion is about Jews as compared with others in the community?

	Jews doing worse than others	Jews doing same as others	Jews doing better than others
1. Taking their share in community responsibilities.			
2. Maintaining themselves as decent neighbors.			
3. Conducting their businesses in decent and acceptable ways.			
4. Raising their children correctly.			
5. Staying loyal to best of local traditions.			
6. Being generally good citizens.			

7. Now please feel free to make any comments you wish to make which you think will help us understand more clearly and fully how Jews and Christians are getting on in your community.

Thank you very much indeed for your help.

July 1, 1959

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Oscar:

On return to the office after a week's absence, I found the revision of the educators' statement which you were good enough to send.

I think the shortening and sharpening up of the statement have greatly enhanced its effectiveness. Assuming it is signed by a substantial and representative group of Southern educators, I have no doubt of its impact. Organizations like HOPE and the Virginia Committee for Public Schools can -- and will undoubtedly want to -- make particularly good use of it.

In short, my enthusiasm grows. Do keep me posted on further developments and what part SRC may plan in getting the statement out and distributed in the most effective fashion.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

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Executive Assistant

Rec'd 6-24-59

June 22, 1959

Dear Harold:

This is the statement I talked with you on the phone about.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
enc.

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CAN WE AFFORD TO CLOSE OUR
PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Picture

Little Rock Central High

Closed

If you are even thinking about giving your support to any measure which would result in closing our public schools in the South- please read this.

June 5, 1959

CAN WE AFFORD TO CLOSE OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

We in America are a proud people, proud of our high standards of living, of our stable family structure, of our social institutions organized to promote the welfare of mankind, of our competitive private economy, and of our freedom to think, to speak, and to vote. Undergirding and guaranteeing this way of life is our system of free public education. Without our public schools our democratic society would collapse. People throughout America have said this time and time again as they voted upon themselves taxes to build the finest system of free public education found anywhere in the world. Now, we in the South, are facing a serious crises. We may lose our public schools. A few communities have already experienced this tragedy.

Believing that the welfare of the South and the preservation of our democratic heritage is dependent upon our ability to maintain a free and educated citizenry, we, a group of southern educators, have prepared this statement. (Our names and addresses appear on the last pages.) We hope it will be read by every person concerned with the preservation of our American way of life. It represents our sincere and earnest belief. The democracy in which we live gives us, each of us, the right to say and fight for what we believe. If we lose this democracy, we will lose this freedom.

Consequences of Closing the Public Schools

When intelligent people face a choice, they look at both sides of the issue. What are the chances of gain and what are the chances of loss? No one can predict with complete accuracy what would happen in a community or a state if the public schools were closed and a system of private schools undertaken. However, we know enough to project with some degree of accuracy what the situation might be.

A state or community which discards its public schools for a system of private schools* would gain the privilege of allowing some parents (those who could afford it) to choose the schools to which their children would go and thus avoid sending them to schools which might be integrated. Obviously, this would be possible only for the more favorably situated parents and the great majority would find themselves unable to provide educational opportunities for their children. One private school, recently organized, has indicated its annual tuition would be $800.

However, besides the losses experienced by individuals, let's examine what the situation might be on a wider front. How would it affect the community and the state?

* Our country has many private schools with high standards and effective programs. In the South about 3 per cent of the pupils are enrolled in private schools. The statements in this document about private schools are referring to a system of private schools designed to take over the task of the public schools. No reflection is intended against the many private schools which are rendering a valuable service to the youth of our land.

Loss of Democratic Freedom

The people of every state in the nation have said that for the preservation of our democracy every child must attend school until he reaches a certain age. Thomas Jefferson said, "Enlighten the people generally and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." Civic and political leaders have demanded that the schools assume the responsibility for developing an informed electorate, aware and proud of our cultural heritage, committed to the values, ideals and practice of democracy. However, we are moving away from this ideal. A number of states have already repealed their compulsory attendance laws and others are planning to do so. These states are preparing for a system of private schools, obviously not intended to reach all of the children.

The concept of democracy which we cherish is the heart of our American philosophy of education. From the beginning it has been the public school which has nurtured this ideal.

Can anyone doubt that our devotion to this ideal will be dealt a serious blow by the abandonment of public schools? It is in the public school, sitting with classmates from every walk of life, that the American gets his life-long commitment to the belief that he and his neighbor are worthy human beings, endowed with certain inalienable rights, privileges and opportunities.

How can this ideal possibly live on in a society that abolishes

the principal institution established to preserve this ideal? Every democratic nation in the world has a tax supported system of public schools.

The proposal that we abandon the public schools and set up private ones cuts deep into the very heart of what we believe necessary to preserve our democracy.

Increase in Unemployment

With compulsory attendance laws repealed and schools not available for many of our youth, the labor market will be flooded with unskilled and untrained young people seeking employment. How will the communities face this situation? Will they be added to relief rolls? Will they draw unemployment compensation? It will be revealing to make an estimate of the number of such youth that may be in your community when the public schools are closed and compulsory attendance laws repealed.

Increase in Juvenile Delinquency

It is clearly obvious that juvenile delinquency will increase if we have a large number of unemployed youth. No community can absorb large numbers of teenagers in gainful occupations, neither can it provide youth services and recreational facilities which can take care of the daytime hours of so large a number. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that when hundreds of school age boys and girls are without employment many will drift into crime and delinquency.

This fact is supported further by a study made in Boston of one thousand teen-aged delinquents which revealed that only one in three was attending school.[1] In Search Light on Delinquency the author says, "One of the best methods of preventing delinquency is to keep children within the framework of a good educational system during the most restless adolescent years."[2]

Damage to Our Economy

Many studies have shown that the economic status of a state or community is closely related to the education of its people. People who are well educated are more intelligent consumers, have greater income, and spend more per capita. Thus there is a direct relationship between the level of education and economic well being of a community. Figures taken from Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1957, show that the per capita income of people who complete the secondary school is approximately one-third more than those who complete eight years of elementary school. The per capita income of those who complete college is almost twice that of the elementary school graduates.

Chambers of Commerce have traditionally recognized the connection between the level of education of a community and its economy, and have been strong supporters for public education. To illustrate, in March, 1959, the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce sent a petition to the Florida Legislature urging it to "enact no legislation which would close or weaken schools."

Similarly, on March 22, 1959, the Miami News said editorially, "Destruction of the Florida Public School System, or any part of it, means just one thing - economic suicide."

Look at what is happening in Little Rock, Arkansas, during the first year that the public high schools were closed. A survey made by the American Association of University Women of 85 Little Rock business men revealed that over one-half said that their businesses had been hurt. The study revealed further that no new business had moved into the city. Seven out of eight real estate dealers said that they had been hurt because many people were moving away and few were buying homes. Two out of three moving companies reported improvement in their business, saying "We are moving families away faster than ever before."

The tremendous progress which the South has made in the past decade in attracting new industry is on the brink of a serious setback. Malcom B. Seawell, the Attorney General of North Carolina said, "I do not believe that industry or business will care to locate in a state wherein its employees will be denied free public education."[3]

Damage to Teacher Supply

What about teachers? Suppose that many private schools are organized. Where will the teachers come from? Is it reasonable to suppose that young people who have spent a number of years preparing for the teaching profession are going to sign up for teaching in poorly financed, haphazardly organized private schools, with little

hope for tenure, for promotion, for career increments in salary?

With the entire nation clamoring for competent teachers there are too many free systems of public education, with all of the advantages they have, to attract these young people. It is altogether likely that the private schools which are organized will be able to secure only the misfits, the incompetents, the people who are willing to stay to teach for less and to accept the meager rewards that makeshift schools will provide for them. Relatively few private schools will be financially able to pay salaries sufficient to attract competent teachers. These will be schools with high fees which will be available only to children of the wealthy.

Many areas in the South have long looked to the North and the West for teachers. A disbanded system of public education will no longer attract these people and even more serious shortages of competent teaching personnel are certain to materialize.

Damage to Taxpayers

The taxpayers of the South have invested billions of dollars in school plants. Are these expensive plants to be left empty and idel and allowed to suffer the ravages of vandalism and decay?

Proposals connected with legislation for closing schools usually contain provisions for remitting school taxes to parents to be used in defraying the cost of private schools. But it is unlikely they will be allowed to use the fine buildings we have built at public expense.

In many cases the sums paid by the state would not meet the

cost of private schools. Thus, the parents' outlay for education will be materially increased. No one seems to have really studied this aspect of the problem.

There will be other losses. Many public schools have excellent opportunities for adult education. Shops, art studios, kitchens, clothing rooms, music studios provided with trained instructors are open to the adult public in the evenings. Large numbers of taxpayers have thus availed themselves of the opportunity to acquire new vocations, add avocational pursuits, bring their skills to a higher level, and acquire new ones. Also they have found among the adult educational programs opportunities for discussion of serious civic and social issues confronting our society. These opportunities will be lost to taxpayers when the doors of the public schools are closed.

It is impossible to estimate the mounting costs to a community in which the children of the poor do not go to school. This, indeed, will turn the clock back, reducing the cities, towns and rural areas to an increasing condition of poverty. With poverty comes increasing deterioration of the individual, resulting in ill health, crime and delinquency. These conditions will increase the cost to the individual and to the taxpayer.

Loss to the Individual

Recently, in a southern town, one mother said to another, "Where will your son go to school next year?" "Why, the local high school," the second mother replied without hesitation. "What if it doesn't open next year?" Have you thought about how you would feel if your child is not able to attend school next year?

Attention has been given to what it would do to a community to lose its public schools. It seems unnecessary to review the loss that would come to the individual child who is forced through no fault of his own to go to a private school which will most likely have limited equipment and may be inferior, or the loss to the child who may not have the privilege of attending school at all. None of us think this could happen to our children. But it did happen to hundreds of children in Little Rock and in Virginia. Newspapers and magazines over the nation have coined the phrase, "The South's 'lost class' of 1959" in referring to the students who should have graduated from high school in Little Rock and Virginia, but didn't. Such loss is tragic to those who see it or who experience it.

Loss of Future Scientists and Mathematicians

The nation is straining every nerve to encourage able boys and girls to continue their schooling so that those who have ability in science and mathematics can share in developing the technology of our country. We must win the race against communism, and we cannot afford the loss of one person who has the potential to become a great scientist. When an able student does not complete high school or go to college, the nation, as well as the individual, suffers a great loss. If securing a high school education is made more difficult or limited to those who are able to pay the extra cost, this loss will increase significantly.

The United States Congress feels so strongly about this that it is ap-

propriating millions of dollars annually to help increase the opportunities for our youth to study science and mathematics.

Loss of Leaders

For years, we in the South, have been concerned about the fact that many of our able youth, potential leaders, leave the South annually. Opportunities for education and for economic advancement have been greater elsewhere. Close the public schools in a community or a state and this migration will increase manyfold. For example, in Norfolk, Virginia, it was reported that "Students who would have been seniors are now scattered over 16 states - from Florida to Montana, from New York to California." Upon reopening, the Norfolk High School reported, "We had 336 in the senior class - now we have 159. Others are scattered all over the country."[4]

Not only will communities lose the leadership of its promising youth, but they will find it difficult to attract able leaders from the outside. Just as business men refuse to take a business to a community which has closed its public schools, professional people refuse to take their families into such communities. Such communities would become poverty stricken for the services of doctors, ministers, lawyers, teachers and college professors. To illustrate, Emory University tried to employ two chairmen of important departments in 1958. Those approached "declined to bring their families into the muddled Georgia school situation."[5]

The Tide is Turning

Throughout the South many groups are taking a positive stand and publishing strong statements supporting the preservation of public education. An actual count of such groups would run into the hundreds.

People are concerned. They are beginning to speak. Democracy is at work. However, there are still some communities where freedom of speech is denied, where a few crucify in one way or another those who disagree with them, where our great democratic heritage of open debate is prohibited by social pressure or intimidation. Do you live in such a community? What are you doing about it?

We have attempted to anticipate a few of the many losses that would come to our state or our community if the public schools are closed. You can add many more to this list. We sincerely hope that you will join the hundreds of other groups who are working for the preservation of our system of free public education, and thereby help preserve our democratic way of life.

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1. Glueck, Sheldon, Juvenile Delinquents-Grown Up, Harvard University Press, 1940.

2. Archibald et al., Searchlight on Delinquency, International University Press, 1949.

3. Seawell, Malcom B., "Public Education Must be Preserved", reported in the Miami Herald, April 15, 1959.

4. New York Herald Tribune, April 5, 1959.

5. "Crisis in the Schools," The Emory Alumnus, February 1959.

SIGNED

Name	Position	Institution	Address

MF - Please send, if we haven't already sent to ADL reg. offices? HCF

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Executive Assistant

May 6, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

If you have not sent copies of the NEW REPUBLIC reprints to our regional offices, could I have 35 copies?

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
cc: Art Levin

P.S. Did you send the enclosed?

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Executive Assistant

March 11
1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Gertrude Noar has just returned from the ASCD convention where she spoke with a number of educators on the possibility of a statement on the consequences of school closings to be issued either by an educational organization or a group of prominent educators. There was enthusiastic endorsement for the idea of a thorough-going statement which would investigate all the ramifications of school closings. The unanimous opinion was that "somebody ought to do it." There is little likelihood that any educational organization will do so. The chances are just about nil.

I am very disturbed and frustrated, particularly since I am afraid that if this is to be done we will have to undertake it. What we are talking about here now is the possibility of getting some leading educators to draft a statement and call a group together for a weekend session to edit the statement. The names of these individuals could be appended to the statement and possibly we could get others in after the conference to endorse the statement. I would say that no more than ten people should be in on the final drafting session.

At the moment I don't have ten cents in my budget for this project. I probably could find a couple of hundred dollars, but this would not begin to meet the need. We would have to pay a fee for the original drafting and pay everyone's expenses for the editing meeting. There would then have to be a publication (sponsorship to be determined). The cost might run as high as $4,000 or $5,000. Any ideas? This is something we will be discussing with you when you are with us next week.

By the way, the February issue of the NEW SOUTH is excellent, and the Loren Thompson statement is fine. If expanded and made less localized in scope, it would be what we would want. I would appreciate it if you could give this matter some thought.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
cc: Art Levin

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Aug. 17, 1959

MF--

Please have appropriate upstairs staff fill the following orders and bill as indicated:

$26.25

75 copies of "Intimidation, Reprisal & Violence" to Nathan Perlmutter, Miami Office of ADL. Bill him @ 35¢ ea.

25 copies each of "If the Schools Close" to the following ADL regional directorsx ~~xxxxxxxx~~

Ted Freedman, Houston
Nathan Perlmutter, Miami
Irwin Schulman, New Orleans
Arthur Levin, Atlanta
Robert Kohler, Richmond

$43.75

Send 50 copies of "If the Schools Close" to Oscar Cohen, ADL, New York, and bill him for all 175 copies @ 25¢ ea.

HCF

done
Aug 18, 1959
MF

January 29, 1960

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Congratulations on the appearance of the educators' statement and the effective job of layout and printing. It just goes to show that persistence can be rewarded. I hope you feel the satisfaction that you are richly due.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 30, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am delighted that you will be able to be with us at our session at the National Conference on Social Welfare on "Youth in Crisis: A discussion of two recent phenomena - the swastika epidemic and the lunch counter 'sit-ins'". The session is scheduled for June 9th, from 2 to 3:30 p.m. at the Conference to be held in Atlantic City.

Israel Moss, who is organizing this session will be in touch with you with all the details. We, of course, will arrange for your transportation.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
cc: Israel Moss

April 8, 1960

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks so much for your kind word about the NYT Magazine piece, and for calling it to John May's attention. He has written that he and his wife will be here for a couple of days early in May, and I'm looking forward to seeing them again.

Your good offices are, as always, greatly appreciated.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

April 5, 1960

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on your article in the Sunday Times magazine section. I have sent a copy to John R. May, of the San Francisco Foundation, who may be coming through the South toward the end of this month. In the near future John may have substantial funds to expend in the field of race relations. I have suggested you as one of his first "ports of call". Although he knows a good deal about you and the Southern Regional Council, perhaps my enthusiasm adds lustre.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms
cc: Arthur Levin

September 15, 1960

Mr. Oscar Cohen
515 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Oscar:

Glad to receive your letter of September 7. Harold will be in New York next week and I am sure that he will want to discuss it further with you.

You are, of course, quite right that we should both make it a point to keep each other better informed about publishing plans. We have several things in prospect now:

a. for the Georgia Conference on Educational Opportunities we have completed and will get off to the printer this week a statistical comparison of Negro and white schools in Georgia; it will appear under the GCEO imprint;

b. Mary Ellen Goodman's project;

c. Elmer Johnson, retiring Asst. Director of Prisons for North Carolina, is writing a piece on Negro crime; first draft completed and being revised;

d. Donald Dewey, now at Columbia and until this month at Duke, is (I hope) at work on an article about segregation and the South's industrial manpower supply;

e. George McMillan is finishing a report on law enforcement as an essential factor in race relations, drawing from recent Chattanooga, Little Rock, and Montgomery experience; we are hopeful that this, which may get out this Fall, will be follow-up for your excellent <u>With Justice for All</u>.

f. Robert Steamer, of Louisiana State, has done a brief survey of federal court rulings on school desegregation cases; it will be an L Report.

g. C. H. Parrish is writing an article on segregation's effect on urban problems; this is strictly for the long haul.

Incidentally, McMillan will be in New York next week, getting his son launched at Columbia, and may drop in to see you. He is a good writer and reporter; you may recall his piece last June in Look.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Director of Research

LWDia
CC: Art Levin

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

September 7, 1960

H F - I have written Oscar today telling him you will discuss next week when in N.Y. + also giving him a rundown on current projects

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I was delighted to have seen you in New York. It was a happy accident that brought us together with Charles Levy, for it indicates the need for much closer coordination in our efforts than has been the case in the past.

I would suggest that it is important for us to know your publication and research plans so that we will not duplicate any of the activities in which you are engaged, and vice versa, of course. It is evident that the SRC is embarking on an ambitious publication program. I am delighted with this and would like to see SRC extend its publishing plans. We would be happy to cooperate in this process.

We have two publications in prospect which might well be put out by SRC, or perhaps we might consider joint publication. One concerns Levy's research on Front Royal. This was to be one of the field report series on the South. In its present form, the Levy document is too long and will need considerable editing. However, I think it would make an interesting document and a worthwhile addition to the series.

The second publication, the manuscript for which we expect at any time, concerns the sit-ins. Dr. Wehr and a group of young sociologists at the University of North Carolina studied sit-ins in a number of communities. I think they will have an interesting document. It may well be that this will also be one of our series of field reports.

Later, we expect a study on Little Rock.

I would certainly give serious consideration to turning these manuscripts over to SRC or exploring the possibilities of joint publication. I am sure you will share these thoughts with Harold Fleming, and I would

#2
Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
9/7/60

appreciate hearing from you in this connection. Harold expects to be in New York before too long, and perhaps we can discuss the matter in more detail then.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

cc: Art Levin
Alex Miller

LWD ✓
for Return list.

September 27, 1960

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

It was a great disappointment to me not to have a chance to see you when I was in New York briefly last week. That amazing woman Josephine Wilkins scheduled my every moment from her hospital bed, and I didn't have enough time to draw a deep breath.

As for the matter about which you and Les exchanged letters, I need not tell you that I am all for as much sharing of information and cooperative activities with ADL as possible. Both the Levy and the Wehr studies deal with subjects that we have treated rather heavily. But, if time and circumstances permit, we would be very glad to have a chance to read either or both of them so that we can decide wiether or not some joint arrangement would make sense.

The next time I am in New York I will make it a point to get together with you if you are there. Meanwhile, let us by all means keep a strong line of communication.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

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General Counsel

October 3, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your letter. I imagine that your letter was written before Art Levin spoke to you. I see we now have an appointment for Tuesday, November 22. As soon as I work out some other aspects of my schedule, I will let Arthur know and we can arrange a definite time. I will do this very soon.

I think we should thoroughly explore our publication prospects for the next year, as well as compare notes on distribution. It may well be that we can do this with mutual profit.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

cc: Arthur Levin

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

November 29, 1960

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was wonderful seeing you in Atlanta. As a result of our meeting many things are clarified. I would have bothered you some more, except that I knew you had other problems. Furthermore, I simply had to go downtown and watch the picketing and counter-picketing.

I am afraid you will be hearing from me further.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

January 11, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

I delayed a reply to your recent letter until I could get a chance to read Foster's article as it appeared. (We saw an earlier version in manuscript.) Some of Foster's "sociological" analysis seems to us questionable, and we have told him so. The main usefulness of the article, I think, lies in its legal diagnosis and prescription. You don't have to subscribe to all of it in order to recognize some useful ideas there.

I was delighted that we had a chance to talk about our respective publication programs while you were here. I am only sorry that my own circumstances prevented our getting together further on a more leisurely and sociable basis. It does seem to me that this occasion suggests the wisdom of our having similar discussions, there or here, reasonably often.

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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General Counsel

December 27, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

What is your reaction to the article in the December 17 issue of The Saturday Review by G. W. Foster on "1960: Turning Point for Desegregation?" Perhaps, as was evident from our discussion in Atlanta, we disagree as to the speed with which desegregation is taking place. I think Foster is almost naively optimistic when he talks about police protection in Birmingham. I have heard everything.

I would like to have your reaction.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

February 7, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Your wire occasioned by the New York Times profile was exceedingly thoughtful and deeply appreciated. I've been busily trying to rationalize that this fleeting personal notoriety helps the cause -- despite the ukulelist image. Anyway, such kind words as yours make the days brighter.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Class of Service

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

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HAROLD C FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST NORTHWEST ATLA

CONGRATULATIONS ON WONDERFUL STORY IN TIMES COULDN'T HAPPEN

TO A BETTER PERSON

OSCAR COHEN.

Rec'd - Jan 30, 1961

JM-fyi ✓
MMB-file

September 15, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai Brith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

The outline for your pamphlet on "Race Relations in the United States" is first rate. Of course, with this sort of thing everything depends upon the skill with which the writing is done but you have made an excellent start and whoever penned the outline has shown real insight. The idea of such a pamphlet is a good one. We have long needed a brief statement of the present status of race relations in the United States. To generalize all that you want to say and still keep the material interesting and alive will be hard but I wish you the good success I know you will have. If we can help let me know.

A few small comments. Under I. 1. I would make this very short or else omit. I. 2. seems to me a good beginning. Under III. 11. are you sure you can yet talk about the decline of citizens councils? Under III. 13. won't some of your material for the "unheadlined stories" also be repeated in VI? Under VI. 31. this will have to be done with great care; moreover, what about Negro attitude?

I do not think you should avoid the problem of intermarriage though perhaps the way you have indicated is the best approach.

C. H. Parrish read the outline and jotted down the following comment:

To: Mr. Oscar Cohen
September 15, 1961

This is a praiseworthy but difficult task. The lack of understanding of race relations in the United States is widespread in the United States. Perhaps the very preparation of a document addressed to foreigners will make clearer to us here at home what the subject is all about.

One small question about the 1900-1954 period suggested. Even for a short, condensed treatment such as this World War I is a highly significant break point.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Memo. —

From CH Re Race Relations
to Les Booklet.

This is a praiseworthy but different task. The lack of understanding of race relations in the U.S. is widespread in the U.S. Perhaps the very preparation of a document addressed to foreigners will make clearer to us here at home what the subject is all about.

One small question about the 1900 – 1954 period suggested. Even for a short, condensed treatment such as this World War I is a highly significant break point.

C.H.

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

August 29, 1961

CHP
PR
ML
MB
LD

pls attach your comments + return to me

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am enclosing a copy of the proposed booklet on "Race Relations in the United States" which I discussed with you. I would very much appreciate your reaction and those of your colleagues.

We have now completed most of our research and will be ready for the writing to commence as soon as we feel there is support for the general outline of the booklet. Note that we have not touched the problem of intermarriage, although some of the people we have interviewed who come from other countries felt that this was a significant problem. Perhaps we could deal with this subject casually and briefly under Section #32 - "Complete Integration."

I would be grateful for your considered judgment as soon as possible. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re
enc. (2)

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Oscar Cohen
Director, National Program Committee

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

An outline for a booklet

Among the most frequent -- and difficult -- questions asked of an American abroad are those concerning race relations in the United States. Their frequency implies not only a challenge to Americans to explain what appears to be a paradox in a nation that constantly reiterates its dedication to freedom; it also implies an intense interest in the subject, a willingness to listen, and a desire to understand.

The difficulty many Americans have in answering these questions undoubtedly reflects a lack of basic understanding of the facts of race relations in the United States. But more important, it often reflects an even deeper lack of understanding of the viewpoint from which the questions are asked. With their understanding of government firmly grounded in the concept of divided powers, it would simply not occur to many Americans that their questioners might well assume, for example, that the President of the United States could end all racial discrimination with a single command.

Even students of race relations sometimes have difficulty explaining to people of other countries the significance of specific events and trends because their explanations are too specific and lack sufficient background to make a specific explanation meaningful. This is not to say, of course, that given sufficient background information, an exposition of race relations in the United States can -- or should -- give the appearance of a problem already solved. It cannot, nor should it. But it is to maintain that the provision of a broad

background of information about race relations can at least go a long way toward explaining why greater progress has not been made and how, in the future, it may be.

But even more is needed to make comprehensible our present racial problems than simply an historical background, as valuable as that would be. For it has long been known to social scientists that attitude changes are not always achieved solely through access to correct information. What is sometimes needed — and what is nearly always needed in the case of unwarranted attitudes toward racial, religious, ethnic, or national groups — is an understanding of what appears on the surface to be a wholly unrelated subject: motivations. For people in other countries really to understand race relations in our own, it is essential that the motivations of Americans of all persuasions on the subject be made both clear and believable.

This is true not alone because these motivations help to explain the actions and reactions of various groups of Americans on various sides in the current racial crisis. It is true, too, because the very people of other countries to whom these explanations are ultimately addressed must be regarded, in part at least, as people with unwarranted attitudes toward Americans in general. In a sense, the American abroad, in attempting to answer questions about race relations in his country may be facing a prejudiced audience. To hope to change prejudiced attitudes, he must be prepared not only to replace distorted ideas with facts, he must also be ready to give his audience the quick course in motivations that alone will make his explanations believable and, hence, lead to their genuine acceptance.

An understanding of the historical origins of the problem of race relations in the United States will have many applications for such an audience. Knowledge of the position of the Negro in American history — through slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction and the post-Reconstruction era — will help to explain two important phenomena in contemporary American life: agitation by the Negro to

achieve full equality (the sit-ins and Freedom Rides); and the hostile reactions of the Deep South segregationists. For it is in the conflict over deep-rooted custom -- with one powerful social force attempting to tear it down and another trying to preserve it -- that the origins of such movements are to be found. The heritage of custom is a phenomenon with which all nations have had to contend.

Moreover, in the same way that information about the American form of government must be included to insure that both the American reader and his foreign audience understand its pertinence to the subject of race relations, information about the heterogeneous character of our population must also be included. This is important because ethnocentrism is a characteristic of virtually all peoples, and the United States is uniquely a nation of immigrants. Thus, the problems which arise in other countries over minority groups are intensified in an America which is far less homogeneous than they. Furthermore, this is an open society, a society in which the people and the media of communication are free to publicize and criticize the failures and weaknesses in the system. Nations like the Soviet Union, with their closed systems, have had similar problems regarding minority groups, but have repressed all comment about them.

If all of this sounds difficult, there is no attempt here to pretend otherwise. It is a difficult task to perform in a single, brief booklet. Yet it is not impossible, and such a booklet, skillfully written, can contain all of the necessary elements in an unobtrusive, highly readable form. Certainly, that should be the goal. But care must be taken to avoid condescending to the reader, both American and European.

It should go without saying that such a booklet as is contemplated here must be both accurate and balanced. It cannot ignore failures in race relations, nor can it minimize racism. But since it is the failures and the racism that are best known abroad, it is clear that progress and enlightenment must be pointed up. In the course of explaining the real significance of our failures and of

introducing accurate evidence of progress, it seems inevitable that the booklet's effect on both its American readers and even more impressively on the people of other countries whom it reaches either directly or through these Americans must be to present current race relations in the United States in a more favorable light than either of these groups have heretofore seen it. To put it differently, the view of American race relations held today by many Americans and by most foreigners is unjustly bleak. An accurate, balanced presentation of the facts cannot help but make it less so.

Finally, it is important that the book, while addressed primarily to Americans abroad or going abroad, be useful as well to English-reading people of other countries. While it must present, then, material of special need to each group, it must present this material in such a way as neither to bore nor offend either group. This will require special attention throughout the book, but it is certainly not an insurmountable problem. Much of it can be accomplished through illustrations citing specific incidents -- an incident of a specific foreigner raising a specific question, an incident of a specific American overlooking a specific point -- so that in no case can the inference be drawn that the book is "talking down" to a reader of either group.

The publication of the booklet contemplated here and outlined in the following pages can serve a tremendously useful function. It can give Americans abroad that feeling of security in discussing race relations with the people of other countries without which such discussions can easily end in disaster. It can give the people of other countries an authoritative reference book to answer their own questions and those of their compatriots. And it can provide for both groups the basis for an accurate understanding of our most discussed problem: race relations in the United States.

NOTE: The outline that follows is a topic, not a chapter, outline. Some of the topics will be dealt with quite briefly; others will require more extensive treatment. Headings and sub-headings in the outline are designed to give a sense of the content and are not necessarily those that will be used in the booklet itself. Throughout the booklet, every attempt will be made to bring to bear on the material at hand the considerations dealt with explicitly in the explanatory material above.

RACE RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

I. A Point of View

1. Examples of common misconceptions of U.S. race relations by people of other countries. Where they come from (headlines, propaganda, movies, etc.) How difficult they are to dispel. Misunderstanding of the structure of the U.S. Government and how it operates in terms of race relations. (The need for better understanding of the real facts of American race relations, both good and bad.)
2. America as a heterogeneous and open society. Majorities and minorities in the U.S. and the function of the Bill of Rights in preserving the rights of minorities. Freedom of speech and assembly, their scope and limitations.

II. From Slavery to Segregation

3. Slavery, the peculiar institution. Its rise and fall throughout the world. Slavery in the United States. Anti-slavery in the United States.
4. The Civil War and the end of slavery. Issues leading to the war. What the war decided; what it left undecided.
5. Reconstruction. Negro advances in education, employment, politics. How Reconstruction ended.
6. Post-Reconstruction set-backs. The rise of segregation. Repression and violence.
7. Beginnings of modern progress, 1900-1954. The issues, court cases, battles

against Ku Klux Klan and lynching.

8. The Negro in the South, 1900-1954.

9. The Negro in the North, 1900-1954.

III. The Current Crisis

10. The recent court decisions: outlawing the white primary (1944); desegregation in interstate bus travel (1946); separate law schools declared unequal (1950); school desegregation (1954); extension of the principle of Brown v. Board of Education.

11. Southern reactions. The rise and decline of White Citizens Councils. Peaceful and violent desegregation. Negro unanimity. Splitting up of white solidarity. Shrinkage of the "Deep South."

12. Northern reactions. Pressure on the South to conform. New looks at discrimination in the North.

13. Progress and resistance, North and South. The stories behind the headlines: Little Rock, Tuskegee, the sit-ins, the Freedom Riders, the New Rochelle case, violence in Chicago, the Black Nationalists. Unheadlined stories: peaceful desegregation, the success of the sit-ins, FEPC legislation in Northern cities and states; open occupancy housing laws, the Great Neck (Long Island) story. The Dallas story.

IV. The Role of Government

14. Federalism versus States' Rights. Limitations on the power of the Federal Government.

15. The Presidency and the Federal Executive. Wartime FEPC, integration of the armed forces, desegregation in Washington, D.C., positions in court cases, actions against racial violence, defiance of court orders, and discrimination in voting, transportation, and government-related employment.

16. The Congress. The civil rights legislation of 1957 and 1960. Problems in

passing new legislation. The filibuster and seniority system of committee chairmen.

17. The Federal Courts. Continuing litigation since the 1954 school desegregation decision.

18. State and local governments. The situation in the North and South. The contrast within the South. Continuing isolation of resistance in fewer and fewer states.

V. The Role of Private Organizations

19. The Negro organizations, national, regional, local.

20. The white and interracial organizations devoted to intergroup relations.

21. The labor unions.

22. The churches and church-related groups.

23. The political parties.

24. The press.

VI. Problems for the Present

25. The Negro in the United States today. Numbers, distribution, status. Some uncommon Negroes.

26. Negro voting.

27. Negro employment.

28. Negro education.

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30. Negro access to public facilities.

31. White attitudes in the United States today, North and South. Differences amoung the various generations.

VII. The Ultimate Goal

32. Complete integration into the social, economic, and political life of the nation. A brief survey of the progress of other minority groups toward this goal. Prognosis for the Negro, and for the fulfillment of American democratic ideals.

December 1, 1961

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Many thanks for your comments of November 22.

I have only a few reprints of the Phylon article. We do have a small supply of the Virginia Quarterly.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

November 22, 1961

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I appreciate receiving copies of papers that appeared in the Virginia Quarterly and Phylon. These are fine contributions to our understanding of the developments in the South. Congratulations. Are additional copies available?

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:re

file

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ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
"TOP KNOT"
LINVILLE FALLS, NORTH CAROLINA

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 16, 1962

To: Les Dunbar From: Jim Moss

Subject:

The only comment I have on Oscar Cohen's suggestion that practitioners and people in academic life come together to discuss mutually related problems is that this, I am sure, continues to be an idea which we here in this office would like to realize. I am reminded of the two recent occasions in which this subject has been suggested. Most recently we did talk about the feasibility of having interested and participating individuals to come together around the subject of how best to work with foreign visitors who come to Atlanta for briefing.

And again the suggestion made by some of the men at the University of North Carolina that perhaps a conference jointly called with some key agencies and with men doing academic research in race relations in the South would be very fruitful and perhaps even set up on a regular basis with expenses even jointly shared by the University and SRC.

Cohen's proposal would only extend this type of conference to sections other than the southern section.

File

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

Left any suggestions? Please return

January 26, 1962

Dear Leslie -

I am delighted that you have accepted membership on the NAIRO Commission on Research Services Committee. I am going to try to meet with as many members of the Committee during the course of the year as I can.

One of the ideas that I would like to explore is the possibility of having a series of meetings in various parts of the country at which we would bring together practitioners and people in academic life who are interested in research in our field in order that we may discuss how the practitioners and researchers relate. I would think that the number of people involved in such a conference need not, or perhaps should not, be large. Since I travel extensively, I might be able to attend most of these sessions. I will communicate further with you in this connection as my schedule for the year becomes more definite.

I will try to call a meeting of the members of the Committee in the New York area in the near future. In this city we should be able to undertake a program of this kind without any difficulty.

Within a few weeks, a news bulletin of the SSSP and SPSSI will be off the press. This will summarize research in intergroup relations undertaken at various institutions in 1961. As one of the projects of the Committee, we will mail a copy of this bulletin to every member of NAIRO.

I would greatly appreciate hearing from you with regard to any ideas you have about the above. In any case, you will hear from me further in the near future.

For your information I am enclosing herewith a copy of a speech I delivered on "The Implications of Intergroup Relations Study For Sociology" before the SSSP on August 28, 1961.

Sincerely,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
Enclosure

8-1
Ret PB
MS

March 14, 1962

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Chairman
Program Division
Anti-Defamation League
of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Glad to hear that you are coming to Atlanta. It will be good to have a chance to talk with you.

Incidentally, I plan to be in New York next week from March 20 to 23. I have a fairly full schedule of calls to make, but I shall be staying at the Beekman Tpwer if you should want to get in touch with me.

I have asked that our mailing list be set up so that you will receive copies of our publications as you requested. We are also sending fifty copies of the police report.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:nm

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

Rec'd 3/9/62

March 7, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I am much impressed with the various studies which you have been issuing lately, and offer your our warmest congratulations.

I would hope that we could set up some kind of routine procedure whereby we could get a sufficient number of copies of your material to distribute to our regional offices. I understand that as the situation now exists, you send these studies as a matter of course to our Southern offices. It might be better if we could get fifty copies routinely, so that they could be circulated to all of our regional offices. Can this be arranged?

I expect to be in Atlanta around the 4th or 5th of April, and hope to see you then. I will let you know more definitely about this when my schedule becomes clearer.

I do not believe we have distributed the study of Negro policemen in the South, and would like to have about fifty copies for this purpose.

With warmest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen, Chairman
Program Div.

OC/fb

MEMO

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

515 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22, N.Y. Plaza 1-1800

YOUR COMMENTS WILL BE APPRECIATED.

For your information

Oscar Cohen

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Members of the NAIRO Commission on Research Services Committee

From: Oscar Cohen

Date: March 22, 1962

Subject:

Recently, I was able to meet with a few research-conscious members of NAIRO and others interested in research in the intergroup relations field in Detroit and San Francisco. In Detroit I met with Dr. Abraham Citron, Mrs. Frances Cousens, Joseph Fauman, Miss Florence Gould, Dr. Richard Kerckhoff, Sol Littman, Frederick Routh, and Mrs. Eleanor Wolf. In San Francisco I met with Fred Gunsky, Stanley Jacobs, Dr. Ralph Lane, Frank Quinn, Earl Raab, Morris Schneider, and Mrs. Gertrude Selznick.

At our meetings we did not come up with any startling revelations. However, I believe that some of the ideas expressed were very worth-while, and may be helpful to those in the intergroup relations field who are interested in research and its practical application.

I am relating here, in summary form, the ideas expressed at the two meetings. I believe that the most frustrating part of the conferences was the realization -- expressed repeatedly -- that in order to establish communication and a process of exchanging knowledge in our field, conferences and work are necessary. Yet, all of us who have had more than our fair share of conferences and responsibilities could not regard additional meetings without some qualms. At any rate, here are the various ideas expressed, and I hope that we will be able to follow up on at least some of them. They are not in any order of importance.

1. A need was expressed for guidance for agencies which have local research needs. Unfortunately, there are many local research requirements, but inadequate funds for such purposes. Possibly, personnel at local colleges could undertake this research. In some cases it might be possible to approach local foundations in conjunction with local faculty members. Faculty members can also assist local agencies in drawing up proposals. Another way of handling the problem of local research might be to have the university or faculty member apply for funds to foundations on the basis of ideas proposed by local intergroup relations agencies.

2. A question which was repeatedly brought up in the discussions involves the utilization of faculty members of local colleges. When asked how this could be done, the response was that faculty members should be asked to help. It was also pointed out that although it might not be possible to pay faculty members, it would be desirable to give faculty members recognition for work they do for local agencies. Thus, if a faculty member works with a local agency, there could be

a public announcement of his role as a consultant. A letter of appreciation to the president of the university, as well as to the faculty member himself, would be helpful.

3. It was pointed out that social science departments are constantly undertaking research and would be interested in undertaking research in the intergroup relations field if agencies would make their needs known. This brought up the question of a census of agency problems which require research. It was pointed out that such a census had not yet been successfully undertaken and that if a compilation of research needs could be completed, it would be widely circulated in academic circles and this might have beneficial results.

In a census of agency problems, there should be some indication of priority. Fear was expressed that action agency people try to appear sophisticated in the eyes of researchers and, therefore, do not present their practical problems, but rather try to indicate their interest in theory. It was agreed that if practical, the best way of getting information about agency research needs and problems would be to have interviews with appropriate personnel. Instead of doing this on a national basis, a few cities might be selected and in those cities a number of selected individuals might be interviewed.

4. Some discussion centered around the kind of faculty members who could be helpful to agencies in the interpretation of research. This would require familiarity on the part of social scientists with research in the intergroup relations field. Such people exist, but they are frequently unknown to the intergroup agencies. It might be well if, on the national level, a list of social scientists who have been involved in the intergroup relations field could be compiled, so that agencies may know to whom they might turn for help and advice.

5. Need was expressed for the publication of an interpretation of research in the intergroup relations field. The present research bulletin of the Society for the Study of Social Problems and the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues summarizes research in the field, but does not interpret it for the action agencies. Some suggest that a regular article on interpretation of research might be included in every issue of the Journal of Intergroup Relations. Others seemed to feel that a separate bulletin on the subject might be more desirable. It was also pointed out that there was a need for screening research, so that those research projects of greatest importance received appropriate emphasis. A suggestion was made that foundation support might be secured for a project to enable a university to ussue a bulletin interpreting and codifying research in the intergroup relations field, with particular regard to the needs of practitioners.

6. There is agreement on the need for conferences, but uncertainty as to who would undertake the work. Various conference needs expressed are as follows:

A. Interest was expressed in a meeting of intergroup agency people with appropriate faculty members from universities so that the agencies will know what the potential is in terms of assistance in the area. This kind of conference was envisaged as a local affair.

B. Another type of conference considered was a regional conference which would bring together NAIRO members from a radius of up to 200 miles. The purpose of such a conference would be to interpret research for the benefit of practitioners and express research needs for the benefit of faculty members.

C. At the San Francisco meeting there was considerable sentiment for the calling of a conference at the University of California at Berkeley. The program of such a conference would include reports of research and action projects by academic and agency people respectively. Also, there would be an explanation, for the benefit of agency people, of the technical aspects of research -- how is research undertaken; how long does it take; how much does it cost? Another subject to be discussed would be the use of census data and the application of census data to the intergroup agency. It was suggested that this conference might consist of a group of agency representatives, with a few faculty members present. If the meeting was successful and the group so desired, the process could be continued and the number of participants enlarged.

D. At the Detroit meeting there was some discussion of the possibility of a Great Lakes conference on research, under NAIRO auspices. There was particular emphasis here on the need for people in the research field who are capable of interpreting research in terms that can be understood and appreciated by practitioners.

7. Lastly, there were some comments about the manner in which research is treated at the annual NAIRO convention. There was considerable feeling that research should be given a more prominent place on the program.

I am grateful to Mrs. Frances Cousens, who organized the meeting in Detroit, and to Earl Raab, who organized the meeting in San Francisco.

OC/fb

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

April 18, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I am very disappointed that Dr. John Griffin will not be able to undertake the study on "tokenism."

Whom do you suggest?

Regards,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Arthur Levin

via air mail

May 18, 1962

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Will you be in your office May 31? If so, I would like to come by to talk for a short while about the study on tokenism. I could make it between 8:00 and 10:30 or after 4:00.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

May 22, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I will be available at 4:00 p.m. on the 31st of May and look forward to seeing you.

Regards,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen fb

OC/fb

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Of B'nai B'rith

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

May 29, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I have read with great interest the study dealing with employment opportunities in Atlanta.

I think it is exceptionally good and would be extremely helpful to us. I wonder if you could send us 75 copies which we could distribute to our regional offices.

With kind personal regards,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

via air mail

May 16, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Let this be a response both to matters we discussed at lunch last week, and to Henry's letter of May 13 to us.

First, as to the summary to the Morland pamphlet. As Staige and I said to Henry on the telephone earlier this week, we have some perplexity as to how this can be best handled. Essentially, the summary is an editorial. It seems to us a bit awkward to include it in the book, together with a foreword by Seigenthaler and a text by Morland, which text has both an introductory section and a concluding section. The more we thought about it, the more it seemed to us to border on being too many viewpoints. We have thought about it more since Henry called on Tuesday, and have also discussed ways of handling it with the printer. We have two suggestions. One is, again, our suggestion that the summary not be printed, but instead be part of the press release. In other words, the release could conclude in some such manner as follows: "m..in releasing this study the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council said..." The second suggestion would be to print it as either

a loose insert or as a stitched-in insert within the pamphlet. We are agreeable to doing it either way, and will leave the decision to you; the fact that we repeat our suggestion about the press release sufficiently, I guess, indicates our preference.

Enclosed is a copy of the printer's estimate; this does not include the summary. The prices are not cheap, but what is? Our experience with Higgins-McArthur is that their prices do not exceed their estimates. It seems to me that the unit price estimated on the 15,000 quantity doesn't dip as much as we would like, and we can raise a question about that, but I don't count on getting anywhere. We shall want 5,000. When you let us know how many you will need, we'll give the order. The manuscript went to the printer May 15. He would like a month, though he says that he could do it, with pressure, in three weeks. Our inclination would be not to press; I think there is no apparent reason for hurry.

We have discussed the questions raised at lunch, and in Henry's letter, with Bob Coles. He has taken the manuscript back, and is considering what he can do about inserting some additional first-hand material. Somehow he will say that his findings do not bless token desegregation. As to whether he can say anything more of a programmatic nature regarding the relative merits of beginning desegregation at the top or the bottom, we have been, as I told you last week, reluctant to urge on him that he do more than raise the question and discuss it according to his own judgment. We did, however, share with him Henry's sentences on this point, and he is thinking about them.

We are happy that you have decided to join us on this one. Except for Bob to give attention to your points, the manuscript is ready to go over to the printer. I think we are going to have a couple very helpful publications.

As to "The High Cost of Conflict." Please send down what you pull together. In the meantime, as I told you, we are working toward the same end. Hopefully,

we should begin in about a week or so to know where we are going. As we have thought about re-doing "The High Cost of Conflict" we have been inclined to believe that it would be highly worth doing, but only if enough new, solid material can be brought in. Possible we could broaden the idea of "cost" to include not only economics, but such things as international repercussions and the threatened loss of even the tattered remnants of that famous "communication between the races." What do you think?

I greatly enjoyed seeing you last week, and having lunch. Thank you again for the time you gave to Linda.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

January 10, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

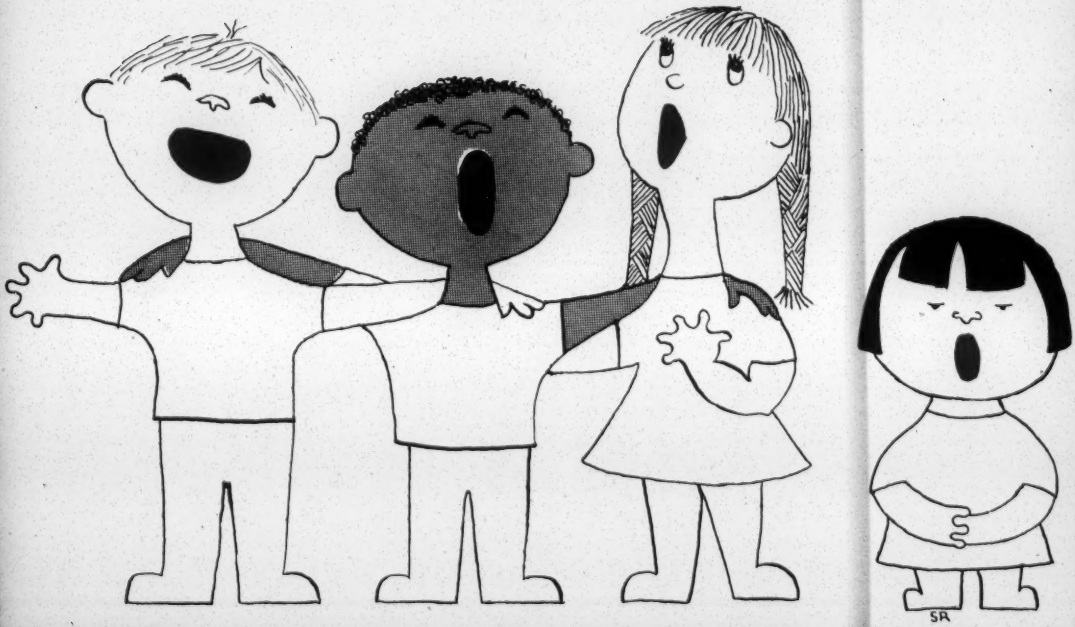
Thank you for the Christmas card. I am glad to hear that you are actively on the job again, though I hope you will take it easy. We have enjoyed working with Mort and Henry during your absence, but I am sure they join me in hoping that the tokenism study will be, when Morland finishes it, up to your expectations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

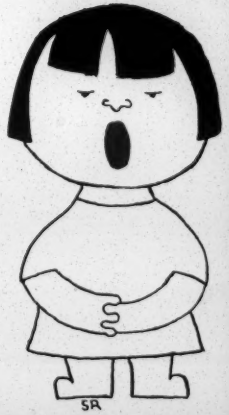
LWD/mmj


SR

MAY ALL THY CHILDREN UNITE IN ONE FELLOWSHIP

FROM AN ANCIENT HEBREW PRAYER

Jacob Cohen



August 12, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thought you might be interested in the attached inter-office notes on the press coverage of Morland which we have seen.

All the best,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures: Carol Holschen Memo listing papers which carried Upi, Ap + By-line Stories on Morland Pamphlet
Memo dtd: Aug. 13, 1963
cc: Mr. Kenneth Morland
Mr. Munroe Schlactus

October 25, 1963

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

If you think we have been inexcusably slow in giving you any constructive response to The High Cost of Conflict, you are right.

Now that my problems are clearing up, I can be honest with you as to what they have been. I have really had no one to whom I could assign the job, and have not been able to get to it seriously myself. As of October 28, we take on a new man as Director of Information: Pat Watters of the Atlanta Journal, columnist and formerly City Editor, and I shall get Pat to work on this very soon.

I have put an awful lot of work, personally, on Jim Silver's manuscript, and I think it is going to be an important thing. Although willing to bring it out as an SRC pamphlet, I have never really appreciated the wisdom and practicality of doing so. As of the moment, I am more hopeful than I have ever been that Jim is about persuaded to publish it as a short book. I have on my desk now a definite commitment from the publisher, and if Jim will accept it, I think SRC will bow out.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

LWD/mmj

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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RPW

October 31, 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Delighted to hear from you and happy to note that Pat Watters will work on The High Cost of Conflict. Let us know if we can help in any way.

I am very happy that Silver will publish his manuscript as a short book. I think there are many things we can do to help the publication along after it gets into print. I hope you will keep me advised.

With regard to his presidential address, I would like to have a copy so that we could determine how to best use this document.

Sent 11/4/63 Silver address

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

PWV
H.J. file

MONROE SCHLACTUS
Regional Director

January 15, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

I could not resist forwarding the attached to you. I know that it speaks for itself.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Monroe

Monroe Schlactus
Regional Director

ms/bw

CC: Mr. Walter Rugaber
Atlanta Journal
Atlanta, Ga.

Biracial Council Lauds Marchers

Atl Journal 1/30/63

By WALTER RUGABER

The Southern Regional Council issued a rare policy statement Monday in which it endorsed racial protest demonstrations and called for continuing federal leadership in civil rights.

The council, a biracial organization headquartered in Atlanta, is mainly devoted to research activities. Its year-end pronouncements were made by a 15-member executive committee.

"Only the self-blinded fail to see the grandeur of the protest movement which since early 1960 has surged through the South," the council asserted.

"A wise society would encourage and applaud this discontent with inferior status, especially as its end result is to make more secure the rights of all."

THE STATEMENT commended Negroes and whites who, through "orderly demonstrations," have used "the methods of democracy to advance human rights."

"We commend their leaders," the council continued, "who have constantly taught that demonstrations must be nonviolent, in spirit as well as in form."

Turning to the matter of federal action, the statement said that "the increase of federal concern and activity in recent years has done much good."

"Under our system of federalism," the council declared, "most of the issues of civil rights and race relations could be settled by action of local and state governments."

"ONLY THEIR FAILURE to do so has caused the federal government to intervene and continues to make strong federal action necessary. . . ."

None of the civil rights issues is likely to be settled, the council said, until unemployment is substantially reduced and educational opportunities are equalized.

". . . Federal leadership in these intricately related fields . . . is a continuing necessity . . . Job security has become an omnipresent motive for demonstrations."

THE COUNCIL commended Southern cities which have established effective biracial committees and commissions in recent months, and expressed the belief that:

"The essence of good human relations lies in the search, within each community, for laws and practices mutually satisfying to all its residents.

"We believe that the South, and each community of it, and the nation to which they all belong, must take an interest in the welfare and the development of each individual. . . ."

The policy statement also spelled out what it called the two "just demands" which form the main thrust of the so-called Negro revolt.

"One is that there be an end now to all forms of institutionalized segregation and discrimination; on this there can be no viable compromise.

"THE OTHER is that affirmative measures be adopted to integrate Negroes and other minorities into free participation in the nation's public life and economy."

The council said that despite all the turmoil (it called 1963 "a year . . . of unprecedented anxiety and disorder and tragedy") there is some cause for hope. The statement declared that:

"White Southerners are manifesting a new and quickened understanding of the political and economic dependence of the South's peoples on one another, and, above all, of their moral interdependence."

The council's statement also predicted that "as today's immediate challenge is civil rights, so tomorrow's will be full integration."

designated by the Warren Com-

Charleston News & Courier 1/30 1963

SRC Blasts Leadership In South

ATLANTA (AP) — Bombings and killings caused by racial hatred only occur in areas where official and community attitudes tolerate such violence, the Southern Regional Council said in a statement Sunday.

The council, made up of white and Negro leaders working for closer racial relations, said there was a need for strengthening the leadership of the South.

"Demonstrations are a direct reaction to the failure or the laggardness of white leadership," the council said. "The public leaders of the South have it in their power at any time to stop demonstrations by satisfying the demands of the federal constitution, of justice and of religion."

The report added:

"We are little impressed by public opinion polls which reveal Negro bitterness or white prejudice. No informed and intelligent observer has ever doubted the existence of either."

The council said bitterness and prejudice were factors that responsible institutions must contend with and rectify.

"White southerners," the statement said, "have a much inferior record of loyalty to the principles of America and of the Judeo-Christian religion."

The council declared they had been subverted by such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils.

The statement was issued by the council's Atlanta-based executive committee.

January 22, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Oscar:

Since I have been the first person here to read the manuscript on official committees, Les has asked me to share with you my reactions. In reading them it might be well to keep in mind that my experience is limited to the South and the manuscript is obviously intended for non-Southern audiences.

(1) It's a good job; a very good job that should be valuable to any public officials who read it and follow the advice in it. Also, it seems to me to have value for members of committees and staff of groups already formed and functioning.

(2) It seemed too little attention was given to the role and potential assistance of community-wide private groups, especially established bi-racial, inter-faith groups in assisting officially sponsored committees. (This too may well be an opinion formed from working almost exclusively with private groups.)

(3) In several places, does the author oversimplify his words and thoughts and write down to his audience, which presumably is pretty sophisticated?

(4) Is the range of interest, from small cities to large ones, too great for this report? And, are too many of the illustrations taken from larger cities where the potential action is largely centered in medium to small cities? I felt the Toledo examples were very good while the emphasis on Detroit, Philadelphia, New York might tend to discourage other cities.

(5) Although not included, the appendices clearly will be one of the valuable parts of the report. The actual reproduction of statutes, organizational charts, committee functions, etc.,

should be very helpful to a public official--especially if they are drawn from a wide range of cities.

(6) I had a slight uneasiness that the manuscript treated the Negro as a "blight" on the community and tended to confirm an unspoken and assumed dread that the group had to be dealt with. In speaking of the history and nature of the problem could some attention be given to a more positive interpretation. Charles Silberman in "The City and the Negro" (Fortune, March 1962), as you know, does an excellent job of interpreting this new group of migrants as the new potential to be utilized positively as all waves of immigrants have been used by the cities. Could a little space be given to this kind of positive interpretation, making the group a real potential asset?

Finally, the very complicated, very broad subject, is well dealt with in a relatively short space.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

— Oscar Cohen

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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January 17, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I have just been able to get an extra copy of the manuscript, which I sent under separate cover. I am dictating this from home. I have not had a chance to call you about it.

We are extremely anxious to get this out at once. I do not think they will object if we do this jointly. The appendices are not included. The manuscript is now being edited. We plan to have an editorial conference with George on the 24th.

If you have any ideas, would you call me.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

February 3, 1964

Mrs. Helen Smith
c/o Economy Furniture
East Austin Station
East Austin 21, Texas

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Mr. Oscar Cohen, of the Anti-Defamation League, asked us to send the enclosed manuscript on to you.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Enc.

file
A.D.L.

January 22, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
~~Anti-Defamation~~ League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

I received today your letter of January 20 regarding "The High Cost of Conflict." I assume that this letter is superceded by our telephone conversation of yesterday, and that the plan is to take up "The High Cost of Conflict" when you are here February 17 or 18.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

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January 20, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

I am terribly sorry that I have not had an opportunity of writing you or phoning you in regard to the "High Cost of Violence" about which we planned to meet.

At the moment I am overwhelmed by a series of conferences and our annual meetings, which begin next week. Could we plan something in the first week of February? I would like to have a few members of our staff in on this discussion. Do you think we might meet in New York?

In the meantime, since you have been doing some thinking on the subject and are considering a pretty complete revision, would you care to prepare an outline which we could consider in advance of our meeting?

I would appreciate hearing from you.

Regards,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

file → "Oscar Cohen" Of B'nai B'rith

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January 28, 1964

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

You are right. The letter I sent you is superseded by our phone conversation. I expect to arrive in Atlanta on the 15th and to be available on the 17th and 18th. I will let you know more definitely about this a little later on. However, at this point, I intend to be in Atlanta as indicated and look forward to seeing you.

Incidentally, I am very grateful to Paul Anthony for his thoughtful letter on the Schermer manuscript.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

File: Anti-Defamation League — Cohen, Oscar

via air mail

March 17, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Mrs. Albright has answered part of your letter, but I would like to pick up another part.

We are moving with some urgency on "The High Cost of Conflict," or whatever it may be called. You raised a question in your letter regarding the value of a publication being ready for use when the accommodations law passes. We are thinking that "The High Cost of Conflict" may be just such a publication. Let me hasten to add that we don't think it will be the only worthwhile publication, or that bringing it out will preclude something else. But we do think it may be useful in this connection, and because it is so far along we think it desirable to move ahead with it quickly.

We hope, therefore, within a fortnight to have something which may be ready for editorial revision, even though it still may be in pretty rough shape.

What other ideas do you have for a publication to "prepare people for the opening of public facilities to all"?

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Munroe Schlactus

MARCH ON WASHINGTON

March 13, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Cohen:

Mr. Dunbar has asked that I reply to Numbers 1 and 2 of your questions in your letter to him of March 2nd.

The 100 copies of Direct Action were mailed to you yesterday; our statement is enclosed. When we reordered, because of the great demand for this publication, we found that the reprinted copies would cost us a little over .30, so single copies will be sold at this price. The original order, because it included the New South mailing list, cost us about .20 each.

Attached is a list of ADL regional offices which receive New South--some by subscription and some complimentary. As you will see, five offices do receive it, twenty do not, and one maybe. The maybe is because one copy goes to the same address as the Wisconsin-Upper Midweat Regional Office but is addressed to the Milwaukee Jewish Council. You will know if this means that office does see New South.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Research Associate

Enclosure

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OFFICES ON NEW SOUTH MAILING LIST:

Regional Office, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 2 copies, complimentary

Central Pacific Regional Office - 1 copy, paid subscription

D.C.-Maryland Regional Office - 1 copy, complimentary

Florida Regional Office - 1 copy, paid subscription

Southeastern Regional Office, Atlanta - 1 copy (Shapiro), complimentary

Wisconsin-Upper Midwest Regional Office - 1 copy goes to same address, but addressed to "Milwaukee Jewish Council" ??

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

PW - fyi
MA - pls attached answer #1 + #2 3-13-64

PA - fyi

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Organization and Planning

Sent 3-12-64 mA

March 2, 1964

LD

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Les:

It was wonderful seeing you and Pat Waters. Let me try to recapitulate our discussions:

1. You were going to send me 100 copies of "Direct Action". We may order additional copies, and I understand you would be selling them to us at 20¢. Since we will be re-selling them, what is the list price? 30¢

2. Could you let me know which regional offices are on the mailing list to receive "New South"? 5 - yes; 1 maybe; 20 - No

3. With regard to "The High Cost of Conflict" publication, we were hoping that there would be a rough manuscript by mid-April which you would develop from the material which you now have on hand. We will hold new material except anything which may reflect on the economic loss of desegregation on the South as a whole. We hope to meet sometime around mid-April to work over what has been done and to incorporate new material. I have sent Pat Waters a set of our field reports.

4. We talked about a number of other possible collaborative ventures --

a) a conference of business leaders from the South -- possibly at Emory University. This would be based on the kind of conference we held at Arden House;

b) a conference for Souther Education Administrators;

c) a manual or guide on desegregation for school systems in the South. I am investigating this further and am sending a preliminary outline of the publication as I see it to Dr. William Carmack at the Human Relations Center, Oklahoma University, in order

to ascertain whether or not he may have any interest in it. You indicated there were two members of the faculty in the Department of Education at Emory who have an interest in this area. It might be well for us to discuss this with them.

What would you think of a publication which might be ready for use in case the accommodations section of the Civil Rights Bill passes? Its purpose would be to prepare people for the opening of public facilities to all.

Finally, I noted that your office does not have our Memo and Date Books. I have sent you 35 copies, which I trust you will find useful.

I assume we will be discussing these matters further.

With warmest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen Jr

OC/fb
cc: Monroe Schlactus

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Reply 4/1/64

T.W. for your comments. Pamphlet ready for distribution April 22 SPM

March 30, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Many thanks for your letter. I agree with you that "The High Cost of Conflict" will be helpful in the situation that will follow the passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

I also agree that it will be well to expedite "The High Cost of Conflict" and I look forward to a first draft.

The Civil Rights Bill may or may not pass with a public accommodations provision. If there is a public accommodations section, it seems to me that it will be well to have a publication which tries to point out that the opening of public accommodations does not mean the end of the world. We can indicate how the opening of facilities to Negroes has operated successfully in various part of the United States, including the South. I think we could give many case histories to indicate that public accommodations can be opened to all peacefully and with benefit to the entire community. If such a publication is desirable I am concerned that there may be a considerable delay between the time the Bill is passed and the time when the publication is issued. I would suggest, therefore, that we gamble on the passage of a public accommodations section and have a document in manuscript ready to go if and when the Bill is passed. If you are interested, I will be happy to send you an outline giving in more detail what I have in mind.

Warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC:pmc

cc: Monroe Schlactus
Stanley Wexler

File

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Organization and Planning

Rec'd 4/15

April 10, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

4/17/64 RHA

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed is a check for $25.00. It represents half of the permissions fee which we have received from the Thomas Y. Crowell Co. for reprinting The Desegregation of Southern Schools: A Psychiatric Study, by Robert Coles.

As you remember, the Coles study has been reprinted by the Crowell Company, in School Desegregation: Documents and Commentaries, edited by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey.

Cordially,

Edith Tarcov

(Mrs.) Edith Tarcov
Publications Department

ET:es
Encl:

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

File
Anti-Defamation League

April 27, 1964

Mr. Munroe Schlactus
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Schlactus:

Enclosed is a copy of Mr. Dunbar's Tuskegee speech. Please forgive us for having to send you a copy of a rough draft.

For your information, this speech is expected to be carried in a forthcoming issue of NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosure - 1

SOUTHCENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE

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Organization and Planning

May 7, 1964

Dear Friends:

Many of you already know that I shall be leaving my position as Regional Director of ADL's Southcentral Regional Office on June 1 to move to Miami where I shall assume the position of Director of our Florida office.

How does one say "Goodbye" and "Thank You" to so many wonderful friends and professional associates one works with over a 7-year period? The impossibility of writing each one of you personally makes me use this entirely inadequate means of a general mimeographed letter. Please, please excuse this and consider it, if you will, a personal note from me to you.

I go with mixed feelings and emotions. I am unhappy about leaving the friends I have made and the challenges of the unsolved problems still all about us. Progress has been made in the region and more will come. Despite the difficult situations which are with us at the present time (and those which will be before us in the future) the goal for which we all strive -- to make America fulfill its promise of individual liberty for all people -- is slowly but certainly coming closer to fruition.

It is this feeling of undiluted optimism in the future and your help in assuring it which makes my departure less painful to me.

The new director of this ADL office is A. I. Botnick, presently Associate Director of the ADL office in Atlanta. "B" Botnick was born in New Orleans and went through junior and senior high school in the Gulf Coast Military Academy on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. After three years in military service and combat during World War II, he returned to Baton Rouge where his family had moved. After graduating in the social sciences from L.S.U., "B" and his wife, the former Fay Waldoff of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, moved to Hattiesburg where they lived for the next 12 years.

In 1961, "B" joined the ADL staff in Atlanta and worked in the states of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee. It is gratifying, indeed, to find a Southerner and a professional so consumately qualified to move into the directorship of the New Orleans office.

One other reason which makes my leaving less painful is that I know that you will give "B" the warmth and cooperation I received so graciously from each of you.

May I end by once again thanking you for the kindnesses you gave to me and my wife,Jackie. These past seven years will be indelibly impressed in our minds and will hold us in good stead as we work and live in the state of Florida. With no reservations, we invite one and all to come and pay a visit to the Schulmans whenever you might be down our way.

Warmest regards to each and every one of you.

Sincerely,

Irwin Schulman

IS:sh

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File

May 7, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your paper. It is excellent and we will use it for reference purposes.

I might quibble about "landmarks." For example, the executive order of President Roosevelt on fair employment practices might be added. This was really the beginning of the whole legislative process with regard to employment and I believe this was an historic occasion of the greatest importance.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

File
Anti-Defamation League
"Oscar Cohen"

June 26, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am humble, and I apologize fervently. I have been loaded with work and, therefore, did not get to the names as soon as promised. Moreover, when I am in the office Paul Anthony and Pat Watters aren't, and it has been hard, therefore, to consult with them. But here are some names:

Fred D. Alexander
(realtor)
2140 Senior Drive
Charlotte, N. C.

B. R. Brazeal
(economist)
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Irving E. Carlyle
(lawyer)
Wachovia Bank Building
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Luther H. Foster
President
Tuskegee Institute
Tuskegee, Alabama

John A. Griffin
Florida State University
Tallahasse, Fla.

E. T. Kehrer
Southeast Regional Director
I. L. G. W. U.
1065 Gordon Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

David Scull
Turnpike Press
Annandale, Va.

Andrew M. Secrest
Editor
The Cheraw Chronicle
Cheraw, South Carolina

McNeill Smith
(lawyer)
7000 Jefferson Street Building
Greensboro, N. C.

Edward E. Haddock
(physician and state senator)
1133 W. Franklin Street
Richmond 20, Va.

Robert J. Harris
(political scientist)
Dean, Division of Arts and Sciences
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va.

John G. Lewis
(Grand Master, Prince Hall Grand Lodge)
P. O. Box 2110
Baton Rouge, La.

L. D. Milton
President
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

Samuel M. Nabrit
President
Texas Southern University
Houston, Tex.

Nat Welch
Federal Representative
Southern Nuclear Board
Box 1192
Auburn, Ala.

S. E. Duncan
President
Livingstone College
Salisbury, N. C.

Paul Johnston
Cabaniss & Johnston Law Offices
900 First National Building
Birmingham, Ala.

Sylvan Meyer
Editor
The Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

Lee B. Thomas, Jr.
Executive Vice President
Vermont American Corporation
500 E. Main Street
Louisville, Ky.

Paul Williams
(publisher)
3320 Gloucester Road
Richmond, Va.

John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, N. C.

James Youngdahl
(lawyer)
The Tower Building
Suite 1330
Little Rock, Arkansas

Thomas Young
Editor and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
719 E. Olney Road
Norfolk, Va.

All of the above are SRC members. I have selected them because each, at least in his own locality, has a large degree of public acceptance and leadership, and because each is an articulate, well informed person. Alexander, Brazeal, Foster, Lewis, Milton, Nabrit, Duncan, Wheeler, and Young are Negro. Carlyle is one of the few authentic "power structure" figures in SRC. Scull is a director of Nationwide Life Insurance. McNeill Smith is widely known throughout North Carolina. Haddock is a former mayor of Richmond. Welch also runs a small, but

profitable, industry, and is a behind-the-scenes political figure in Alabama. Johnston has a great reputation in Washington, and used to have one in Birmingham. Youngdahl is a partner of the former Governor Sid McMath.

Here are some other names:

Charles A. Womack
424 Maple Lane
Danville, Va.
(businessman and editor, also well-to-do)

Armistead Booth
Alexandria, Va.
(member, State Legislature)

Mayor Stan Brookshire
Charlotte,
North Carolina

Charles Lowe
1213 W. Morehead Street
Charlotte, N. C.
(chairman, Mecklenburg County Commission)

Hyman Rubin
306 Saluda Avenue
Columbia, S. C.
(member, City Council)

Professor James G. Maddox
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, N. C.
(Maddox is director of the large Twentieth Century Fund study on southern economic development)

Cecil Alexander
70 Fairlie Street
Atlanta, Ga.
(architect)

Robert Wood
Legal Counsel
Sears Roebuck & Company
Southeast Region
Ponce DeLeon Avenue
Atlanta, Ga.

James A. Head
President
James A. Head & Company
2013 First Avenue, N.
Birmingham, Ala.

Professor Benjamin Higgins
University of Texas
Austin, Tex.
(A very distinguished economist)

Professor Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Texas
Austin, Tex.
(Probably the country's leading authority on civil rights and labor unions)

Vivian Henderson
Professor of Economics
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Ted L. Lamb
4 Hillandale
Little Rock, Ark.
(businessman and school board member)

John Taylor
P. O. Drawer T-3
Greensboro, N. C.
(building contractor and motel owner)

Mayor Ivan Allen
Atlanta,
Georgia

Hugh Patterson
Publisher
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Frank Smith
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tenn.
(former Congressman from Mississippi, and now TVA director)

Carl Carson
788 S. Main Street
Memphis, Tenn.
(businessman, and chairman of the Employment Subcommittee of the Memphis Committee on Community Relations)

Kenneth Piper
1119 Concord Street
Chattanooga, Tenn.
(Vice President of Provident Life Insurance Co)

Alexander Heard
Chancellor
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

OSCAR COHEN (file)

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JULY 19TH RELEASE

File:
A.D.L -
Oscar Cohen

XXXX

LESLIE DUNBAR
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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July 13, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I think THE PRICE WE PAY is terrific. We shall try to build a significant program around it. Congratulations to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC:gs

File
Anti-Defamation League
Oscar Cohen

July 20, 1964

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Program Director
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Cohen:

At the request of Mr. Dunbar, I have forwarded to Messrs Botnick and Freedman, ten copies each, of The Price We Pay.

By now you probably have received the page proofs promised by Mr. Dunbar, since they were mailed a few days ago. If not, let us know, and we will attempt to track them down.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Nobbie H. Morgan
Administrative Secretary
Research Department

/nm

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315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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NM - file handle

July 6, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

When "The Price We Pay" is off the press, could you have the printer send ten copies to the following ADL offices:

Ted Freedman	B. Botnick
ADL	ADL
1513 Melrose Bldg.	535 Gravier Street
Houston, Texas	New Orleans, La.

You indicated you would send me a set of page proofs which will be very helpful.

With warm regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Ted Freedman
B. Botnick

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of the

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

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honoring

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Saturday, November 21, 1964

Dinkler-Plaza Hotel

RSVP

DINNER 7:30 p.m.

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SUPREME COURT AFTERMATH: A DECADE OF DECISION

ALEXANDER F. MILLER

Director, National Community Service Division

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Please enter_____reservations ($5.00) for the Saturday evening, November 21st, Citation of Merit Banquet at the Dinkler-Plaza Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia.

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Address_____

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Suite 1103
41 Exchange Place, S E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

January 13, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am enclosing a copy of a draft memo in regard to your letter to me of December 23. I agree with it. As the last paragraph makes clear, we are continuously collecting material related to the topic of The Price We Pay and we can always get to that material with ease.

What I really wish you would put your heavy thinking on is whether we can develop a very strong study arguing the economic desirability of integrated education. I have in mind a pamphlet which will say to the South that you can't have the kind of economic progress you want and need until you provide superior education for your youth and you can't provide that kind of education except on an integrated basis.

What do you think? How would we do it? Who would do it?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosure - 1.

12/28/64

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LE - pls consult Pat, Paul + Barbara + give me your advice

December 23, 1964

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

The two articles on the cost of racial strife to Mississippi in the New York Times this Sunday, one in the news section and the other in the financial section would seem to indicate that we might start collecting material for the revise of The Price We Pay. We will have a great deal more meaningful material to add in the coming months and I think we should give consideration to the next edition or at least save material for it. We will put material away here and I hope you will be doing so, too.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/ap

cc: Stanley Wexler

Read 1/21/65

file → ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE (Oscar Cohen)

Of B'nai B'rith

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January 19, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

My letter to you on "The Price We Pay" was designed to bring about a consideration of our future needs. Usually we have to be involved in crash programs and I thought a little consideration in advance might obviate the necessity for a last minute rush. It was not my thinking that we should republish "The Price We Pay" immediately but perhaps we should consider what we need six months hence. Perhaps "The Price We Pay" in revised form is not what we need. I am inclined to think you are right.

I believe it would be well to have an important economist or political scientist write about the cost of resistance to desegregation in the South. I have inquired about someone doing this. Do you think we need someone from the South? Would one of the economic advisors to the President be acceptable?

While I agree with you in general, I would hesitate to stress the principle that adequate education can be provided only on an integrated basis. After all, our large cities are not going to integrate in the foreseeable future regardless of what we do. Moreover, integration is but one aspect of an educational program which must be instituted if we are to be successful in providing for equality of opportunity. However, integration by itself does not necessarily accomplish much.

I do not know if there is anyone of adequate stature in Southern universities for this publication. What I mean is that the scholar's name would not be known and impressive. Perhaps we should think in terms of a nationally known personality. Perhaps we should consider an industrialist, if we can find one. Would Luthern Hodges be acceptable?

I am thinking out loud at this point. I will consider this further and will be in touch with you.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, Oscar Cohen
Of B'nai B'rith

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Rec'd 5/18/65

file

PWL
LD

May 17, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Here is the Howe manuscript. I think you will find it helpful.

I look forward to seeing you on the 26th.

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/ng
Encl.

filed in Research
"New Styles in 'Leftism'" by Irving Howe

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE - Oscar Cohen

Of B'nai B'rith

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MJ-file

June 3, 1965

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I was delighted to have seen you in Atlanta. I want you to know that I greatly appreciate your frank discussions. I will be in Mississippi in about two weeks and will let you know what happens.

Incidentally, was David Hunter pulling my leg?

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar Cohen

OC/ng

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Rec'd 7/19/65
file - Anti Defamation League NY - Oscar Cohen
PA
SA
LD

July 21, 1965

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

I have read "Encounter With the Future" and as always I am deeply impressed by your talent. This is a wonderful piece of writing and you have given us many important insights into the "movement."

I do feel, not without considerable regret, that we have some basic disagreement. I cannot look upon SNCC in so benign a way as you do. Hatred is an evil to be condemned wherever it is found. I think SNCC and the movement is marred by hatred. I think too that the movement is in part destructive.

I would agree with many of the things that you have said so well and with such compassion and understanding. However, I have difficulty accepting a Mao or Castro or Soviet type of viewpoint, even though these ideologies may not be accepted by these people. Essentially, I think a number of these youngsters are looking for a government to overthrow. To their dismay the government is actually achieving the things they feel that only they with their inspired insights can achieve. I reject this as I reject their vastly inflated ideas of their power and influence.

In a sense these people constitute a very small tributary of the mainstream which is passing them by. Far from the "movement" being an encounter with the "future" I think that it is a disappearing phenomena. The Johnson Administration is going to do to the movement what the Roosevelt Administration did to the Socialist Party. The Socialist Party was much greater in its power

and support, not to mention much more intelligent. But the Socialist Party was destroyed by the Welfare State as this movement will be destroyed by the New Society.

I would think that I have no fundamental differences with you in terms of philosophy, perhaps our differences are quantitative. I am not as charitable as you perhaps because I have gone through the same kind of battles with an irrational segment of radical movement before. Often enough not to be taken in again.

At the same time I do want to congratulate you on a remarkably fine document which I am advocating as "must" reading. I am also suggesting that "New Styles in Leftism" should be read and I am enclosing a copy for your convenience.

As always with warmest good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/jdc
Enc.
cc: Leslie Dunbar

File

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE, Oscar Cohen
Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

Read 9/20/65

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September 16, 1965

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Leslie:

Perfection is perhaps never achieved but if your letter to the National Guardian is not perfect, it is about as close as one can get. I enjoyed it tremendously.

When are we going to see you in New York?

Regards,

Sincerely,

Dear Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb

See AB Kent

October 28, 1965

Mr. Irwin Schulman
Regional Director
Alabama Regional Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
1715 City Federal Building
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Irv:

Thanks for your good note. It seems familiar writing to the City Federal Building again. I do hope we can do lots of things together.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ALABAMA REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

1715 CITY FEDERAL BUILDING, BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203, PHONE 322-1641

IRWIN SCHULMAN
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

October 22, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

The King is dead. Long live the King. In the phraseology of my king, I say to you mazzeltov.

I have already met with both the Birmingham and Alabama Council on Human Relations and look forward to a continued relationship with them both. It goes without saying that I look forward to your next visit to Birmingham and a continued relationship in the future.

The very best to you in your new position. You deserve it.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Irwin

Irwin Schulman

IS:em

File -
Anti-Defamation League
Oscar Cohen

December 10, 1965

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

It was, indeed, good meeting with you and Ted, and I look forward to our cooperating on many programs and publications.

Ed Lewis is now at work, and you and Ted will hear from him soon about help on promotion and mailing organization here. I am convinced you can do us a real service.

Thanks for the suggestion about the architect and, of course, we are always grateful on suggestions for potential new foundation support. It will be interesting to see what your air mail stamp brings.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Theodore Friedman

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Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

Rec'd 12/10/65

December 8, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

It was wonderful meeting with you and Ted. I enjoyed our discussions greatly and feel that they were very profitable.

I am very much disturbed about the whole question of enforcement of federal statutes in the South and hope to plan some strategy in this regard. I will be taking this up with our own staff and other associates in Washington.

We talked about an architect who I thought would be very helpful to you. His name is Edward P. Eichler, Community Development Project, University of California, Berkeley, California. I will write to Robert Klein of the Division Fund to suggest financial help. All I can lose is an air mail stamp!

I look forward to working with you. With warm good wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Ted Freedman

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

March 8, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

I shall be in New York on Thursday, March 10th, and will call your office that morning to determine whether or not you have any free time. If so, I would enjoy an opportunity of seeing you briefly.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

March 14, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Thanks for your hospitality and help on Thursday. I hope the next issue of New South will reflect your advice.

The co-sponsorship of the film excites us and I hope it comes off. So, too, the education study.

Again, my sincere appreciation and good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SOUTHERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

file

Rec'd 3/21/66

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TELEPHONE 523-3391

MEMORANDUM

To: Paul Anthony

From: Bruce Rosen

Date: March 17, 1966

Subject: Eric Robert Krystall

Paul, apparently both Eric Krystall and Mark Chesler are at Tuskegee Institute from the University of Michigan. As you can see, Krystall spells his name with a "K ."

Best regards.

Bruce Rosen

Bruce Rosen

br/ms

March 23, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

You weren't too rough on our publication, and we appreciate the help you and your staff gave us.

And, we certainly appreciate those subscriptions. Perhaps this is not the businesslike way to do it, but we would like to enter complimentary subscriptions to you, Alex, and the ADL Library. We'll bill you for the others.

I am anxious to know of the outcome of your meeting with Bill Peters.

Bruce Rosen and I have had a good conversation, and we look forward to working together on a number of things.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM March 23, 1966

To: Janet Smith

From: Paul Anthony

Attached are 28 subscriptions (to New South) for the Anti-Defamation League regional offices. A bill for these should be sent to the ADL, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016, c/o Mr. Oscar Cohen. Please also enter complimentary subscriptions for Mr. Oscar Cohen, Mr. Alex Miller, and the ADL Library, all at the above address.

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Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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Organization and Planning

March 16, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

It was good to see you in New York. I hope you don't think we were too rough on the publication. Our heart is in the right place.

Just to show you that we are serious about the film matter, I am having lunch with Bill Peters today.

Did you send copies of NEW SOUTH to our regional offices? We would like to open subscriptions for them and I am enclosing a list of names and addresses. Also, Alex Miller and I should have subscriptions, as well as one addressed to our Library. Could you bill us for these, less those subscriptions already received from our offices.

Many thanks and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

to Janet Smith w/memo of instructions

OC/fb
Enc.
cc: Ted Freedman
Alexander F. Miller

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

March 28, 1966

Miss Helen Adelman
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Helen:

Enclosed is a copy of a return we received from your mailing list.

Better your mailing list than ours.

Best.

Sincerely,

Edwyn Lewis, Jr.
Executive Assistant

EL/km

Enc.

File
Anti-Defamation League,
Oscar Cohen

April 7, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

Just a note to inquire if anything came of your informal approach to Robert Cline of the Division Fund in California.

It is that time of the year when, amidst all of our project riches, we are still trying to raise the balance of the rent money. Frankly, your energies and interest on our behalf at this point are much more valuable in the program area, and I don't mean to ask your assistance in fund raising as well, but on this one I thought I would inquire.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Read
file
Anti-Defam. League
" Cohen, Oscar

April 1, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
Of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

While the news about Bill Peters is disappointing it certainly is not suprising. We will try to give some thought to any possibilities of persons to do the work down here. In the meantime, we will look forward to an opportunity of getting together soon to explore this more fully.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

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315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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Organization and Planning

Rec'd 3/31/66

March 29, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your letter.

With reference to our meeting with Bill Peters, I don't think Bill is available. He has a number of things under way at this time and, in addition, there is considerable uncertainty about the whole situation at C.B.S. Moreover, we just can't afford him.

I had hoped to be in Atlanta for a Southern Staff Meeting, but, unfortunately, this has been called off. I wanted to meet with the T.V. people there to see if we could have access to talent available there. It might well be that we could find talent in your area which would solve our problem. If you have any ideas, let me know. In the meantime I will plan to get down your way soon.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms

cc: Ted Freedman

ADL

Memorandum from

OSCAR COHEN

MJ

_____ 19____

To _____

Subject _____

4/19-

Dear Paul:

I have not heard from Robert Klein, but have written to him again. I suggested that he contact you directly.

I'll keep after him.

Oscar Cohen

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Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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ADL Appeal

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

April 29, 1966

Mr. Ed Lewis
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Lewis:

We should appreciate your sending us 200 copies of the Cole pamphlet.

We shall probably want to reprint within the near future.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Judith L. Herschlag
Assistant Director
Publications Department

JH:ha

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

File
Anti-Defamation
League
Oscar Cohen

April 29, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League
Of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

Thank you for your good words about the report on cooperatives and for the suggestion of the intriguing idea of the free loan associations. We will give some thought to this and see what can be developed.

Incidentally, on checking I find that the 1% per month interest rate is the average for credit unions throughout the country. This is established on the basis of loans being for short periods of time. It seems that if loans are of a longer period and are secure the interest rate is lower and competitive if not below regular commercial rates.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

MV - comments?

H.B.

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ADL Appeal

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

April 14, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I read with great interest your excellent report on cooperatives, credit unions and poor people. I hope it will be read and heeded. Rightfully, I believe, you caution about cooperatives. I don't see how a cooperative can possibly compete against chain stores, discount and mail order houses. I recall years ago our own efforts to establish a food cooperative in Detroit with the backing of the UAW. Even with this massive support, it failed.

With regard to credit unions, I think these can be very important, but I wondered if the technique which is being proposed is the best possible for the Negro poor. I am thinking of the Jewish experience and the marvelous system of free loan associations which exist in the Jewish community. This is a tradition of long standing and, indeed, it is said that when a Jewish community is established, the first institution organized is free loan, and the second is a burial society. I hasten to add there is no necessary connection between the two.

I wonder why it is not possible now, with the emerging Negro middle class, not to mention a very substantial Negro upper-middle class (note the article on Negro business in "Business Week," April 9, 1966), for the establishment of a free loan movement in the Negro community. The society is established by one-time gifts which then are put into a revolving fund. Those who seek loans have to get co-signers as a rule. I have signed a number of times myself for others. However, in many cases, this is not absolutely necessary though it is sound practice, even if a group of neighbours had to sign to help out one of their friends.

In your report, you speak of interest loans at something like 1% per month, which is appalling. Perhaps the best organization to undertake the establishment of the free loan movement would be the Urban League. But I think this is something to look into. Maybe it has already been discussed and a determination made, but I have never heard about it.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC:mb
cc: Ted Freedman
Alex Miller

May 3, 1966

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Bernice Cook

FROM: Ed Lewis

Please send 200 copies of the Cole pamphlet

to:

Attn: Judith L. Herschlag
Anti-Defamation League
Of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Label is attached.

EL/km

cc: Janet Smith

Janet Smith:

Please bill ADL for the 200 copies at our cost. I will appreciate your making a note that when the money comes in it be entered under sale of literature.

E.L.

August 26, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

We do hope to get some material for publication from Mark Chesler beginning with an article based on excerpts from the tapes which you heard. We had also held open the possibility of publishing some of the final results of this study. But, I would much prefer consideration of joint publication with the Anti-Defamation League.

As you know, I have been unhappy for sometime that we haven't yet developed a joint program in publication, and I think we are long overdue for it. This seems to me like a good place to start again. We can work on the details as we go along.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Ted Freedman

August 26, 1966

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of
B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

We do hope to get some material for publication from Mark Chesler beginning with an article based on excerpts from the tapes which you heard. We had also held open the possibility of publishing some of the final results of this study. But, I would much prefer consideration of joint publication with the Anti-Defamation League.

As you know, I have been unhappy for sometime that we haven't yet developed a joint program in publication, and I think we are long overdue for it. This seems to me like a good place to start again. We can work on the details as we go along.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Ted Freedman

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National Campaign Director
LESTER J. WALDMAN
Organization and Planning

August 25, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St., NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I met with Mark Chesler, with whom I've been in contact before and since his visit to Tuskegee.

I've been talking to Chesler about the possibility of a publication resulting from his studies on desegregation in Alabama. I've seen some of the material, including the transcript of the tapes. I understand that you are interested in publishing some of the anecdotal material, but this would not interfere with a publication we have in mind which would include the findings of the research and some of the anecdotal transcript. Would you be interested in doing this jointly with us? Chesler is still analyzing his data and is not ready to start writing yet. If you agreed, I would keep you advised and we would look over the manuscript as it developed.

I would appreciate hearing from you in this connection.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

Oscar Cohen

OC/fb
cc: Ted Freedman
Stan Wexler

"...Dedicated to translating democratic ideals into a way of life for all Americans in our time."

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Original + Green to Mr. Wall

November 19, 1968

Dr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Marvin Wall with the request that he write you as to the VEP's plans for collecting and disseminating information about the Wallace vote. Needless to say, you are most welcome to any information we have.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Pa - fyi

MW

December 11, 1968

Dr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Dr. Cohen:

Your letter to Mr. Anthony has been passed along to me and I have delayed replying until such time as our post-election study could take shape.

It does not appear that we will be doing any detailed study of the Wallace vote as such. Rather our study will focus on the black vote and elections influenced by the black vote. However, I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum to Vernon Jordan which was written on the basis of surface returns showing after the election.

Our plans may change as our post-election study takes shape. In any case we will be happy to assist you in your studies in any way possible.

Best wishes,

Marvin Wall
Director of Research
Voter Education Project

MW:mjc
Enclosure

Marvin Wall

November 19, 1968

Dr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
315 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Oscar:

I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Marvin Wall with the request that he write you as to the VEP's plans for collecting and disseminating information about the Wallace vote. Needless to say, you are most welcome to any information we have.

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Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016, MUrray Hill 9-7400

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Organization and Planning

November 14, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Pat Watters was good enough to be a participant in a panel which we sponsored at the NAIRO Conference on "Race and the News Media." As usual, he was very good.

He told me that SRC, particularly Vernon Jordan, was doing an analysis of the Wallace vote. We are tremendously interested in that vote. We are undertaking an intensive long range program on Wallacism in the United States, and will use as much information as we can get. It is not only the number of votes but precise information about the areas in which votes were cast, and information about the ethnic background of those who voted, etc., that we need. Will you have any of this information available?

I would be grateful to you if you could consider this as soon as possible for we are trying very hard to get a program under way.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Oscar Cohen

OC/mj

SOME DATA AND SPECULATIONS ON THE MATTER OF DESEGREGATION

Ernest O. Campbell, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Dept. of Sociology and
Research associate, Institute for Research
in Social Science
University of North Carolina

(The data from Norfolk, Virginia reported in a part of this paper were gathered by the author and two colleagues -- Professors Charles E. Bowerman and Daniel O. Price -- in the Department of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, under grants to the Institute for Research in Social Science from the Oettinger Foundation and the Norman Fund. A complete report on this study will be found in When A City Closes Its Schools, to be published later this year. Interpretations made in the present paper are the sole responsibility of the author.)

The easy part is over. Those areas of the South in which the local population is receptive, the local political leadership willing to support it, and the state legal structure permissive, have already initiated or completed the process of desegregation in the public schools. The remaining areas form a hard core in which opposition is becoming increasingly strong. A corollary of this intransigence is the revival of old and the creation of new verbal defenses for segregation. The quiet and slow liberalizing trend evident a few years ago has been stopped or reversed in many areas of the South. A political instinct in the region has been turned to evasion and circumvention where it might have been turned to securing public compliance. There is little reason to think that the products of this trend have run their course.

We clearly have reached a point where greater effort must be spent in understanding the public mind. In doing so we must guard against seeing only what we want to see. The public resistance against desegregation is deeper than 1954's rosy optimism anticipated, the rationale for resistance is devious and growing in volume, and the flow of guilt for racial injustice has not reached the expected proportions.

A number of easy generalizations about how and why people act have been the victims of these past five years. Once we thought that the cure for intolerance lies in education. But we have seen political and civic leaders, the college graduates and the professional men, legitimize and organize the forces of resistance. Once we said that personality dynamics and neurotic anxieties could explain the spectre of prejudice and discrimination. But we have seen too many people of exemplary adjustment to self and community reject the notion that schools and churches must (or should) be opened to Negroes without discrimination. Once we agreed vigorously with Myrdal that the moral dilemma at the heart of the race problem, the battle between the "isness" and the "oughtness" of life in a democracy, would surely result in new vistas of equality for Negroes. But appeal to moral and ethical themes that support desegregation has diminished in force and frequency in the last five years, such that now the critics of segregation appeal largely to international politics, "law and order," public education and economic loss to defend their positions. Once we pictured a great band of "moderates" in the South, and Life magazine, in its memorable misnomer, found "the voice of conscience" speaking among Little Rock's business community in the fall of 1957. But we have seen too many private schools fill their waiting lists with children of these "moderates", until by now, for want

of a better referent, the term seems to mean anyone who does not carry a stick of dynamite in his pocket. Once we said that one of the deepest values in America is its public school system, and that especially lower class groups see this system as a golden means for social mobility. But we have lived to see state legislatures arrange to abolish this system with hardly the flicker of an eye and with only token public opposition.

Today, the white school child in a Southern community is exposed more than ever to the arguments of segregationists. Issue salience is unusually high. Whereas in an earlier day he absorbed the cultural pattern of segregation, and stood a reasonable chance of being exposed to liberal views in sources his culture accepted as legitimate -- for example, church literature and high school civic books -- the effort is made now to teach him segregation, and the legitimacy of contrary views is under challenge. "The ministers have been brainwashed," he is told, and it is Northern radicals and Communist conspirators who plot integration. One suspects that indigenous Southern culture of the late '30s, the 1940s, and the early '50s produced more racially tolerant youth than present-day Southern culture will yield. This is one of the losses in the desegregation process with which we must reckon.

A predicament for present-day Southern Negro youth has emerged from these developments. They are bombarded with evidence of rejection. The long-range consequences of their heightened exposure to rejection are unknown, but certain possibilities are not encouraging. Whatever these consequences may be, it is an area demanding our careful awareness. Of course, the response of whites to Negro pioneers in white school systems varies widely over the South. There are schools in which white children risk alienation from their fellows if they extend friendship to Negroes, and in such cases Negroes receive responses ranging from indifferent avoidance to overt hostility. There are other school systems in which informal student norms restrain direct hostility but do not reinforce or encourage interracial friendship; in these instances a pattern of "They go their way, I go mine" -- a system of negative tolerance -- emerges in the white student culture. In cases limited largely to border states, as distinct from the middle and deep South, casual friendships between white and Negro students do appear in some strength everywhere, however, a free and open interchange does not develop; interracial contacts involving home visitations, school parties and dances, athletic contacts, etc. are curtailed. Overall, it seems fair to say that contemporary youth of both races are more aware than their counterparts a decade ago that the Negro is not a legitimate object for the spontaneous expression of equality sentiments by whites. An increasing tendency of whites to identify and reject in racial terms, their heightened awareness that the Negro is beyond the circle of those to whom the ordinary positive canons of decency and humaneness apply, their inability to transfer into an emerging system of legal equality the gracious and courteous customs that developed in an earlier period of clear superordinate status -- and the Negro's increasing opportunity to learn that these things are true -- carry with them the prospects that a legally equal Negro may have to reckon more than ever with a sense of rejection and imputed inadequacy, and that the Southern white may become ever more uncomfortable as he is confronted with the conflict between American justice and the notion of racial supremacy.

It is one of the tragedies of our day that a great number of slowly dying shibboleths, fears, and accusations have been resurrected, legitimized, and set loose upon our land by a new generation of despots. A fierce hate literature and language finds its way into the life-space of most southern people, and of all its readers and listeners none are more susceptible than youth. And when, as so often happens today, the forces of enlightenment seek the dark corners for hiding, a serious unbalance is created in the struggle for decency in the minds of youth.

This is why we must look beneath the surface of token integration in Southern cities. We must inquire of values and attitudes, of things not given in the evidence of peaceful integration or even of violence. If we assume -- as surely we must -- that a South admitting Negroes to formerly all-white schools is not the end-all and be-all -- indeed, that desegregation in the public schools may occur under conditions where it does not represent even a step in the direction of a society freely extending material opportunity and effective encouragement commensurate with the ability and application of all who seek -- then we must inquire how Southern people view the issue of desegregation, what values determine their judgments, and what the public mind is likely to be in the future.

****

The city of Norfolk, Virginia, a municipality of 300,000 persons, 130,000 of whom are naval base employees and their dependents, operated no public junior and senior high schools for white students during the fall semester of 1958-59. These schools had been closed because Federal courts had ordered the admission of Negro students to them. Except for letters to newspaper editors, which are unreliable, only one index of public opinion was available, this a public referendum in November at which by a 3 to 2 majority, voters agreed to continue the closed schools rather than re-open them with Negroes in attendance. The data on which the present section of this paper is based were obtained in a survey conducted in late January and early February, 1959, by personnel of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

Purposes of this study were two-fold: (1) To secure an inventory of the kinds of responses and adjustments a modern city makes when its public school system shuts down; (2) To determine public opinion on the question of massive resistance and to check out certain factors as possible determinants of attitudes on this matter. Data were obtained by interview from almost 650 white adults, drawn in a random sample of blocks in the white residential sections of the city, and by questionnaire from slightly more than 2,000 white junior and senior high school children who were attending various tutorial groups and private schools in and near Norfolk. Within the range of normal sampling error, the results for adults may be said to represent the white adult population of Norfolk. We are unable to make such claim for the student respondents, since routine sampling of the 10,000 youth closed out of public school was impossible. Obviously we do not have responses from those not continuing their schooling, nor from those living at boarding school or with relatives from Connecticut to California. If, as many think, the academically marginal cases, and children of families with extremely limited financial means, were underrepresented in the tutorial groups, then we have a sample that overrepresents the academically capable and the financially secure. On the other hand, since the largest single group available to us was organized by a well-known and dedicated segregationist, we conceivably have a heavy representation of hard-core resistance. The listener is warned that, though we venture forth with a few comparisons between adults and youth, these comparisons are tentative because of the nature of the youth sample.

Inventory of Adjustments to the School Closings

Shortly after schools failed to open last fall, tutorial groups were organized and conducted by parents and public school personnel. They met in converted garages and in livingrooms, in lodge halls and in neighborhood centers. Most children, however, attended educational buildings of churches. Some groups met with a single

tutor who taught all subjects. Some larger meetings in churches represented only a collection of such tutors. In other instances, students moved from room to room, meeting with teachers who taught only their specialties and keeping a schedule comparable to a public school system. It is estimated that over 4,000 participated in the tutoring system. Nearly 1,200 more enrolled in two special schools -- one a night session meeting in the South Norfolk public high school -- and perhaps 500 were admitted into near-by public schools. Some scattered to Georgia and New York, to Illinois and Florida, to Iowa and California, to live with relatives and friends. A smaller number enrolled in traditional private schools. Others married, found jobs, or lounged around the house, the drug store, or the pool hall. No increase in juvenile delinquency occurred, however.

Our sample of over 600 adults included the parents of 373 children ordinarily in grades 7 through 12. Of these 373, approximately 20% were not in school nor had they in any other way continued their education. An additional 3% were receiving home instruction or correspondence courses only. Slightly less than 30% had enrolled in regular public schools somewhere in the United States -- most of them close enough so that they continued to live at home. The remainder, approximately one-half the total, were attending either a tutorial group or one of the two semi-private schools set up in specific response to the school closings.

Our interviews, coming one week before the opening of schools on an integrated basis for the second semester, show surprisingly little growth of sentiment favoring private schools. Of the total sample, only 5 students were attending regular private non-parochial schools that they would not have attended had the schools remained open. More significantly, less than a dozen parents indicated that private schooling for their children was being considered seriously.

A variety of factors had kept one of every 5 children out of school entirely. A rather large number of parents had delayed too long last fall in the expectation that surely the schools would re-open in a few weeks. Inability to pay tuition was the largest single factor, characterizing about one-fourth of those not enrolled. Some parents kept their children out of tutoring groups as a matter of conscience. Several reported that no group was accessible, or that they had applied too late. Almost one-half of the unschooled reported that they did not expect to finish high school in consequence of the closings.

Respondents offered a variety of common complaints about the effects of the school closings on their family life. The most intense effects were felt by those families -- nearly 10% of the total -- in which the child had left home to live with relatives or friends to continue his education. When the children continued to live at home, parents offered complaints like these: "Mary eats supper at 10:00 p.m. and breakfast at 11:00 a.m. Our family life is thoroughly upset;" "Our children come and go at all hours; we hardly ever see each other;" "It's 10:30 at night by the time my 9th grade daughter gets home from classes;" "They don't keep them in the tutorial group long enough;" or simply "He has too much time on his hands." One mother, however, seemed delighted with the tutorial group her son attended: "We like it better because he doesn't have to take showers," she said.

Approximately 60% of all parent respondents complained that their children were not able to get the same number and kind of courses they would have taken in the public school.

Many families experienced financial pressure. Some who enrolled their children in tutorial groups could not meet costs and make token payments or continued their children as charity cases or on credit. Others met the tuition costs -- which typically were $12 to $20 per month -- but complained of difficulty in doing so. At least one family was paying $2200 for a private school that had not been in its budget until the public schools closed.

Approximately 80% expected to return their children to public schools if they re-opened on an integrated basis. The other 20% includes those who had found work, married, etc. as well as those who would refuse to attend school with Negroes and those who had made more satisfactory arrangements elsewhere. (Apparently no more than 8 or 9 in our sample had married as a consequence of the closings.)

These, then, are the major adjustments and consequences of the school closings in Norfolk, Virginia. Many people had faced a lot of inconvenience and despair. One had the feeling, conducting the interviews, that anyone would hesitate to tamper with the Norfolk public school system again. The present had been too inconvenient and the future had looked too uncertain for too many people.

The State of Public Opinion

Yet the great majority of Southerners are segregationists and there is no reason to expect the citizens of Norfolk to be any different in this respect. Though they want their children to receive a good education, they prefer that it not happen in the company of Negroes. So when it comes to a showdown between education and segregation, which value do they choose? What kinds of people make what kinds of choices? These are the types of questions we seek answers to in the second part of this report. Our report will deal with parental status, sex, church participation, age, and occupation as the variables affecting these decisions. It is based, like the preceding section, on a preliminary analysis of the Norfolk survey data.

Some 85% of the Norfolk adults -- and 88% of the school students -- report themselves as favoring segregation in the public schools. This proportion would be larger were it not for personnel from the local naval base. If we consider only the city's civilian personnel, the percentage favoring segregation increases to slightly more than 90. This is about as solid a block of opinion as one can find favoring home, country, or baseball. The effect of naval personnel in increasing liberal sentiment is shown on other questions as well. For example, when asked to report how they felt when the schools first closed last fall, 52% -- barely half -- of civilian respondents said they wanted the schools kept open, compared to 77% of Navy personnel. Likewise, when asked whether they would vote "now" (late January) to open the schools on an integrated basis or keep them closed, 81% of the naval personnel and but 61% of all others showed a preference for the former alternative. (Attention is called to the increased sentiment for integrated schools in both groups. Apparently one semester without schools had been enough for most people.) It should be noted that sentiment for opening the schools was considerably stronger among both enlisted men and officers than in any other occupational group in the city, including the professional and business classes.

So much for occupation. On the matter of parental status, it would be expected that parents, who had borne the brunt of the inconvenience occasioned by having the children out of school -- after all, 3 months in the summer is <u>enough</u>! -- should be those most eager to reopen the schools come what might. Data disconfirm this

expectation, however. On most items, parents gave less liberal responses than non-parents, although the percentage differences are generally small. For example, fewer parents than non-parents said they would vote for integrated schools rather than no schools. These differences appear to be independent of age discrepancy between parents and non-parents. Furthermore, parents of 2 or more children grades 7 to 12 are less likely to favor integrated schools than are those with only one child in this age group. It would seem that although parents may have more to lose from school closings, they also feel they and their children bear any threatening consequences of school integration.

If it seems surprising to find that parents were not the strongest opponents of closing the schools, so it may seem anomalous that school students were less eager to reopen the schools than were the adults. Two sets of data support this observation. If we take the somewhat questionable step of comparing adult and student respondents -- the dangers in doing this have been pointed out -- we note that the student sample consistently gave less liberal answers. Whereas 45% of the students wanted the schools reopened even if Negroes enrolled, 63% of the adults said they would vote "now" (late January) to open the schools integrated. Whereas 53% of the students agreed that white children do not get as good an education if Negroes are admitted to white schools, only 36% of the adults agreed that this is the case. And although 41% of the adults believed that God is a segregationist, 59% of the students expressed this belief. (Humility overcame some respondents on this item, with 17% of the adults and, interestingly, only 7% of the students professing an inability to know God's mind on this subject.) Only 41% of adults, compared to 58% of students, believed interdating and intermarriage are probable consequences of desegregation in the public schools. Most other items show comparable differences.

The conclusion that adults are more liberal than students emerges also from student answers to queries concerning their parents' values. Students reported their parents as being in favor of opening integrated schools even when the students were opposed to such a step. The differences are small but consistent; for example, according to students' reports, 45% of the students, 45% of the fathers, and 52% of the mothers wanted the schools opened regardless. The striking thing about these findings is that the racial tolerance so often imputed to youth in contrast to their elders does not appear in these data. It should be noted also that, within the sample of adults, there is no consistent association of age with attitude. Generally, young adults and old adults seem more willing than the middle-aged (40 to 50 years) to accept desegregated schools.

Within the youth sample, no significant difference in attitudes between males and females appeared. This is in contrast to previous studies in Oak Ridge, Tennessee and among Southern college students by the author, in which male respondents were more opposed to desegregation. There are a few items on which females showed somewhat greater tolerance, but overall the results are remarkably similar. In the adults sample, however, as in students' reports on their parents, greater female than male tolerance clearly appears. For example, 58% of the females and but 47% of the males report that they wanted the schools kept open from the beginning last fall, and 66% of the females compared to 57% males would vote in late January to open the schools integrated. Similar differences appear on other items.

Such data, be it noted, are consistent with conditions in other cities. Note, for example, that in Little Rock the most active group supporting public schools is the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools, and that HOPE, Inc. in Atlanta is pioneered by women. Similarly, we were told in Little Rock, during the course of

a field study of the church in racial crisis, that the women of the churches were encouraging ministers to assume a forthright liberal stand while the men were pressuring them to keep quiet.

Finally, it may be instructive for us to look at the effect of church participation on race attitudes. The data show a clear liberalizing effect. 61% of those who attend religious services regularly, against 50% of those who do not, wanted schools to remain open last fall, and 71% compared to 61% would vote to open them in late January. Only 38% of regular attendants, compared to 49% of others, legitimize segregation by representing it as the will of God. Those of us who see the church as the greatest potential force for racial justice in the South receive some support from these data.

Two more general observations may be made about the Norfolk data. First, it seems obvious that public expectation is not a good predictor of violence. 73% of the students and over half the adults agreed a week before integration began that "There will be serious trouble, maybe even violence and bloodshed, if whites and Negroes go to school together in Norfolk." Yet desegregation occurred without incident. In Oak Ridge, another Southern community that desegregated peacefully in the fall of 1955, over 60% of its junior and senior high school students expected serious racial incidents when Negroes began coming to their schools.

Second, the motives and values that impel a Southern community to admit Negroes to previously all-white schools, even to do so without ostensible incidents, must be weighed carefully. Specifically, it would appear that very few southern whites support desegregation as the right, proper, or moral thing to do. The "battle in the heart of the American" to which Myrdal alluded seems a puny skirmish for most people. When in January 100 business bluebloods in Norfolk took newspaper space to call for the re-opening of schools they did so because of danger to Virginia's economic growth and to Norfolk's business prosperity. Asked whether they prefer desegregation as the right thing to do, segregation even if it means closing down the public schools, or segregation but <u>not</u> if it means closing the schools, only 15% of Norfolk's adults chose the first alternative (another 59% chose the latter). On a comparable question, only 13% of Norfolk's students agreed that "Letting white and Negro students go to school together is the right thing to do," while almost one-half of them affirmed that Negroes have neither legal nor moral right to go to school with whites. Six of every 10 students and one-half the adult sample see God as a segregationist. Half of the adults believe a community should resist Federal Court orders to desegregate its schools. These, remember, are results in samples that are inflated by the liberal views of Navy, i.e. non-local, personnel.

****

So we come in a sense full circle from our review of data to ask again the important question, What are the prospects in race relations in the South? Granted the likelihood that the area of legal rights and their exercise will gradually expand for Negroes, it does not follow that true tolerance will accompany these changes. Instead, race consciousness seems heightened as rarely before, and a new generation of youth is acutely sensitized to the nature of assumed race differences. There is the prospect that legal gains for Negroes will have less value than they seem to have.

If we may combine the evidence from research data with hunch, casual observation, and impressionistic judgments, we timorously advance the following propositions as a concluding statement:

1) Most of those who support or accept school desegregation in the South do so for reasons other than those of conscience. Only a relative few believe that moral norms, the American tradition, the Christian imperative, or related notions require it.

2) White students become reconciled to attending school with Negroes as they redefine the nature of the educational relationship; specifically, when they view it as being of a secondary rather than a primary nature. Patterns of mutual avoidance develop between the races and the minority of whites that is willing to make friendly overtures generally desists from doing so because of the attitudes of their white peers.

3) A student culture emerges that gives positive sanction to the notion that the amenities of respect and courtesy need not be extended as comprehensively to Negroes as to whites. These patterns gradually become a part of the institutional structure of education and may develop a self-perpetuating character.

4) These developments challenge the Negro community to evolve a counter-system that encourages Negro citizens to demand and assert their new-found legal rights while it also protects these citizens from the psychic threats and rebuffs occasioned by seeking to exercise such rights. We do not yet understand the content and construction of these defenses, and it is an area of fascinating research promise. An argument of this paper is that the Negro community must prepare these defenses for its members, and presumably has done so. If it does not -- that is, if there grows up a new generation of Southern Negroes desiring equal acceptance by whites, accepting standards of valuation prevalent in white, and yet psychically unprepared for rejection, an informal status they do not get yet continuing to want it -- then we may learn that Negro personalities can be damaged by going to school with whites as surely as they are damaged by being denied the privilege.

5) For many southern white youth, their exposure to intolerant segregation views has increased relative to their exposure to tolerant desegregation sentiments. We bid fair to breed a generation more rigid than its elders, independent of whether this new generation has gone to school with Negroes. In time, as it must, when this new rigidity encounters the values of the American Creed, the outcomes are problematic, but we may hope that such confrontation may indeed herald a new day for the South.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

Harold Fleming

I'm applying.

Regards

Art Levin

Milwaukee Journal

11/15/56

Subsidizing Negro Migration

Georgia has a so-called education commission that is actually an idea mill for avoiding racial integration in the schools. The newest idea, in all seriousness, is to subsidize emigration of Negro families with school age children to nonsegregated states.

This appears to be no idle brainstorm. The legislator who outlined it to the commission has a bill all ready for introduction in January, and the house speaker says, "it may be the answer to our problem."

A $10,000,000 appropriation is proposed for grants in aid to Negro parents who have lived in Georgia 10 years. Those who elect to make a move would get $1,000 moving expenses, six months' rent in their new location and, if needed to avert hardship, pay for time lost while seeking new employment.

The commission may have to take pause, however. It occurs to us that there are about a million Negroes in Georgia. At an average grant of, say, $2,000, the first 15,000 or 20,000 to go would use up all the money. If everybody applied, it would take not 10 but several hundred millions.

Possibly Georgia's constitution is flexible enough to permit, or be changed to permit, such use of public funds for private benefit. But it might just irk some taxpayers to find themselves paying moving expenses, and rents in other states, of self-supporting families.

Anti-Defamation

ADL SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E., ATLANTA, GA.

rec'd 1/30/59

For your information

Harold Fleming

What agencies were represented is not indicated, but they seem to be making some progress, on paper anyway. Save this to discuss when we can get together.

Regards
Art Levin

AA -

Can we get the Fact Sheet on the Virginian?

Art says write Friedman H.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
403 East Franklin Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

PA ✓
FBR ✓

Alex Miller

Murray Friedman

January 28, 1957

This is to report on the second monthly meeting in Richmond of agency professionals in the field of human relations and religious leaders relative to problems growing out of the segregation fight.

Interest remains high and once again we had both a good turnout (12) and good representation. We are a little top heavy on religious leadership and we will have to broaden the base of the group to include such people as, perhaps, the director of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce.

Since the NAACP Bills, which could affect most of the groups represented, are currently being tested in the courts, we focused the January 25th meeting on the Urban League situation. The director of the Richmond Urban League, Wiley Hall, reported on the efforts of his group to raise funds following the withdrawal of his group from the Chest drive but not from the Chest itself. The goal of $18,500 is about $1,500 short of being reached. Significantly, banks, businesses as well as other individuals and groups have made heavy contributions. The reason for this is that many business leaders are a part of the Chest leadership, know the situation at first-hand, and resent the pressures that were brought to bear from outside Richmond. The Urban League director pointed out that as the result of the fight, he has been able to get his foot in the door of places he could never reach previously. He pointed out, however, that there has been some difficulty in setting up general solicitations in industrial firms.

I reported on the continued cross burnings in Virginia, John Kasper's recent talk in Charlottesville, and continued circulation of The Virginian which, by this time, has attacked virtually every group represented in the room.

The ensuing discussion dealt with how the group could prepare the community in advance so that there would not be a repetition next fall of the situation that confronted the Urban League and the Chest. (Presumably, John Hamilton and his local adherents will be back since the Urban League will automatically receive money from the Chest next year.) A number of good suggestions were made and I recommended the appointment of a special committee of the group to meet and bring back a program to lay before the group at our next meeting. Looking beyond this problem, it has been my hope that using the Urban League situation as a beginning, moderates in the community could begin to deal with the problems growing out of the segregation fight. I was appointed one of the members of this small subcommittee.

I am pleased at the progress the group is making and we are coming to grips with at least one of the basic problems facing us sooner than we thought. In addition, there are such other advantages as the request I received from the director of the Richmond Baptist Association after the meeting for a copy of our fact sheet on The Virginian for distribution to his constituency and the request of an Episcopal executive to Bishop Hodges for information on how desegregation was effected in Catholic Parochial schools since Episcopal schools in the Richmond area are contemplating similar action.

MF:bh

CC: ALL SOUTHERN ADL REGIONAL DIRECTORS

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

RECEIVED FEB 20 1957

Harold Fleming

You can talk with Oscar in N.Y. about attached, if you have time.

Regards
Art Levin

File

Arthur J. Levin

Oscar Cohen

February 12, 1957

Thanks for your memorandum with regard to the Southern Regional Council. Here are detailed answers:

1. I will communicate with you and Harold about relevant materials before publication. One of the publications is already out - the Washington pamphlet. Harold talked to me about copies for ditribution. I hardly know what to say. We are stripped for funds too, but nothing like the Southern Regional Council. Perhaps we should make a batch, lets say, fifty copies available to him for free, additional copies at 25¢. I would be glad to provide the Southern Regional Council at a loss, but I do not know what to suggest. Wont you take this up for me.

2. With regard to field research, I am inclined to agree with you in part. We have been deluged with requests for reports and we are consistently running out of them, much to our chagrin and expense. Perhaps now we should do a printed digest, briefly which would do the service which you so logically describe.

   With regard to fees for the sociologists doing the research, so far I seem to have been too successful to get people to do it for free. I say too successful, because we cannot even afford the mimeographing which has been involved. I have agreement from Preston Valien and his group that they will undertake a follow-up on Clinton for free. Our only hope to secure adequate funds is through foundations. I do not think we should try to tap the Fund for the Republic for this. I will try others. In the meantime, we just do not have any funds for fees, although a number of the social scientists have expressed interest in doing the background surveys for free. I will work on the fund end of this.

Sphinx Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

3. The SPSSI pamphlet is supposed to be done by Public Affairs, but SPSSI has not come up yet with its end of the deal. I think this project will be considerably delayed.

4. With regard to the NSA Conference at Springhill - this has been called off.

5. I will ask the Fund for the Republic to purchase copies of the Washington pamphlet as they have so many other and I think less worthy publications.

6. I will try to get a copy of the outline of the film on desegregation.

With regard to the new projects and our inability to undertake them, I rather agree with you. However, it has always been my policy to have a more ambitious program than we can possibly undertake. In that manner we can select those projects which we think are most desirable. Miraculously, we might get most of it done.

I will keep your note before me for reference purposes and from time to time I think we should report to each other on progress. I am sending you an extra copy of this memorandum, if you want to share it with Harold Fleming.

Regards.

OC
el

Sphinx Onion Skin
MADE IN U.S.A.

June 19, 1957

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Director, Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

As I indicated to you Monday I am planning informal visits to some of the key cities of the South. Primarily I am concerned with the views of knowledgeable persons in these communities regarding the status of the community in the matter of desegregation, their notions of what needs to be done next and their feeling about the possibility of a cooperative effort.

The cities I had thought about in connection with this trip are as follows: Memphis, Birmingham, Jacksonville, Richmond, New Orleans, Dallas, Houston. It will be helpful if you can suggest to me persons to whom I might talk and from whom I could get the kind of information I desire. I'll be glad to come by and talk with you about this early next week.

Cordially,

C. H. Parrish
Program Associate

CHP:mm

June 19, 1957

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Director, Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

Here are the summary notes on the meeting we held Monday, June 17th. No pride in authorship. As they say at the Fund for the Republic, "Feel free" in editing them as you see fit and return them to me.

A composite of your suggestions will be mailed to all participating agencies which met at the A.U. Conference.

Regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Same
Letter sent to Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Mr. Paul Rilling with copy of summary notes enclosed.

Series art

RECEIVED SEP 25 1957

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

September 24, 1957

Mr. Leo Driedger
The General Conference
Mennonite Church
722 Main
Newton, Kansas

Dear Mr. Driedger:

Thank you for your letter of September 19th.

We are handling films for the Southern Regional Council, and at present have two of their films, both 16 m.m. sound.

The "Baltimore Story" runs for 30 minutes, and is the story of integration in the city of Baltimore, Md. The film includes an account of their planning, the difficulties experienced from the violent pro-segregationists, and the steps taken to quell disorders and achieve orderly desegregation.

"Face of the South" is a 30 minute film in color, featuring the famous Dr. George S. Mitchell lecture explaining the history and economic aspects of race relations in the South with some suggestions as to possible solutions of current problems.

Both of these films are available from this office at a service charge of $1.50 each per booking. If you will let us know when you would like to use each film, we will be happy to arrange it for you.

The Anti-Defamation League has its own library of films, and I would suggest that you communicate with Mr. Sol Littman, 338 Securities Bldg., Omaha, Neb. The ADL regional office of which he is director services the state of Kansas, and I know that he will be happy to send you a catalog of ADL films

blind copy: Harold Fleming

and other materials available from his office.

Kindest regards.

Cordially yours,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

F B R
P A
E V
J C
M M

RECEIVED NOV 18 1957

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
606 Common St., Rm.401
NewOrleans 12, La.

Alex Miller

Irwin Schulman

Nov. 13, 1957

Govenor Faubus spoke yesterday in front of the City Hall, New Orleans, La. The crowd, which ran between 1 to 2,000, was rather quiet not giving the Govenor much applause at all.

Faubus' speech was a carbon copy of his past utterances, the only basically new addition being his assumption that the new Attorney General, William P. Rodgers, will take "a more tolerant attitude towards the South in its' racial problems" than did former Attorney General Herbert Brownell.

With referance to the local political ramifications of Faubus' speech, it is interesting to note that Mayor Morrison did not greet Faubus nor did Faubus set foot in City Hall. The official welcome to Faubus at City Hall was given by "Acting Mayor" Glenn Clasen.

Regards.

IS/phe
cc: Milton Ellerin
Murray Friedman
Art Levin

Nate Perlmutter
Ted Freedman

Milton Ellerin

Irwin Schulman

November 13, 1957

The New Orleans White Citizens' Council is holding an open meeting on Novemeber 18th at the Municipal Auditorium. The major speakers have been listed as Senator James O. Eastland (referred to by P.D. East as "Our Gem") and Marvin Griffin (referred to by Art Levin as -*-*-*!).

Rental of the Municipal Auditorium for an evening is $1,000.00. This is the second meeting held by the New Orleans Citizens' Council at the Auditorium since September, 1957. $2,000.00 in less than three months!

More on this on November 19th.

Regards.

IS/phe
cc: Alex Miller
Art Levin ✓

Jc
info files

November 19, 1957

Mrs. Marshall B. Jones
418 S. 2nd Street
Warrington, Fla.

Dear Mrs. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of November 18th making inquiry about our films.

We are handling the scheduling of "The Baltimore Story" and "The Face of the South" for the Southern Regional Council, and will be happy to make them available to you at your request. If you will advise us when you would like to preview the films, I shall be happy to book them for you. There will be no charge to preview them, but there is a $1.50 service charge for the use of each film, regardless of the number of times you show it while it is in your possession.

We generally like to have at least two weeks advance notice in scheduling the films, and it will be necessary for you to have a 16 mm sound projector in order to show the films.

With regard to the other films that are available through the Anti-Defamation League, I am forwarding your letter to Mr. Nathan Perlmutter, Director of our Florida Regional Office, located at 330 Seybold Building, Miami, Fla., who I am sure will be in touch with you concerning both materials and films that may be secured from his office.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ajl/bw

Arthur J. Levin

CC: Nathan Perlmutter

Confidential

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

File

Confidential

To Arnold Forster

From Arthur J. Levin

Date November 26, 1957

A very disturbing thing has happened within the past two days to Sam Lubin. He has received at his home address two letters from his national office, return address 15th Floor, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., both sealed with scotch tape, and both slit open with a paper knife.

The first letter, which contained some copies of "Common Sense", was sent first class mail with no other marking than his home address. It was put into his mail box slit open and when Sam questioned the home delivery postman, the postman said he did not notice whether it was open or closed before he put it into his mail box. When Sam questioned the postmaster, he could shed no light at all. This morning, at about 8: a.m., Sam received a call from the postmaster of the local post office branch which services his home area and the postmaster told him that they had a special delivery airmail letter for him which was also slit open. This letter contained highly confidential information. When it was delivered to Sam's home, it had the post office stamp on it, "received unsealed, Atlanta, Ga." The postmaster's contention is that this letter arrived from New York in this open condition. However, anybody who has access to Sam's mail to be able to open it would also apparently have access to such a stamp ~~fmx~~ if the person involved were employed in the post office. In this second case, the letter had not as yet been delivered to Sam's home and therefore could not have been opened between the post office and Sam's home. These are the only two letters he has received from his national office in the last two days. His office mail is not being tampered with, to the best of his knowledge.

Sam is discussing this with the postal inspector tomorrow morning, but in the meantime he has arranged with his national office to continue to send him mail to his home address, carefully sealed with scotch tape. This will enable Sam to check on whether additional mail is being opened, and also the postal inspector to do likewise.

I would like to suggest that you send me a piece of first class mail every other day to my home address (1957 Wellbourne Ave. NE) carefully sealed with scotch tape, so that I can check on whether my mail is being tampered with. In order to check on whether this has anything to do with the segregation issue, I would like

to suggest that you also send mail to Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council at his home address (2892 Ridgemore Road, NW). I am taking this means of apprising Harold of this arrangement.

In order not to tip our hand, try to have the mail contain something substantive and yet not anything that we wouldn't want widely known if opened. We might try this for about the next two or three weeks to see what happens.

ajl/bw

CC: Alexander F. Miller
Oscar Cohen
Ben Epstein
Harold Fleming

Harold:

Hope you don't mind being "tested" in this way — if you do, let me know and I'll advise Arnold to include you out.

I'm getting my cloak and dagger dry cleaned.

Agent X

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
Director

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January 9, 1958

Dear Friend:

The holiday season is over but our minds and hearts are still focused on its theme, "Peace on earth, goodwill toward men".

It is therefore particularly appropriate to call to your attention a new book which tells for the first time the heartwarming story of those Christian heroes living under the Nazi regime who gave of themselves to the cause of humanity in saving their Jewish neighbors.

THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS is a book filled with human emotion, documenting the heroic acts of men and women. It was written by Dr. Philip Friedman who himself was part of this historic episode in his role as a member of the Polish underground.

You will find enclosed a flyer reprinting the opinions of such noted reviewers as Dean James A. Pike of the (Episcopal) Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York City, Professor Salo W. Baron of Columbia University, and the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston.

I believe you will want to take advantage of the special discount price of $2.50 for this book for yourself and perhaps as a gift for your friends, and a return postcard has been enclosed for your convenience in ordering this book.

Kindest regards.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

This is what Dean James A. Pike of the (Episcopal) Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York City, Salo W. Baron of Columbia University, and Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, have said about THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS:

Dean Pike:

This is one of the most thrilling stories of our generation, excitingly written and well documented (the two do not always go together), and it serves as an inspiration for all those who have the courage to express their love to their fellow man, regardless of religious and ethnic differences. It makes me proud of fellow-Christians who took such grave risks—sometimes even unto death—for the sake of Jews under persecution; and makes me ashamed of those who were complacent or indifferent in the face of the demonic acts of the Hitler regime. I hope that this book reaches a very wide audience.

Professor Baron:

Dr. Friedman's well-documented and deeply moving recital of the rescue of prospective Jewish victims by Christians, often at the risk of their own lives, sheds a few rays of light on the Nazi nightmare. Itself a major document of human solidarity, this story testifies to the survival of the spirit of heroism, as well as of martyrdom, in behalf of humanitarian ideals.

Archbishop Cushing:

In all this anxious, war-weary, confused, and care-burdened world are there any men more futile and stupid than those who clamor for world peace, and whisper for discrimination and discord in their own neighborhoods? The road to world peace is the street where we ourselves live. The first steps to world peace are steps to the stranger in need or the sorrowful next door, be his race or religion what it may.

"I wish to express my gratitude to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, whose invaluable encouragement and guidance from the very inception of this book and whose faith in its meaning were a constant inspiration."—Philip Friedman

THEIR BROTHERS' KEEPERS

The Christian heroes and heroines who helped the oppressed escape the Nazi terror

***by* PHILIP FRIEDMAN**

Introduction by the
REV. JOHN A. O'BRIEN, S.J., PH.D.

This is the story of man's (and woman's) compassion for his fellow-man. Much has been written about the acceptance, by the general population of occupied countries, of Nazi tyranny, including the horrible excesses of anti-Semitism. Little has been told of the, perforce, secret activities of those who were willing to sacrifice their meager allotments of food, their safety, and even their lives to help their brethren of another faith.

Great ingenuity was used by people from all walks of life to hide Jews, for the dangers of discovery were all too evident—hanging corpses testified to those who attempted and were unsuccessful. Some of the most dramatic and heroic deeds of our century include the supplying of the Vilna ghetto by a Lithuanian literary critic, the providing of arms to the underground by Polish nuns, forging of false identification papers by a Polish government translator, setting up of an underground railroad by a Parisian Mother Superior, and passive resistance to anti-Semitic decrees by a city's entire population.

Here Philip Friedman has gathered the tales of scores of these selfless humanitarians, bringing up to date the lives of those who escaped Nazi doom.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

1-24

Harold Fleming

It's clear that no northern church will be used for segregated schools, and at least some southern churches, if the quoted authorities have any churches or influence.

Regards

Art Levin

The Inquiring Reporter Asks About

Using Churches for Schools

If public schools are closed in some areas of the South because of the requirements of desegregation and there is no possibility of having any other school provision, do you think churches should allow their facilities to be used for the operation of private (segregated) schools? What do you think they should do in the face of such a situation?

W. M. ELLIOTT, JR., *Moderator, Presbyterian, U. S., General Assembly, Dallas, Texas*—I am opposed to the churches allowing their facilities to be used in this way: I am wholeheartedly committed to our public school system, and feel that the churches must not be used by any group to destroy our public schools, or to circumvent the decisions of our courts. This arrangement would also violate, in my judgment, the principle of the separation of church and state. It is up to the state to provide public schools. It is not a function of the churches.

BENJAMIN E. MAYS, *President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.*—Churches should not allow their facilities to be used for the operation of private segregated schools. Segregation based on race and color is contrary to the gospel of Christ. The churches should not support the state in this evil circumvention of the Court's decision. If the churches do their job, they will work to keep the public schools from being abolished.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR, *Faculty, Union Theological Seminary, New York*—I think it would be a tragedy if the churches allowed their schools to be used in order to evade the Supreme Court decision on integrated schools.

MALCOLM P. CALHOUN, *Director, Christian Relations, Presbyterian Church, U. S., Atlanta, Ga.*—It is my conviction that churches should not allow their facilities to be used for the operation of segregated schools. Churches can do two things: (1) Denounce racial discrimination, (2) establish inclusive parochial schools.

DOUGLAS HORTON, *Dean, Harvard Divinity School*—No. Wait for the state government to obey the law of the land, and try to persuade it to do so.

G. BROMLEY OXNAM, *Methodist Bishop, Washington, D. C.*—No. The church cannot be party to law-breaking, nor dare it repudiate the Christian faith. Americans must have the privilege of education, all of them. No state can abrogate the constitution.

BARTON HUNTER, *Disciples of Christ Social Welfare Executive, Indianapolis, Ind.*—Protestant churches have no business operating private schools unless it is to provide educational facilities for underprivileged children. Churches providing segregated school facilities for white children are openly flouting the Supreme Court's decision and the spirit of love and justice inherent in it.

ALMON R. PEPPER, *Director, Protestant Episcopal Christian Social Relations, New York*—If the Supreme Court defined the laws of the land, I should think that any church would want to think twice before attempting to circumvent the purpose and intent of the Supreme Court on the subject of segregation in public schools. In the case of the Episcopal churches, to use their facilities for private segregated schools would also be contrary to the official position of the church as stated in the resolution adopted by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in 1955.

HUBER F. KLEMME, *United Church of Christ Christian Social Relations, Cleveland, Ohio*—Churches should take action without delay, stating that their fellowship and facilities are open to all persons without distinction as to race, and that any group requesting the use of their facilities must comply with this policy. I cannot conceive of any Christian church at this point in history setting up the segregated private school with the intent or effect of circumventing the just decision of the U.S. Supreme Court prohibiting such segregation in the public schools.

CAWLEY H. STEIN, *Evangelical United Brethren Christian Social Action, Dayton, Ohio*—Public schools should not be permitted to close because of requirements of desegregation. The intellectual welfare of children irrespective of race or color is of primary importance. Only as a last resort should churches or other buildings be used for this purpose.

HAROLD E. FEY, *Editor, The Christian Century, Chicago, Ill.*—The churches should not allow their facilities to be used as an alternative for the public schools. If they do so they assume a share of responsibility for evasion of the ruling of the Supreme Court and so help to bring all our democratic institutions into disrepute. Let those who are ready to destroy the public schools take the brunt of public criticism, which will be theirs in full measure if parents find their children running wild. The churches should assume responsibility for all the education of children only if they are ready to operate unsegregated schools, for the God Christians worship has created us all and expects us to act toward each other as his children should act.

CARL F. REUSS, *Christian Social Action, American Lutheran Church, Columbus, Ohio*—Jesus condemned the Pharisees for their false-front religion. James condemned partiality among men (2:1-13). Churches cannot lend their facilities to perpetuate sinful pride. They can operate schools for their own members, as defined by denominational practices.

FRANCIS P. MILLER, *President, Virginia Council of Churches, Charlottesville*—Certainly *not*. To do so would make the church connive with the *evil* policy of the state; and in so far as the policy of the state was in violation of the law of the nation the church through conniving would become "particeps criminis."

EUGENE CARSON BLAKE, *Stated Clerk, Presbyterian, USA, General Assembly, Philadelphia*—I know of no actions that could be taken by Christian churches that would be more disastrous in their long-run moral influence than to establish private, segregated schools in the face of the struggle that our nation is making in trying to give a first-class education to the children of all citizens, regardless of race. Any church which allows its facilities so to be used would appear to me to be putting racial prejudice above Christian duty.

Moderator Preaches At National Church

WASHINGTON, D.C. (RNS)—Harold R. Martin of Bloomington, Ill., Moderator of the Presbyterian, USA, General Assembly, said here that all Christians have a deep moral obligation to participate in political affairs.

Preaching in the National Presbyterian Church, Dr. Martin urged all American citizens to be prepared to assume leadership responsibilities.

The Presbyterian leader said there is no place for "isolationism or aloofness" in the world today.

Dr. and Mrs. Martin recently returned from a pastoral visit to the Far East.

He said that in the areas he visited, both the church and America have become symbols of a new day.

"If it were not for Christians, the world would fall apart," he declared. "America politically is their hope and Christ spiritually is their full assurance."

Dr. Martin said thousands of refugees in South Korea and Hong Kong have shown that they prefer harsh conditions in congested areas to life under godless, autocratic Communist regimes.

Merely applauding the work of missionaries overseas and preaching the gospel at home is not enough, Dr. Martin warned. There must be "living testimony in every village, hamlet, town and city that this is a Christian nation under God," he said.

Theological Emphases Attacked by Bosley

LAWRENCE, KANS. (RNS)—A Protestant theologian said here that "new theological movements" have been largely responsible for the "death of the social gospel in the life and thought of the Church," during the last 75 years.

Harold A. Bosley of Evanston, Ill., said the new theologies "have provided the verbal, intellectual and ethical framework which enabled reluctant spirits to ignore, postpone, modify or repudiate every single position on race, war, social and economic justice that we were once committed to serve."

A former dean of the Duke University Divinity School, Durham, N.C., Dr. Bosley is pastor of the 3,200-member First Methodist church in Evanston. He addressed some 3,400 youths attending the sixth quadrennial Methodist Student Conference.

Delegates at the six-day meeting represented about 1,000 colleges and universities. Theme of the conference was "Our Lord—Our Church—Our Faith."

Dr. Bosley said the new movements in Christian theology, such as neo-Orthodoxy, have "practically forced the Church into a position of irrelevance in many of the great modern issues."

"As I have looked through the waxworks of horror called modern history, I find little or nothing that makes us proud of the Church's record," he said.

He cited as examples: "The Church has supported every war that has been fought, it has been blind or deaf to the horrors of genocide and concentration camps, and it objected feebly to indiscriminate bombing of cities in World War II and never made a sustained public protest."

Because of these new movements, he said, there has been a revival of "easy-going" religion.

Dr. Bosley called on the youth to "reverse" this trend and "once more bear a glorious witness to the reality of the Christian truth and the relevance of the Christian Gospel."

"Every generation of Christians must do what the early Christians did: Bear witness to their faith in Jesus Christ in terms of the most meaningful concepts of their day," he said.

Additional copies of →

WHAT IS A MINISTER'S WIFE?

—for congregational distribution: 12 for 25¢ (minimum); 50 or more, 1¢ each. ALSO:

WHAT IS A MINISTER?

By V. Neil Wyrick, Jr.,

Same price.

OUTLOOK

1 N. 6th St. Richmond 19, Va.

What Is a

What is a minister's wife?
She's the woman who married the minister.
A woman, yes, but often a slip of a girl fresh out of college.
Yesterday she was a teacher, nurse, clerk;
The voice at the other end of the telephone;
The face at the Loan Office window.
Yesterday she was plain: Sue, Mildred, Jean;
Today she is: "Mrs. Mark, Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Lee—The minister's wife, you know?"
Tell it quickly so there'll be no mistaking—
"The preacher's wife."
Now, she's the woman in the stained-glass window.
She's called upon to play a part in a script she's never read;
No seminary has known the tapping of her high heel;
She's not trained in such things as theology, ethics, public speaking, Bible study, psychology.
She never made a public prayer in her life;
But she will learn.

Now it's, "Mrs. Mark, will you lead in prayer?"
"What does this mean?"
"What do you think?"
"Please sit here."
"No! Not that."
"You mean you . . . Oh!"

She's a lamb among wolves—and a few angels.

"A woman's place is in the home, I say!"
"I missed you at Prayer Meeting."
"Why weren't you at Mr. Phillips' funeral?"
"See you at Circle."

"We didn't hire the minister's wife!"
"Do go see old Mrs. Pitiful, she's so . . ."
"Don't forget the General Meeting."
"Will you help set the tables for the Men's Supper?"
"Tell the pastor when he comes in . . ."
"We need help in the choir—you sing . . ."
"You just must take a Sunday school class we . . ."

She's loved and hated; admired and scorned;
She's made-much-of and ignored.
She has many friends and none;
She's the little girl with the little curl right in the middle of her forehead;
She's not one woman but many;
She's an enigma—to herself more than anyone else.

She blunders; she falls; she makes a fool of herself;
She gets up and starts all over again.
God is with her; she loves Him.

What is a minister's wife?
She's the pastor's silent partner.
She's never "called" but she always goes;
She's never installed but she still serves.
She's an ambassador-without-portfolio.
She's "104 sermons a year"—on the listening end.
She's the minister's beloved critic, counselor, confronter.
She worries about his sermon, the irate elder, his adamant wife; the budget;
It's none of her business, she ought not to; but she does.
She has all the problems the minister has—plus him!
She ponders the paradox of love and hate, kindness and cruelty within the Church of the Living God.

The Presbyterian Outlook

Continuing The Presbyterian Tribune

INQUIRING REPORTER (5) . . . Should Churches Have Segregated Schools?

WHAT IS A MINISTER'S WIFE? . . Douglas S. Brown

YOUTH MEETINGS . . . . Presbyterian (3) . . . . . Methodist (6,10)

MACKAY AT I.M.C. . . . 3

FOREMAN FOOTNOTE . . . . . Belief Is Basic

VOLUME 140 JANUARY 13, 1958 NUMBER 2

A Major Obstacle

The major obstacle to union now is typified by the friends who tell us that they hope and pray for union but that the time is not ripe and that we must wait till God makes his will clear. The first time I heard that was seventy-three years ago at the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1884. Union with the Southern Presbyterian Church was on the agenda. Every speaker favored it. A venerable minister said in closing the discussion, "We may well thank God for this unanimity. But let us be patient. The time is not ripe. When it is, God will make his will known." So nothing was done. . . . Those early objectors are dead, but their successors are with us. . . . The time has been ripe for fifty years. The will of God is written across the sky. "Rise up, O men of God, the church for **you** doth wait."

—ARTHUR JUDSON BROWN in **Memoirs of a Centenarian,** just published by World Horizons, Inc., New York.

Letters to the Editors

Claims Difference Is More Than Skin Color

Negro Is Inferior

To THE OUTLOOK:

In the (Dec. 9) letter from an airline stewardess to her brother, she says: "The only difference between Negroes and us is skin color."

Is this honest? Do you feel, even if this girl of early twenties may feel, that the only difference between our children and the Negro children is color of eyes or skin? There is more than that. And it is not fair to them to have them thrown in competition at school—socially or at church—with a race considerably superior in most ways to them. Certainly a few Negroes have attained distinction, but the percentage is extremely low. They have been in this world as long as we have, but all other races have reached higher levels by far than the African or Negro race. Other men, forced into bondage, have freed themselves, but in this country they were freed by white men. And the advantage they gained, they could not hold.

I think justice, mercy and all Christian help should be given them. It is not done and integration will not bring this about. If we did extend them equal education and justice and still kept them separate until they themselves were equal in all but color, it would be wiser by far than this that we and they are being forced into now, before any of us are ready.

We have enough problems for our young people and children without putting this tremendous responsibility on them at this time. It is not fair to the Negroes, it is not wise to the white children. I'd say God is looking sadly at us in our bungling on this issue.

MURIEL M. WEISIGER.

Memphis, Tenn.

Jan to Johnny

To THE OUTLOOK:

. . . Please send me additional copies of the Dec. 9 OUTLOOK with the letter from Jan to Johnny. I went by to see their parents . . . last night to take them a copy of this issue. They were very happy that a letter written by one of their children to another could be so helpful in molding the opinions of so many people through your publication. Little Johnny was particularly interested and took off time from playing with his electric train to go off in a corner by himself and carefully read every printed word of the letter his sister wrote to him. . . .

LITTLE ROCK PASTOR.

Ministers' Deduction

To THE OUTLOOK:

In the December 16 issue of THE OUTLOOK under the News Round-Up you make this statement:

> "Ministers who receive living quarters rent-free, but pay for their utilities, can deduct the cost of these utilities for income tax purposes if a part of their salary is set aside as a 'housing allowance.'"

This statement would lead one to believe he can deduct utilities expenses over and above what has been paid in his "housing allowance." I have checked and found this cannot be done. You can only deduct what has been given as housing allowance and no more. You can deduct only that part of the allowance which is actually spent for utilities.

I think this ought to be brought to the attention of your readers. Some may be lead to file incorrect returns due to this article.

EDWIN C. BRAMMER, JR.

Greensboro, N. C.

NOTE—Our report was too brief to be adequate. The news story on which this was based had this added and important paragraph: "Such allowances will be deductible from gross income for tax purposes to the extent actually used to pay utility bills. . . . The housing allowance does not have to be paid the clergyman by separate checks. It merely needs to be set up on the books of the church or religious agency so that it is separately identifiable."—Eds.

Other Sins Too?

To THE OUTLOOK:

I read the Non-Smoker's letter (OUTLOOK, Nov. 18) and agree regarding the minister fouling up the smell of a home with cigarette smoke, comparing it with coming into a home with muddy shoes, etc.

I have just finished reading the letter from Anti-Smoker (OUTLOOK, Dec. 16) and I must say I agree with him. It has been proven beyond any doubt that smoking cigarettes is defiling the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and thousands are dying annually as a result. Why a minister, or any devout Christian, can set such an example before the youth is inconceivable to me.

I note much is being written editorially, and quotes from spiritual leaders of several denominations in various religious papers, regarding the urgency of desegregation in churches, schools, etc. I also note the edict, or decree from both General Assemblies of our great Presbyterian Churches regarding desegregation in the church. I am, as many others, confused because that seems to be the only sin we are attacking. Why does not the church, and this includes the National Council of Churches, attack some of the greater sins such as one mentioned above and the drinking of alcoholic beverages? Has the example of the (so-called) Christian drinker ceased to be a sin? Some months ago an article appeared in your paper, saying in effect there was a place in the church for the drinker, leaving the impression it was alright. I would not deprive the drinker the privilege of the church, but certainly the church should hold up to him or her the danger of their example.

I say let the church attack all sin. I have just read the annual report of the FBI wherein it stated there were 2,756,150 major crimes committed in the U.S. in 1957, an increase of 7.5 per cent. We read of the great murders on the highways and in the homes and drinking joints, and liquor is at the bottom of perhaps half of it, but the great bodies of the church are mum. I ask again, is segregation of the races the only sin? I am neutral on the segregation question.

RAYMOND ROBBINS,
An elder in the Presbyterian Church, USA, since 1924.

Athens, Texas.

NEWS ROUND-UP

THE NEW YORK STATE Council of Churches will "support legislation to arrive at a clear understanding of the problems involved in upholding the decency of mass communications." It warned, however, that it will not support uncritically "every measure proposed in the guise of preventing indecency.". . . THE N. Y. STATE Council has received a $10,000 grant for production of a film showing its various activities. . . . ON HIS RECENT visit to American armed forces in the Far East Archbishop Spellman of New York presented President Syngman Rhee of Korea with a check for $10,000 to aid blinded Korean war veterans. . . . A NINE-MEMBER Human Relations committee, headed by a Baptist minister, has been named by the mayor to work for the reduction of racial tensions and keep channels of communication open betwen the whites and Negroes in Durham, N. C. . . . A ROMAN CATHOLIC theologian (John A. Hardon, West Baden Springs, Ind.) has praised the "doctrinal revival" that he says is underway in the Protestant churches. . . . SIX UNIVERSITIES and a Jewish seminary are among the recipients of grants totalling $60,500 awarded by the Roger William Straus Memorial Foundation for projects promoting better human relations. . . . THE DECATUR, GA., city commissioners denied an application for Sunday showings of the Cecil B. DeMille movie, "The Ten Commandments." The local Ministers' Association, asked for its opinion, declined to take a stand on the question. . . . A JESUIT SOCIOLOGIST (Lucius F. Cervantes, Denver, Colo.) recently told the American Catholic Sociological Society that "marry your own" is the best advice for anyone, Catholic or non-Catholic, who is contemplating marriage. . . . ENROLLMENT IN independent (i. e., not related to a university) theological seminaries and religious training schools increased one per cent at the opening of the 1957-58 academic year, according to the U. S. Office of Education, for a total of 35,554. . . . The American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel estimates that giving for religious purposes in the U. S. will amount to $3,425,000,000 for 1957. . . . A grant of $250,000 has been made by the Ford Foundation to the Appalachian Religious Workers Conference for an extensive study of the economic, health, education and religious needs of the Appalachian people.

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January 30, 1958

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Area Director
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

I wish to send you and staff my sincere regrets at not being able to attend the joint SRC-ADL luncheon. It is a worthy idea and I much wish that I could be with all of you. Out of town business will prevent my attendance.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:fcl

2/1/58

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

CITIZENS COUNCIL OF AMERICA

IN TEXAS, INC.

1508 FANNIN STREET PHONE CA 7-4796

P. O. BOX 1014

HOUSTON 1, TEXAS

February 6, 1958

Dear Members and Friends:

Our Citizens Council of America wants 50,000 members by May 1st. Think what 50,000 members, banded together and believing in States Rights and Racial Integrity, can do towards the restoration of Constitutional Government and respect for State Sovereignty.

Will you sign up one, five or perhaps even twenty-five new members to help in this drive? Will you contact our headquarters office, either in person or by telephone, and let us know how many additional blanks you would like, and where you plan to devote your efforts? (One membership blank is enclosed.)

Our program for February is as follows:

Tuesday, February 11 at 8 P.M. American Legion Hall, 410 Anita.
This meeting will be devoted to the organization of working groups of those who indicate that they wish to be assigned to a certain area. The response, thus far, to our appeal for workers has been most encouraging, but we shall need the help of every single member to put this drive over.

Tuesday, February 25 at 8 P.M. American Legion Hall, 410 Anita.
Reverend Billy James Hargis, a former radio speaker, lecturer and writer, will be our speaker. Dr. Hargis has chosen as his subject, "Is It Possible the Enemy Is Using Some of Our Churches to Further Communism?"

Please come to the meetings, and do your part to make us 50,000 strong!

Sincerely yours,

R W Milner Jr

(R. W. Milner, Jr.)
Temporary Chairman

The Communist Program For America

Israel Cohen, British Communist, wrote in 1912: "We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can mould them to the program of the Communist party. In America we will aim for subtle victory. While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites, we will endeavor to instill in the whites a guilty complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise in prominence in every walk of life, in the professions and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige, the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."

The Communist Party adopted this program in 1928. Throughout the South this program was circularized and it has been the basic policy of the Communists in America from that day until this.

People in high places are being duped into doing the will of the Communists.

THE HOUSTON POST FRIDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1957

OBEDIENCE TO COURT ASKED

173 Houston Area Ministers Back Desegregation Decision

A proclamation urging "every God-fearing citizen to encourage respect for our courts and obedience to all decisions" was issued Thursday by 173 Houston area ministers.

The signers included the Catholic, Episcopalian and Methodist bishops here and leaders of almost every other faith and denomination.

The ministers' stand came on the heels of Federal District Judge Ben C. Connally's order to the Houston School Board to end racial segregation in Houston schools

HERE IS THE text of the proclamation and its signers:

"We, the undersigned ministers of religion in Greater Houston, believe that it is our responsibility to bear witness in the face of serious issues which now confront our community. We speak for ourselves only.

SIGNED: — Bishop John E. Hines, Bishop W. J. Nold, Bishop A. Frank Smith, Msgr J. Cassata, Charles L. King, K. O. White, Hyman Judah Schachtel, W. Kenneth Pope, John Knowles, Robert I. Kahn.

L. J. Adam, W. Darwin Andrus, James Andrews, William A. Baine, J. T. Barnett, Thos. I. Beck, Harvey D. Beckendorf, Earl M. Bengtson, Edwin de F. Bennett, Earl R. Boone, John A. Bosman, J. H. M. Boyce, Geo. C. Bradford, the Rev E. S. Branch, James A. Brannen, Robert Theron Browne, Wm. F. Bull, Robert H. Bullock.

The Rev A. L. Cawthon, R. G. Commander, W. B. Condrey, the Rev J. D. Connolly, David F. Conrad, L. M. Correu, John D. Craig, James A. Crain, Thomas W. Currie, Myers B. Curtis, M. J. Daly, Skardon D'Aubert, Bishop C. Davis, M. M. Davis.

Also, Robert A. Dennert, J. Walter Dickson, Norman E. Dizer, Alfred M. Dorsett, Forest E. Dudley, the Rev W. H. Dudley, C. H. Durden, the Rev Edwin Egan, Milton Falkenberg, the Rev O. F. Fauss, L. B. Felder, Durwood Fleming, the Rev Elston L. Flohr, Homer T. Fort.

Also, Joe W. Fort, Alfred H. Freeman, Thomas F. Freeman, Dewey Fuller Jr, James T. Garrett, Rabbi Max Geller, E. G. Gerhart, J. M. Gordon, A. Grady Hallonquist, Presley E. Hand, W. M. Harrell, William M. Harris, E. Stafford Harrison, Robert E. Hayes.

Also, E. N. Holmes, Howard Hovde, Alfred W. Jarvis, C. D. Johnson, Sam F. Jones, Andrew A. Jumper, the Rev G. E. Kalpaxis, Tucker Kay, Edwin E. Keiper, Charles R. Kelly, C. J. Key, Arthur S. Knapp.

ALSO, Eugene Labovitz, Robert L. Latham, Charles Leicht, M. L. Lewis, Haskin V. Little, Byron L. Lovelady, Virgil Lowder, B. H. Lucas, Owen M. Garity Jr, K. Sherwood McKee, R. B. McLaren, Clayton McMahill, M. Ewing McPhail, William S. Malev, J. B. Malvey, OP.

Also, Ralph E. Marsden Jr, Sam G. Martin, William L. Martin, Herbert A. Miller, H. C. Mayhew, W. Edward Mitchell, Claxton Monroe, Richard B. Moon Jr, T. Walter Moore, . Kelly Neal, James R. Nold, R. D. Nolen.

Also, R. R. Northcutt, Ferris W. Norton Jr, M. E. Notzon, A. Novak, the Rev Fred O'Connor, Gerald T. O'Keefe, C. O. Overstreet, Joe M. Owen, Louis Pabot, Richard Page, Karl M. Parker, S. George Parrigin, John E. Parse, Glenn E. Pa son, the Rev A. D. Phelps, the Rev C. L. Punch.

ALSO, P. A. Pittman, George Reck, Garland Reeves, Marion F. Reynolds, John Rhodes, the Rev G. R. Wheatcroft, Dean J. Milton Richardson, Lewis Risinger, Msgr John Roach, R. Howard Robinson, the Rev James V. Roth, MM, Fred T. Schumucker, Calvin Schumacher, Herbert Schwarze.

Also, H. O. Scott, Paul T. Seastrand, Edwin P. Shaw Jr, Charlie W. Shedd, James R. Shelton, C. R. Simpson, LeRoy S. Smith, Denver H. Smoot, Louis A. Snowdy, John C. Solomon, R. M. Spangler, Claude Spearman, the Rev J. P. Sullivan, Louis W. Sumners, R. C. Terry, Philemon Titus, R. H. Tarp.

Also, the Rev H. J. Tullis, F. Urbanowsky, William L. Van Aiken, Frank R. Wagner, Harold Walker Jr, E. H. Westmoreland, J. Turner Whaley, Walter Whitson, James E. Wilkerson, J. H. Williams, Herbert A. Willke, W. D. Williams, the Rev Isaac S. Wright, James R. Wright, J. Bryant Young and Ernest H. Zavisch.

The Houston Press

FRIDAY, JANUARY 24, 1958

Episcopalian School Will Integrate

Will Let Negroes In Within 5 Years; May Be Sooner

The Episcopal Church in Texas will open its St. Stephen's School near Austin to Negroes.

Five-Year Deadline

The action is proposed to become effective "not later than five years from this date" but may be put in force earlier.

The announcement was made today at the Shamrock Hilton Hotel by Episcopal Bishop John E. Hines.

He addressed the 100th council of the Diocese of Texas of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

And he urged acceptance of a proposal to open the Episcopal camps and conferences to Negroes in 1959.

The bishop urged that the council authorize that one of the camps "deemed wise by the division" be opened in 1959 to all applicants.

The soft-spoken Bishop called racism a "terribly dangerous myth . . . a shibboleth," and said: ... ...

"In this as a minority group we need desperately the aid and understanding of our Christian brother whose skin color differs from our own."

A CHARTER OF RACIAL POLICIES

for The Woman's Division of Christian Service of The Methodist Church

" The W. S. C. S. does not speak for the membership of the ladies in the Church. Only 35% to 45% are members of the W. S. C. S. And of course they cannot speak for the entire Church."

We Believe

1. We believe that God is the Father of all races and we are His children in one family.

2. We believe that the personality of every human being is sacred.

3. We believe that opportunities for fellowship and service, for personal growth, and for freedom in every aspect of life are inherent rights of every individual.

4. We believe that the visible church of Jesus Christ must demonstrate these principles within its own organization and program.

5. We believe that the Women's Division as an Agency of The Methodist Church must build in every area it may touch a fellowship and social order without racial barriers.

6. We believe that progress may be advanced by declaring emphatically those policies on which the Women's Division is determined to move in order to come nearer the ideal.

as "The Methodist Woman" is the Official Organ of the W. S. C. S.

"This is the Official Charter of the WSCS in the U.S.A.

Racial Policies

" This Requires, Aids, Abets Race-Mixing in the W. S. C. S."

1. Persons to fill positions within the official body or staff of the Women's Division of Christian Service shall be selected on the basis of qualifications without regard for race.

The Committee on Nominations of the Women's Division shall consider all openings for service in the Women's Division or staff on this principle, giving due consideration to circumstances which will offer opportunity for fruitful and happy service.

2. The institutions and projects of the Women's Division are instruments by which we may translate the Christian ideals and attitudes of this charter into action.

a. We will employ all missionaries, deaconesses, and other workers, regardless of racial or national background, on the basis of qualifications, and the promise they show for effective work in the field to which they will be sent.

b. The facilities and opportunities afforded by our projects and institutions shall be open to all people without discrimination because of racial or national background

c. Where law prohibits or custom prevents the immediate achievement of these objectives, workers and local boards are charged with the responsibility of creating a public opinion which may result in changing such laws and customs.

3. All promotional plans of the Women's Division must take into account the various racial groups within its organization pattern and related to its program emphasis.

4. Special guidance toward the integration of all groups into the life and work of the church shall be given to the auxiliary societies of the Women's Division.

5. Summer Schools of Missions and Christian Service of both jurisdictions and conferences are urged to seek increasingly to establish a working relationship across racial lines in planning and carrying out all phases of the programs, taking into account geographical accessibility of groups involved.

6. Summer School subsidies provided for or by any jurisdiction or conference should be available when requested for use at the school most accessible to the person receiving the subsidy.

7. Workshops, seminars, and institutes should be set up on a geographical basis with full opportunity for initial participation by all racial groups in the making and execution of the plans.

8. Local Women's Societies and Guilds should give increased emphasis to the working together of all racial groups in study and action that affect the life of the church and community.

9. All jurisdiction and conference Women's Societies are urged to work for the enactment of policies at all Methodist assembly grounds that will enable the full participation of any racial group in any phase of the assembly program.

10. The Woman's Division has consistently observed its established policy for holding its meetings in places where all racial groups can have access to all facilities without discrimination in any form. To extend this policy, jurisdiction and conference Women's Societies are urged to work for its implementation as a basic step toward building a Christian fellowship within the organization and toward making an impact on the community as a whole.

THE WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE CALLS WITH NEW URGENCY ON THE JURISDICTION AND CONFERENCE WOMAN'S SOCIETIES OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE TO STUDY THE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES STATED IN THIS CHARTER LOOKING TOWARD EARLY RATIFICATION BY EACH JURISDICTION AND CONFERENCE. SUCH A RATIFICATION WILL CONSTITUTE A COMMITMENT TO WORK FOR THE SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION OF THOSE PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF A RESPECTIVE JURISDICTION OR CONFERENCE.

Note: Comments above in quotation marks were added by editor.

The above "Charter" (here greatly reduced in size), was distributed recently after a meeting of the Woman's Division of Christian Service of the First Methodist Church of Houston. Members were asked not to discuss the contents with each other, not even over the telephone. The only conclusion that could be drawn was that Negroes would be brought in and integration would become an accomplished fact before opponents could marshal their forces to prevent integration.

Charter Check List

Local Societies will find it important to prepare for the time when they will have the opportunity to record their experience with the Charter on Racial Policies on a check list. Among the questions that are almost certain to be asked on such a check list are: Has your Society (a) studied the Charter? (b) ratified it? Have you put it into effect? The Woman's Division authorized a check list to secure information on progress made toward implementing the Charter on Racial Policies in jurisdiction, conference, district, and local Societies and Wesleyan Service Guilds.

Housing

In view of our deep and expressed concern for the living conditions for all citizens and families, the Woman's Division encourages Methodist women to support legislation for a comprehensive housing program with attention to the following features:

1. An expanded, large-scale, low-rent public housing program to meet the needs of low-income families.

2. Reasonably priced houses to meet the rapidly increasing needs of middle-income families, a program for cooperative, non-profit rental and sales housing with long-term, low-interest loans without discrimination because of race.

3. A special, immediate program of housing to meet the needs of the elderly.

4. Federal, state, and local action to guarantee a free, open housing market to all families without restriction as to race, color, creed, or national origin.

5. An expanded urban redevelopment program with emphasis upon slum clearance and city rehabilitation.

Methodist women are called upon to help create a favorable climate for this program. (See booklet *Houses and People*, Literature Headquarters, price 30 cents, for further background. Also, the January issue of THE METHODIST WOMAN.)

RACE RELATION'S SUNDAY WORSHIP SERVICE
Co-Hosts: Congregation Emanu El and
First Christian Church
Place: Temple Emanu El, 1500 Sunset Blvd.
Time: Sunday, February 9, 1958, 3:30 P.M.

THE HOUSTON CHRONICLE

Saturday, January 25, 1958

Eight Pastors To Unite For 'Race' Sunday

Eight Houston clergymen will join in a worship service Feb. 9, in observance of Race Relations Sunday.

Taking part in the services at 3:30 p.m. at Temple Emanu El will be Dr. John C. Knowles, chairman of the Houston Council on Education in Race Relations; Dr. Robert I. Kahn, rabbi of Temple Emanu El; Dean Milton Richardson of Christ Church Cathedral; Dr. E. H. Westmoreland, South Main Baptist Church; Dr. W. Kenneth Pope, First Methodist Church; Rev. L. B. Felder, Trinity East Methodist Church; Rev. William A. Baine, Bellaire Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Paul T. Seastrand, Augustana Lutheran Church.

The race relations education group has observed race relations Sunday for more than a decade.

MEMBERS OF THE RACE RELATIONS COUNCIL:

Ministerial Association of Greater Houston
Rabbinical Association of Houston
Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance
United Church Women of Houston
Jewish Community Council
Young Women's Christian Association
Council of Churches of Greater Houston
Houston Commission on Interracial Cooperation

****

A FEW QUESTIONS

Some of our ministers are claiming that segregation is un-Christian. The 173 Houston ministers and rabbis that signed the October "manifesto" should be asked some questions:

1. When did segregation become un-Christian?
2. Who changed the Christian religion?
3. By what authority was the Christian religion changed?
4. What are the Jewish leaders doing to bring Negroes into the Jewish faith, thereby practicing real non-discrimination?
5. Our Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. organizations long ago changed their rules so as to admit active participation of Jewish people. What are the Jewish leaders doing to change the rules of the American Jewish Committee, of B'nai B'rith and it's Anti-Defamation League to admit non-Jews?
6. If it is sociologically and psychologically wrong to segregate and to limit immigration in the United States, then why is it not also wrong in Israel?

Rabbi Elmer Berger, reporting on conditions in Israel among the Yemenites and other Jews kept in segregated areas, in his book, "Who Knows Better Must Say So!", on page 37, says:

"They suffer discrimination of all kinds - not the least because they are largely "white collar" folks with dark skins and Arab culture and the Western (East European" Jews resent their presence."

And on page 84:

"The real reason for putting them in these places - as those less propaganda-conscious will tell you - is that they present a "color problem! . . ."

American Jewish Committee

Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice-President of the American Jewish Committee, makes the following report to the 48th Annual Meeting: (1955 Publication, pp.43-44)

"Earlier, I said that the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court was one of the major events of the year affecting our work. This historic ruling is a significant high water mark in America's battle against discrimination on racial, religious and ancestral grounds - a battle in which the American Jewish Committee has long been among those leading the assault.

"It was most fitting, therefore, that we were very closely involved with the Supreme Court decision. Not only were we active, along with other organizations, in the filing of an amicus brief, but we contributed materially to the social theory upon which the desegregation decision was based. The ruling, you know, gave great weight to sociological and psycholological factors. The Court took into account, along with purely legal considerations, the effect of segregation on personality, and concluded that separate facilities cannot be equal because of the psychological damage caused by segregation.

"Just a few days after the decision was announced, I received a communication from Melvin A. Glasser, the former Director of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. It was from this Conference that much of the social theory which influenced the Court's decision emerged. The fact-finding studies from which this theory developed probably would not have been made were it not for the American Jewish Committee, and we were congratulated by Mr. Glasser on the important action that had stemmed from our activities. His concluding words have great meaning for us. He said, 'It is not often that we can show a direct relationship between good research and desirable social action, but when we can it is certainly heartening.'"

Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Honorary President of AJC and former Associate Justice of the New York Supreme Court, says on page 103 of AJC in 1953:

"Now, you will be asked some questions. Why not majority rule? We Jews are the individualists of the ages. Majority ruly, put to a vote, and we all become Christians. Put it to a vote, and we all may become Zionists or anti-Zionists, no matter what we really think. Put it to a vote, and are we all going to be Reformed? Are we all going to be Orthodox?

"Do you choose your doctor by majority vote. Do you choose your lawyer that way? Do you determine the principles which your conscience dictates to you by going out and calling for a majority vote? And the notion that you can inject into the social life of a Jewish Community the political doctrine of rule by majority - tempered by constitutional provisions assuring rights to the minority - that notion is fantastic."

And does the new State of Israel practice democracy and no discrimination? Mr. Shuster, Director of AJC's European office, reports on page 121 of AJC in 1953:

"First, Israel has been forced to stop large-scale immigration and prefers to have immigrants of a Western cast of mind, rather than those with an Oriental or Moslem type background.

RELIGION OR RED POLITICS?

IS IT UNCHRISTIAN TO BELIEVE IN SEGREGATION?[1]

By JUDGE WALTER B. JONES
Montgomery

A Religious Fraud

Professor W. C. George, a native North Carolinian, connected with the School of Medicine at Chapel Hill, made a telling point in a recent address made at Dartmouth College, "Human Progress and the Race Problem." In this address he said:

"It is asserted that integration is the Christian way and that separation of the races is unchristian. It is not clear why anything should be accepted as Christian when its virtue has not been demonstrated. Strange connotations have been given to words now-a-days. I believe you will join me in saying that it is a religious fraud to claim that Christianity would require us to adopt a public policy that would lead to destruction of our race."

No Appeasement to Atheistic Communism

Recently, the Rt. Rev. Albert S. Thomas, retired Bishop of South Carolina, wrote an article on "Development or Obliteration," in which he expressed the view that many integrationists seemed to have the motive of appeasing atheistic Communism abroad, and this, wrote the Bishop, seems more important to them "than the happiness and well-being of a large portion of our own land which would be made secure by the ancient and accepted principle of the separation of the races." The Bishop, continuing further, said: "There is virtue, rather than sin, in the mantenance of the integrity of every race as it has come to be in the providence of God. Do we not read in Acts (17:26, RSV) that God 'has made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation? These words seem clearly to indicate a divine purpose for every race.

Integration Is Not Inevitable

Do not be deceived by all the talk that integration is inevitable, that it is bound to happen. That despite what we may, against it, integration is certain to come. Do not accept this defeatist attitude, do not swallow this deadly opiate.

Have faith in the common sense of our people and in the final triumph of our right to worship God according to the command of our conscience. Let us pray that it is our God's will that this struggle for freedom of conscience and liberty of association will be won. Let us stand steadfast, yield not one inch, not be terrified, and beaten back by the sinister forces of evil now rampant throughout the land; if we will do these things, then the victory will be ours.

(Excerpts from his speech)

Supreme Court Ruling Is Called More Socialism Than Legalism

Rev. Henry T. Egger, Rector of Saint Peter's Episcopal Church, Charlotte, North Carolina, on Sunday, September 27, 1957, denounced race mixing in the public schools.

Socialistic Scheme

"Unadulterated socialism is behind this social leveling," the Rector of the largest Episcopal Church in Charlotte said.

The white and Negro races differ in their talents and abilities which are strictly hereditary. In Wilmington, N. C. since the Civil War the Negroes have had educational advantages superior to more than 90 per cent of the white children in the state. In tests made in 1955 by New Hanover County it was found that 20 per cent of the whites in the area tested had I.Q.'s 110 and up; only 1.5 per cent of the Negroes were in this group. 23 per cent of the white children tested were in classifications below average; 72 per cent of the Negroes were in the below average classifications. In 50 large northern high schools with 30 per cent Negro enrollment only a fraction of 1 per cent of the Negro students became near eligible for college.

Brazil Is Example

But the most important reason for my stand against social mixing in the public schools is the breakdown of racial integrity. About the time that Christopher Columbus was born, Portugal began importing Negro slaves in large numbers from Africa. It was not known how racial integrity was breeched, but it is known that the Portugese interbred generally with the Negroes. During the centuries since Columbus, the Negroes have been completely absorbed into the general population of Portugal. Negroid characteristics are wide spread among the Portugese people. Brazil was colonized by the Portugese. There they interbred with the native Indians and also with the Negroes which they continued to import as slaves from Africa. In spite of it's age, since colonization, in spite of it's enormous size, it's tremendous natural resources, Brazil is still a backward country, calling on the United States for aid in many directions. Greater social intimacy, resulting from the integration of the young people in the schools, will promote interbreeding. Furthermore, it has and will continue to create jealousy, envy, covetousness, and malice, to say nothing of sheer hypocrisy.

Letter to Saturday Evening Post, 1/19/58

The Law of the Land

Dear Sirs:

Your editorial A "LAW OF THE LAND" NEEDS A FIRMER BASE THAN COURT DECISIONS [Dec. 7] is so true and so timely.

If we place court decisions on the same basis with the Constitution of the United States the Constitution loses its permanence, its purpose and stability, and becomes only that which a small, select group may say it is. A court decision is the law of the case and not the law of the land.

T. WHITFIELD DAVIDSON
District Judge
Dallas, Texas

STATE-TIMES, Baton Rouge, Oct. 17, 1957

Methodists Face Problem Of Integration in South

SHREVEPORT (AP) — The Methodist Church today faced predictions that forced integration would destroy the church in the South.

The predictions came as more than 20 church leaders from three states appeared at a two-day hearing on a proposal to change the church's jurisdictional system. All opposed the plan that would permit Negro churches to enter white conferences.

Curt Mayor, a lay leader from New Orleans, said yesterday abolition of the jurisdictional system "would lead to wide passage of resolutions similar to one passed recently by the Plain Dealing (La) Methodist Church, which called for a study aimed at withdrawal from the national church organization."

Bishop Paul E. Martin of Little Rock, Ark., said he favors the jurisdictional system and thought it was working well.

John Dixon, recently elected district judge here, said, "I am not acquainted with a single Methodist who is not whole-heartedly opposed to such a plan (to revise the jurisdictional system). Unanimous opposition stems from only one conviction—the necessity of continued separation of the races."

He predicted all congregations in this area would leave the church if Negroes are included in the same districts and conferences.

Dixon appealed for "respect four our opinions" and "time to heal our problems. We want to stay in the Methodist Church."

The church has divided the nation into geographical jurisdictions, but with those in the South including only white chrrches. The overlapping Central Jurisdiction was formed to include all Negro churches.

Rev. John Wesley Hart of Marshall, Tex., said destruction of the jurisdictional system would raise questions about the good faith of the church in installing it 20 years ago.

Dr. Bosley said segregation is causing Northern churches, particularly those in Chicago, to lose many prospective Negro members.

CITIZENS COUNCIL OF AMERICA IN TEXAS, Inc.
P. O. Box 1014 - Houston 1, Texas

Rec 2/17

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

2-14

Harold Fleming

Can you answer the attached? Perhaps I should refer Al Payne to you for discussion? Let me know.

Regards

Art Levin ✓

WUC 2/13/

February 12, 1958

Mr. Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, SE.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Art:

Let me take this opportunity of thanking your office for going to a lot of trouble to provide us with a showing of "The Face of the South" on such short notice.

You may be interested in the results of this particular showing, especially since it preceded a discussion of some of its merits and some of the possible ways it can best be used.

Our traveling staff is made up of about a dozen men. The staff is interracial and, with one exception, are native Southerners. We have been trying to locate a simple, accurate, factual, and objective presentation on the South for use by local staff, by lay groups, and by various program units. This particular film was of special interest to our staff, since about one-half of us had studied at one time under Dr. S. C. Mitchell, George's father, who was with the YMCA graduate school.

Most of the positive comments centered around the good organization in such a brief compass, around the scholarly skill with which the current problems have emerged, from an historic context, around the beauty of the scenes, as well as the humor of some of George's remarks.

Like most other groups, we were quite concerned about the lack of clarity in the speech, but I don't suppose that anything can be done about this.

We are aware that the film was not prepared specifically as a kick-off to small groups discussions, but we think that it has merits for this purpose, if a number of things are considered.

We feel, for instance, that it is necessary, prior to the showing of the film, for some person who has seen it a number of times to make a good introduction to it, explaining what George is trying to do and preparing the groups for its poor sound effects. We wonder if there is available a list of provocative questions for priming the discussion after the film, and if none is available,

we would like to recommend that such a list of questions be prepared by some competent person.

It was suggested that the film could be presented with occasional film stops at breaks in the presentation to simplify discussion around one specific area of the whole idea.

It was felt by a number of the group that the ending of the film was a little too sermonic and answered the question too specifically, rather than asking the group how they would solve the problem themselves. In other words, if the end of the film could be re-edited without doing an injustice to George or the integrity of the film itself, it would be better, we feel, if the door could be left open for discussion by the group on the responsibility of individuals and groups in the South to solve the problem.

This leads to some specific questions and I hope you will give me a ring and let me know your reaction to them:

1. Is the script available for me to look over and pick out some high points for sharing with our staff? Better yet, would you permit duplication of the script or would this run into some sort of copyright difficulty?

2. Are discussion outlines available, preferably broken into the sections of the presentation made by George Mitchell?

3. What specific handouts are available, which tell the same sort of story presented by the film? I am sure that the Southern Regional Council has many leaflets in stock. Which of these pamphlets provide the best sort of take home sheet, following the film showing?

4. Is it possible that there are other films dealing with this subject with which I am not familiar?

Please forgive this long letter. Let me repeat that we are grateful. We, in our staff, feel that this has lots of potential and we would like to consider using it more and more in our program groups across the South. We hope, too, that some of the above observations may be valuable to you or the Southern Regional Council, or to the Presbyterian Church which initiated the film through the Fund for the Republic.

Good luck to you.

Sincerely,

Alfred C. Payne
Secretary for Campus Work

ACP/P
copy to Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council

February 19, 1958

Mr. Ben Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

Enclosed is a copy of a thoughtful letter from Al Payne of the Southern Area Council, YMCA, raising various questions about ways to increase the usefulness of "The Face of the South." Could you find time to give us your reactions?

I hope plans for your Southern program are coming along well.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Ltr. from Alfred C. Payne, dtd. 2/12/58

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Fred Routh

Talbot R. Ref

Regards

Art Levin

Nate Perlmutter

Oscar Cohen

March 4, 1958

I would like to call your attention to the unpublished fact that Dean White of the School of Education, University of Florida, has received a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education to compile a manual on how school systems can desegregate.

On the advisory board for this project are Dr. Carmichael and other important Southern educators.

This is a project of signal importance and I do hope you can get to meet with Dr. White to offer him not only your assistance, but the facilities of the League generally.

OC:ms
cc: Southern Directors
Alex Miller

Oscar

March 7, 1958

Mr. Arthur J. Levin, Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

Many thanks for the publicity report. I was fascinated by their quick dismissal of Frederick B. Routh and their hearty swing on SRC. But even in it we find the worth while quote: "The Southern Regional Council, receipient of a grant of $245,000 from the Fund for the Republic, is one of the most influential organizations of whites and Negroes in the South." This will probably appear on our new promotional pamphlet.

I am fascinated by the Presbyterian Outlook's defence of freedom of religion in the face of its obvious violation by the Thompson Committee of Virginia. To the arch-segregationist nothing is sacred, and I am convinced that as soon as they learn that God believes in integration they will read him out of their church.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

March 14, 1958

Dear Art:

Thanks for passing this on to me. When I was in New York, Oscar Cohen offered to send us a batch for free. They have come, and I think we can put them to good use.

Regards,

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Do you want to order any reprints?

I am not planning to do so.

Please return attached.

Regards

Art Levin

March 14, 1958

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Art:

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Oscar Tarcov

Date: March 7, 1958

Subject: Wall Street Journal reprint (R 60)

Attached is a copy of an article by Ed Cony that appeared in the February 14 Wall Street Journal.

In this article Mr. Cony discusses the role of the clergy in the South with respect to the issue of segregation. He maintains that more and more clergymen in the South, Protestant, Catholic and Jewish, are publicly supporting desegregation.

Additional copies of this reprint are available at $2.00 per 100. It will list at 5¢ a copy.

OT:bw

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

April 14, 1958

Art Levin
Anti-Defamation League

Dear Art:

For the film library in case you don't have it.

Sincerely,

Narration of 'Face of the South'

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

4/15

Harold Fleming

Trust this won't be an imposition, but I would value your comments.

Thanx + regards

Art Levin

THE CHALLENGE OF THE SOUTH

Arthur J. Levin, Southeastern Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Atlanta, Ga.

When I was a little boy, in the year B.T.V. (before television), every Saturday morning my mother packed my lunch and my friends and I took ourselves off to the movies to spend the day. For some seven or eight hours, until each mother dragged her offspring home by the ear or scruff of the neck, we watched either cowboys vs. cowboys, cowboys vs. Indians, cops vs. robbers, or Allies vs. Germans fight to the death, to the furious accompaniment of a piano, screeching children, and general pandemonium. It was a wonderfully simple world we lived in then, with no difficulty at all in telling the good guys from the bad guys. If they weren't Indians, or robbers, or Germans, the bad guys were recognizable by mustaches, dark clothes, and black horses.

The world is no longer so simple, if indeed it ever was, and it's no longer possible to tell a good guy from a bad guy without a program. I hope tonight to provide the program or guide by which you can distinguish the good guys from the bad guys in the deep South. Actually, this is the first important point on the program, that the South contains neither all villains nor all heroes, not all plantation owners, brutal overseers, and happy, dancing Negroes, not all segregationists and White Citizens Councils members and hooded Klansmen. Just people, of all sizes,

shapes, religions, colors, occupations, opinions - the same kind of people you will find everywhere in these United States.

There isn't even one South, as commonly referred to and stereotyped in novels and movies, but actually four different Souths with different geographies, different histories, different economic and political and social developments. As Dr. George S. Mitchell has so graphically depicted it, the South is divided into the mountainous region, the piedmont region of waterpower, factories, and small farms, the fertile black belt crescent which sustained the plantations and the slave economy of old, and the tideland coastal strip of swamp and pine trees. The South most commonly thought of, even by Southerners, is the black belt which runs from Virginia down through the southeast and across the Gulf Coast states.

When the political systems of the Southern states developed in early American history, the plantation economy was dominant, and the large land holders controlled the legislatures and wrote the laws to perpetuate their political and economic control. The other regions have a tradition of political and economic democracy, which has been the source of liberalism in the South.

Today, cotton is no longer king, and most of the plantations have been divided into smaller farms leased or tenanted by Negro and white farmers. The large landholders have exchanged their gracious mansions for urban estates. But political and economic

control is still vested in the black belt region through disproportionate rural representation in state legislatures, preserved in my own state of Georgia by the iniquitous county unit system. This political situation grows worse daily as the black belt loses population, both white and more rapidly Negro, to the industrial cities which are virtually without representation in the legislatures. The shadow of the black belt, plantation, slave holding South dominates to this very day, politically and traditionally, the states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas. In this fertile crescent is still concentrated the largest proportion of Negroes in the United States, where they comprise 50% or more of the total population. It is from here that the "hard core" of southern resistance to desegregation stems.

The process of desegregation would have been difficult enough for men of good will, even without massive resistance. When, in 1896, the U.S. Supreme Court adopted the "separate but equal" judicial concept established by a Massachusetts court 47 years earlier, two separate cultural developments were set in motion side by side in the South. The white South received whatever advantages were available; the Negroes took the leavings, without hope of anything better in the foreseeable future. "Separate but equal" was always separate, but virtually never equal. Let a child grow up in an environment which brands him in

every possible way with the badge of inferiority, worthlessness, undesirability, and an adult emerges who is indeed inferior psychologically, emotionally. It is a wonder that any Negroes escaped from this crushing complex to rise above their environment and terrible heritage. No test devised by science has ever been able to demonstrate that Negroes are mentally inferior to whites or incapable of equal potential, but they must have an equal chance to realize their potentialities. Denied this chance by segregationists under the "separate but equal" doctrine, Negroes had no hope but to overturn this doctrine, which they succeeded in doing legally first on the college level in 1936 in Maryland, and on the public school level in 1954. But a legal decision doesn't change almost a century of degradation, and perhaps the major problem of desegregation will be the reconciliation of these two separate cultures into a society of equal opportunity.

But massive resistance to the Supreme Court decision did develop, adding enormously to the problems of desegregation. This resistance follows a number of patterns which can be catagorized as follows:

1. <u>Legislation at the state level designed to thwart the federal court decision</u>. Since 1954, approximately 150 pieces of legislation have been adopted in 11 southern states, all with the purpose of preserving segregation. A great many of these state laws are designed to prevent local communities in the South

from working out their own problems, free of "outside interference" imposed by their own state governments - cutting off state school aid, closing desegregated schools and also the schools from which the Negro students came, even making it a felony for local school officials to desegregate, punishable by a jail sentence and personal liability for restitution of all funds spent in a desegregated school. Inevitably, these laws will be declared unconstitutional by federal courts, but such legal processes are slow and costly, and will delay desegregation for years.

2. State court rulings and official state action asserting the concept of "interposition" and "states rights". The doctrine of "states rights" may be likened to an iceberg. Perched on top of the surface, as if it existed by itself and there is no more to this doctrine, is the preservation of segregation. Hidden beneath the surface, however, rarely referred to and little thought about by most Southerners, is the great, dangerous hulk of union-busting "right to work" laws, private manipulation of irreplaceable natural resources and public utilities without federal controls, cheap labor, tax write-offs, land grabs, etc. In my opinion, the traditional cry of "nigger, nigger" in southern state politics is the "black herring" dragged across the trail of private gain and plundered state treasuries. These are political and economic problems which can be solved by enlightened voters and alert consumers, and are no different from those faced in other sections of this country.

Except for the herring

3. Boycotts of desegregated schools, mostly short-lived and futile gestures. More serious is the harrassment of Negro students in desegregated schools by troublemakers among the students, stimulated and spurred on by adults. This is a discipline problem, well within the jurisdiction of school officials.

But not under control by some

4. Defiance of and non-compliance with federal court orders. Neither Prince Edward County, Va., nor Clarendon County, S.C., have desegregated their schools as yet, although both cases were ruled on in the U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954. Four years after the Court decision, less than 1/4 of the biracial school districts in 17 southern and border states are in compliance with the "law of the land". And of the 740 school districts which have desegregated, only 16 are located in the deep South "hard core" states. Seven states - Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana - remain tightly segregated at the public school level, and only Virginia and Louisiana have enrolled Negroes in tax-supported colleges. And if the words of the politicians from these states are to be taken literally, "blood will run in the streets" before these states are desegregated. The use of Federal troops to force compliance, as in Little Rock, would seem to be far from a satisfactory solution to this impasse.

5. Organized resistance to desegregation, characterized by such groups as Citizens Councils, Despite their protestations

that they use only "legal means" of resistance, and indeed much state segregation legislation has originated from Citizens Councils, the covert and favored weapons of these groups is the next pattern

6. Social ostracism, economic pressure, intimidation, and reprisals, wherever any shred of sympathy is indicated for equal rights, or even any attempt to discuss the problem openly. A minister loses his pulpit, a professor his post, a worker his job, a consumer his credit, a newspaper its advertisers, a business its customers and suppliers. Where organizations instead of individuals are involved, such as the NAACP, restrictive court rulings and legislative acts limit or destroy the right of free association for legitimate purposes without fear of intimidation and reprisals. The city limits of Tuskegee, Ala., site of the famous Tuskegee Institute, were reduced to exclude all but 10 of the more than 400 Negro voters, and Macon County, Ala., is in process of being abolished entirely because it has a majority Negro population who might get to vote some day. Ala. State Senator Sam Engelhardt, who represents this county, introduced the enabling legislation. He is coincidently the paid executive director of the Alabama Citizens Councils, and now a candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

7. Overt violence, now on the increase, has become the "court of last resort". The Ku Klux Klan has become the breed-

ing place for saboteurs of democracy. Frustrated malcontents, the congenital haters, the dregs commonly repudiated and punished by society, have seized upon the segregation issue to gain new-won approval for their previous reprehensible conduct. Anonymous threatening phone calls, cross-burnings, beatings, shots in the dark of night, emasculation, dynamite - these are the tools of the shrouded trade. But let us not be misled by the crimes of the maladjusted - the political leader, the business leader, the social leader, the religious leader, the newspaper editor - all the molders of public opinion who counsel disregard and defiance of the law are equally or more culpable for these crimes of violence; indeed they incite the weaker minds with the promise of approval and immunity, as long as the crimes have segregation overtones which can be blamed on the "communistic" U.S. Supreme Court.

Today, the strident voice of the South emanates almost wholly from resistance groups because the State - and I use that word in the worst sense of fascistic and communistic dictatorship - has established a chilling climate of repression and fear which has silenced every decent element in southern society. This is no longer a problem of desegregation alone; it is a problem of civil liberties and civil rights for every southerner, and indeed for the entire United States. All of the "hard core" resistance states have so-called state sovereignty, or legis-

Not quite

lative, or education commissions to investigate anything and anybody invading "states rights", with powers of subpoena and power to penalize "uncooperative" witnesses. Their methods include wire tapping, telephoto cameras, hidden microphones and recording devices, and spies, and their favorite propaganda technique is the infamous McCarthy communist smear - in fact, the current "expert witness" of some of these commissions is J.B. Matthews, erstwhile executive director of the McCarthy Senate sub-committee on investigations. Some of these states have laws requiring persons and organizations who actively engage in certain ways in furthering desegregation to register and report periodically, with fines and imprisonment for violations. State employees who are members of the NAACP, or advocate desegregation may be fired summarily, and segregation loyalty oaths are oftentimes required. Mississippi provides criminal penalties for a person convicted of inciting a public disturbance by advocating disobedience to state laws and non-conformance with customs, traditions, and usages of the state, and both criminal and civil penalties for any person who seeks to deprive a citizen of Mississippi of his rights and privileges guaranteed him by the Mississippi constitution. Every "hard core" governor has broad police powers to use the state militia or state police officers to maintain "peace and order", including regulating the use of public parks, public buildings, public utilities, and any public facilities such as sports. Southern courts can be counted on

to have their own interpretation of justice when it comes to segregation, and southern juries rarely convict except in the most heinous crimes which are calculated to do public-relations harm to the cause of segregation.

I have talked mostly of the "bad guys" up to now, and the picture would indeed be black and hopeless if only villains peopled the South. But good, courageous people are not a monopoly of the "North", and increasing numbers of decent Southerners have become aware of their loss of personal democracy, of the police state tactics under which they live. And more and more people - still relatively few in number - have found the courage to speak out for rejoining these United States. A number of interracial organizations, such as the Southern Regional Council and its affiliated state and city councils on human relations, the Nashville Conference on Community Relations, the Memphis Race Relations Committee, and small ad hoc housing and urban redevelopment committees convened by city and federal officials, all are contributing to desegregation solutions. Virtually every major religious or church-related group in this country has a social action arm which is active in desegregation, and the southern clergy, slow to respond, is beginning now to exert a public moral leadership in sermons and statements of principle and interracial meetings, which bear witness to their highest religious convictions. Southern churchwomen particularly have been in the vanguard. National Jewish organizations, such as

the ADL of B'nai B'rith, and their non-denominational counterparts have for years played an important and effective role in the South in helping to eradicate prejudice and discrimination against any creed or color. Negro leadership, with all of its diversity of political, economic, social, and personal interests, has remained firm in its determination to achieve equal opportunity, and the Negro people have exhibited a new dignity and cohesiveness born of hope and succor. True, these committed "good guys" are relatively few in number as yet, but so are the committed "bad guys". In between are the great majority of Southern people who, despite their feelings about segregation, have yet to be heard from on obedience to law and maintenance of public education. Personally, I have no doubt whatsoever that these people will prove to be "good guys" in the final outcome.

As a small minority in the deep South, numbering just a little over one-half of one percent of the population, the Jewish people occupy a special position in the South. They are concentrated in the larger cities, but small numbers of families are scattered in almost every rural town and hamlet. Economically, Jews have carved out for themselves a middleclass niche in retail and marginal-industry businesses, mostly family owned and operated. There is no such thing as a "Jewish vote", since Jews can be found in all political camps, and anti-semitism has never been a factor in state politics and has been repudiated where it

has arisen on rare occasions. Jewish religious, service, fraternal, and philanthropic organizations abound, as do country clubs, community centers, beautiful synagogues and temples. A small number of Jewish individuals are active in general community life, holding positions of leadership to which they aspire. There have been and are today Jewish mayors and city councilmen and other public office holders. Discrimination against the Jews of the South in education, housing, employment, and socially exists, but to a lesser degree than in almost any other part of the country, in my experience.

Because the Jews of the South are so few in number, most native Southerners have little personal experience or contact with Jews and tend to consider them as "different". Religiously, all Jews are held in high esteem by Christians as "people of the Book," which frequently causes Jewish individuals with little knowledge of Jewish history and religion considerable embarrassment. In fact, native Southerners, themselves virtually homogeneous white Anglo-Saxon's or Negroes, tend to think of Jews as being homogeneous, with uniform opinions, one set of beliefs, one way of life. No matter how long Jewish families have lived in the South, and they were among the original settlers, Jews are still today considered to be foreigners and strange in customs and belief, so that an x illusive anti-Jewish feeling pervades the South; never however strong or well-defined enough

elusive?

to have sustained any significant native organized anti-semitic movements. Organized anti-semitism is an import into the South.

The treatment of the Negro minority in the South has had a profound effect upon the Jewish group, itself a much smaller minority with a great deal more to lose materially. Generally, Jews have sought the cloak of anonymity and the protective coloration of "southern mores" to keep from being singled out. Jews tend to live together, organize together and socialize together, for the most part. The Jewish community of the South does not relish any spotlight on itself in matters of desegregation and civil rights, understandably, although it continues to support national organizations such as ADL and B'nai B'rith which are in the forefront of combatting bigotry and discrimination.

Before the Supreme Court school desegregation decision of 1954, there were relatively few vocal, and for the most part ineffectual, anti-semites on the Southern scene. The Ku Klux Klan was the major anti-semitic organization, but it had declined markedly in membership and influence as a result of the state anti-mask and anti-crossburning laws originated and stimulated by the Anti-Defamation League. The hate literature was of outside origin, mailed or otherwise distributed in insignificant quantity. Immediately after the Court decision, a lot of small pro-segregation organizations sprang into being, the organizers of which had long records of anti-Negro and anti-semitic prejudice.

With this new gimmick of the Court decision, everybody went into the hate business for himself.

By 1955, the Citizens Councils had become the largest resistance organization, drawing almost a million members from the black belt counties. Recommended reading lists of segregation literature were mailed to members, and Mississippi Citizens Council executive secretary Robert Patterson said that the literature, which included both anti-semitic and anti-Catholic writings, was recommended because of its pro-segregation viewpoint only! This was the beginning of an avalanche of anti-semitic publications reaching into every corner of the South and continuing unabated as of this very moment. Almost all of it comes from outside the South - Conde McGinley's "Common Sense" from Union, N.J.; Frank Britton's "American Nationalist" from Inglewood, Calif.; Gerald L.K. Smith's "Cross and the Flag" and various pamphlets from Los Angeles, Calif.; Joe Kamp's "Headlines" from New York; John Hamilton's "White Sentinel" from St. Louis, Mo.; Lyrl Clark Van Hyning's "Women's Voice" from Chicago, Ill.; Robert H. Williams "Intelligence Summary" from Santa Ana, Calif., etc.

A few Jews joined the Citizens Councils voluntarily; others in rural areas and smaller cities joined because of implied boycotts of their retail businesses. I shall never forget the frantic long distance calls I received, or the personal

implied threats.

conversations I had with small town merchants who did not wish to join, but were fearful of not doing so. I cannot, even today, say what I would have done had I been faced with the loss of my business, my home, my children's future, when the only thing I had to do was put up $3.00 and accept a membership card in a Citizens Council. It is to the eternal credit of the great majority of Southern Jewry that they resisted economic pressure and defied the threats. Rooting the anti-semitism out of the Citizens Councils was one of the major campaigns of the southern regional offices of ADL, and the effectiveness of our efforts may be gauged by an editorial which appeared in the April 1958 issue of the States Rights Advocate, published by the Montgomery County (Ala.) Citizens Council: "The chief danger comes from zealots who happen to be opposed to integration, hence their affinity for the Councils, but who also are consumed with assorted hatreds, bitterness, and warped ideas on patriotism, economics, or whatever has happened to stick foremost in their twisted minds...Reference is made specifically to anti-Jewish agitators. There always have been in America a few fanatics who have tried to plant anti-semitism - a European phenomenon, not an American one - in America. They never have succeeded and they never will. But they have succeeded in destroying the groups and organizations they have captured or latched on to. No one connected with a Citizens Council can accomplish anything at all by helping these ~~my~~ people:

anything, that is, except to harm or destroy the Councils." The Advocate pointed to the successful assimilation of Jewish people in the South: "There is no 'Jewish problem' with us." Although many national Jewish organizations are actively promoting integration, the editorial continues, there is no reason for anti-semitism: "There are plenty of Protestant and Catholic organizations who are going down the same road as the Jewish groups in question in promoting integration - Baptist, Methodist...."

I'm sure you all remember the Clinton, Tenn. fiasco in September 1956, when your own John Kasper threw a peaceful community into mob violence over the desegregation of the high school, necessitating the national guard to restore law and order. Kasper soon became a welcome guest speaker at various Klan rallies, and at meetings of Ace Carter's Klan-like North Alabama Citizens Councils, where his vicious anti-semitism found receptive ears. But the real significance of a Kasper to the Southern segregation scene is best exemplified in the Nashville story of desegregation of the first grades last September.

Despite the careful planning for the desegregation process, organized opposition to desegregation broke out shortly before school began. The Parents School Preference Committee, backed by the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, a Citizens Council-type of organization, circulated petitions to parents of school children demanding a halt to desegregation by reason of recently enacted state segregation laws. At the same

time, the notorious John Kasper, just released on appeal from his conviction by a jury in Knoxville on charges growing out of his segregation activities in Clinton, began a series of public rallies on school and city property. Although these meetings were not well attended, they served to unify the extremist hoodlums from within and outside Nashville. Outside agitators imported by Kasper included such well-known anti-semites as Ace Carter and Jesse Mabry of Birmingham, Edward Fields of Atlanta and Louisville, Joe Beauharnais of Chicago, Bill Hendrix of Florida, Peter Xavier of Dayton, Ohio and John Mercurio of Los Angeles. Nashville segregationist leaders included Klansmen Emmett Carr and E.C. Dollar, and Rev. Fred Stroud, a local fundamentalist preacher. The "respectable" Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government publicly denounced Kaspdr and urged that he leave the city along with his henchmen. The ADL staff member on the scene was busy exposing the background of each bigot as fast as they appeared to press, radio and TV commentators covering Nashville at this time. Also, public statements urging law and order were elicited from responsible religious leaders and civic-minded organizations.

Every speech of the segregationists included violent and often vile anti-semitism. For example, Klansman Dollar said that "Jews are behind integration, and you know that a Jew is nothing but a nigger turned inside out." Kasper and his friends hammered over and over again on the line of "Jewish-Communist conspiracy to control the world," laid down in the "Protocols of

the Learned Elders of Zion". Nor was anti-semitism confined only to speeches. Literature and throwaways featured epithets such as "Kike (jew)", "jewspapers", attacks on local and national Jewish figures, etc. Application blanks for the Tennessee Citizens Council and the Klan excluded Jews. Conde McGinley's "Common Sense" was distributed by the thousands, as were propaganda sheets imported from every hate center, north and south.

Despite the fact that Kasper and his cohorts were meeting on school property in violation of the law, and inciting to violence in their speeches, the police underestimated their potential because they were comparatively few in numbers. When school opened, jeering crowds were allowed to collect around the schools and to threaten and even molest Negro children and parents. This further encouraged the extremists to do their worst, which was to bomb the newest elementary school building, causing $100,000 damage. This entirely unexpected and totally senseless act galvanized the police into effective action. A cordon was thrown around each school, the leading troublemakers arrested, and no more than three people allowed to collect in one place. With Kasper in jail along with some of his cohorts, and the police firmly enforcing the law, the back of the resistance was broken and law and order was re-established. Lagging school attendance picked up and by the end of the week desegregation was an accomplished fact - a total of 10 first grade Negro children were attending previously all-white schools.

Perhaps the important lesson to learn from this experience is that there is no such thing as a "moderate" segregation organization, no matter what its publicly stated purpose or method of operation. When the chips are down and desegregation is to begin, all organized segregationists make common cause at the lowest common denominator - violence! After the Hattie Cotton School was bombed, the "respectable" Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government bailed out the troublemakers as fast as the police arrested them, including the Kasper-Klan axis. To believe that any organized segregationists will hesitate to use or support anti-semitism when it suits their purpose is to live in a dream world.

The recent tragic aftermath of the Nashville story - the dynamiting of the Jewish Community Center - you undoubtedly know about, as you surely know of the dynamiting of the Miami synagogue on the same day, and the attempted dynamitings of the temple in Charlotte and the synagogue in Gastonia, N.C., all within the past few months. In each case, no apparent effort was made to destroy the building and care was taken to avoid human casualties. These were cases of intimidation, as threatening, anonymous phone calls in Nashville and Miami which followed the dynamitings made clear. The Jews were accused of being "nigger lovers", mongrelizers, the power behind the NAACP, communists, and obscenities. The Atlanta and Miami and North Carolina regional ADL offices were able to be of help to police authorities because we know intimately

the individuals and groups which combine the worst elements of segregation and vicious anti-semitism. Except to say that we believe there is a close link between the Miami and Nashville dynamitings, and the Charlotte and Gastonia attempts, I feel it would be best not to divulge specific details because the police investigations of promising leads are proceeding at full pace. I will say that the general community response in Nashville was heartwarming and gratifying. From Governor Clement, who immediately offered a $5,000 reward, to Mayor West, who offered a $1,000 reward, to the newspapers which editorizlized magnificently (and the Banner publisher himself offered a $1,000 reward), to the ministerial association, and individual citizens, and even to children who contributed pennies to the rebuilding of the Center, the dynamiting evoked shock and rage and shame. It was not only a Jewish Community Center that was dynamited, it was a piece of Nashville that was desecrated, as citizen after citizen made abundantly clear. Neither in Nashville nor Miami, nor Charlotte, nor Gastonia did the violence represent community ill-will, for indeed Christian-Jewish relations in these cities are exemplary.

What the violence did represent is the fact that the Ku Klux Klan and the Klan-type of mentality, which is as much or more anti-semitic as segregationist, has lost its last shred of influence and has been repudiated by decent Southerners everywhere because of its religious bigotry. The repudiation of the

Klan and its consequent frustration is one of the important causes for resorting to violence in order to gain public attention. This violence, and I fear we have not seen the last of it, has now reached the proportions where it endangers every law-abiding citizen of every race and creed, to say nothing of the damaging effect upon the country's international prestige. Governor Timmerman of South Carolina, a confirmed segregationist, this past October labeled the Klan as "Communist-inspired in an attempt to mislead southern people" and "a racket for local organizers who collect dues from the misguided". He also pointed out that the Klan is listed as a subversive organizatim by the U.S. Attorney General, in which ADL had an effective hand.

Inevitably, the road of segregation leads to bigotry, and the last resort of the bigot is violence. A typical example is the once respectable war hero, Rear Adm. John G. Crommelin of Wetumpka, Ala., retired because of his recalcitrance over the armed services unification squabble in 1950. He was a candidate for the U.S. Senate from Alabama on three different occasions, each time becoming more vicious in his segregationist and anti-semitic views. His repudiation by the voters each time apparently added to his frustration ~~by~~ ~~x~~ and consequent viciousness, and he drifted into the camp of John Kasper, for whom he was a "character witness" in the Clinton trial which resulted in Kasper being jailed, and more recently into the Gerald L.K. Smith

camp, for whom he made a lecture tour. Crommelin is now a gubernatorial candidate in the Alabama Democratic primary, and his sole platform is to expose "the satanic plot to mix the blood of the White Christian People of the South with Negroes directed and financed by the Communist-Jewish conspiracy...the ultimate objective of the Communist-Jewish conspirators is to use their world-wide control of money to destroy Christianity and set up a World Government in the framework of the United Nations, and erase all national boundaries and eliminate all racial distinction except the so-called Jewish race, which will then become the master race with headquarters in the state of Israel and in the United Nations in New York, and from these two communication centers rule a slave-like world...."

This is the notorious forgery, "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion", brought up to date. Crommelin actually believes that this plot to take over the world is real, and that it will start in Alabama. He is all the more dangerous because of his fanaticism, even though he is not conceded a chance in his gubernatorial aspirations. But his political candidacy gives him the opportunity to spew his hate line before audiences and over radio and TV, with what effect is still to be determined.

These, then, are the good guys and the bad guys of the South in the desegregation, "states rights" issue. It is my firm conviction that the great majority of decent Southern people, regardless of their views on segregation, are law-

abiding people who believe in and will preserve public education on a desegregated basis. The "Dixie" of the plantation past is already in its death throes, as Harry Ashmore explains so succinctly in his incisive book, "Epitaph for Dixie", because of industrialization and urbanization and mechanization of farming. But change does not come easily, and there are those who resist change of ~~any~~ any sort because they will not risk exchanging their comfortable certainties for fancied uncertainties, because of mental rigor mortis which cannot rise to the challenge of the future and so must take refuge in the prison of the past.

The good guys of the South need outside help to break the stranglehold of the plantation past, help which can come only by continued pressure on the South from the rest of this country. We need the pressure of national government leadership, the pressure of national business and labor leadership, the pressure of national legal, educational, and religious leadership, the pressure of the national media of mass communication. Most of all, we need the pressure of national public opinion, which in the last analysis determines which way this country will go, and how rapidly. All over the world the power of an idea - equal rights for all - is jet propelling history in a direction which cannot and will not be altered by the personal whims of any group of men. We in the South, we in the United States, can only cooperate with this inexorable march of history or be

left behind in the world-wide struggle for men's minds.

The Challenge of the South once again is whether this "...nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal...shall have a new birth of freedom..." and..."shall not perish from the earth."

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Fred Routh (return)

EFV ✓
HCF
PA
MET
JC
[illegible]

Regards

Art Levin

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

606 Common St., Rm. 401
New Orleans 12, La.

Alex Miller

Irwin Schulman

April 17th, 1958

On Monday, April 8th, Herbert L. Thomas, Sr., founder and president of the First Pyramid Life Insurance Company of America, of Little Rock, spoke before the Arkansas State Board of Education and outlined a "voluntary" plan of desegregation for the State of Arkansas. Also represented at this meeting were the ARKANSAS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, the ARKANSAS CONGRESS OF PARENTS AND TEACHERS, the ARKANSAS SCHOOL BOARD ASSN. and the GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION. These last named groups recently asked the State Board of Education to make a survey of the integration problem in Arkansas, which was turned down by the State Board.

The Thomas Plan is basically a request for a committee to be appointed by the State Board of Education to determine the length of time it would take for individual communities in Arkansas to desegregate. This would, of course, be done in consultation with the effected communities. In effect, what Thomas is asking for is a cooling off period by both segregationists and integrationists, during which time his proposed interracial committee would work with the effected school districts, studying their problems, weighing evidence offered and arriving at a practical determination of what constitutes "all deliberate speed" in particular school districts.

The following quote from Thomas is indicative of the tenor of his plan: "In those communities where circumstances warrant complete or partial desegregation, the commission could help resolve the attendant problems in such a way as to secure sufficient community support to make compliance workable. In areas where, for apparently valid reasons, desegregation is not now practical, the commission could promote the improvement of educational facilities for Negroes where such improvement is needed".

Thomas approached Gov. Faubus with the idea but, as of this date, Faubus has remained noncommittal, although he did allow Thomas to present his plan to the State Board of Education. Other comments from the state have ranged from those of the NAACP, which claims that Thomas' plan would only delay integration and set the Negro back, to the White Citizens Council's statement that the plan would only insure eventual desegregation. In between these two groups there are many prominent individuals, legislators and the Arkansas Gazette who feel that an exploration of the Thomas Plan would possibly come up with a solution which would take them from the impasse under which they are currently.

On April 9th Thomas met with 39 white business, church, school and civic leaders of the state and explained his Plan to them personally. The initial reaction from these 39 leaders was generally favorable to further investigation of the plan. There was a meeting scheduled yesterday between Thomas and 126 negro invitees to explore the plan substantially as was done with the whites on

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
2 - Alex Miller

606 Common St., Rm. 401
New Orleans 12, La.

April 9th, I have just been informed by phone that the Negro community of Little Rock is generally very much opposed to the plan since they consider it a step backwards.

One other comment is that, although we have generally gone along with the attitudes of the Arkansas Gazette, we should be more hesitant this time in agreeing with their editorial position (which has been in favor of the plan) since this position may possibly be seen as an attempt to recoup some of the losses they have sustained over the past seven months. This may just be speculation but I would not discount it completely.

I will keep you apprised of all future developments.

IS;mlh
cc...Milton Ellerin
Oscar Cohen
Arthur Levin
Ted Freedman
Nathan Perlmutter
Murray Friedman

Arnold Forster

Nathan Perlmutter

April 18, 1958

Last week I advised you that following a presentation by City Attorney Bill Pallot to the Commission, they decided not to appeal any further the bus segregation cases, and that as a consequence Miami's buses were now desegregated.

I am now enclosing for you a copy of yesterday's Miami Herald article with a dramatic follow up story; the same cast of characters; this time the issue of the municipal golf courses, and once again, the advice of Bill Pallot is accepted and now our municipal golf courses are desegregated.

Please note, however, the matter of the club house has not yet been resolved.

NP/lw
cc: Sol Rabkin
Alex Miller
Southern Offices - Art Levin;
Ted Freedman
Murray Friedman
Irv Schulman

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

7/8/58

Harold Fleming
et. al.

Regards

Art Levin

mean buying stock in Pacifica Foundation. A year's subscription costs $10 and entitles the subscriber to the station's bi-weekly *Folio*, which lists the programs over a two-week period. There are also advanced subscriber categories of $25, $50, and $100 for those who wish to contribute more to the station. Some 5,820 Northern Californians subscribe and 400 of them in the higher subscription categories make up the $5 deficit per average subscriber. The station needs 8,000 subscribers to make KPFA entirely self-supporting and hopes to reach that goal by the end of 1958. At present the deficit is made up from donations.

Since its beginning the station has been plagued with financial difficulties. KPFA was the dream of Lewis Hill, former Pacifica president. Started as an experiment with a mere 100 subscribers and a six-hour broadcast day, the station was able to stay on the air with a transmitter reaching only the Berkeley area for 15 months before lack of funds silenced it.

Hill and Foundation members thought they would have to wait several years before funds could be raised to begin operation again, but the interest of subscribers in KPFA brought them together and sent them on nine months of fund-raising efforts—door-to-door calls, speeches, and the like. The nine months ended with KPFA back on the air with a larger transmitter and a nine-hour broadcast day.

But this didn't end KPFA's money problems. The station received a sizeable boost in 1951 when the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education gave KPFA a three-year grant of $150,000. This enabled KPFA to continue its development despite a nationwide lack of interest in FM broadcasting and a consequent lag in production of FM equipment.

Because of the scarcity of FM equipment, Pacifica started a Subscriber's Supply Service, selling FM sets and tuners at factory cost, giving a free KPFA subscription with each set.

In April, 1954, there were 3,400 KPFA subscribers. Then the station hit newspaper headlines. KPFA had broadcast a program which appeared to urge the legalization of marijuana usage. California was suddenly up in arms. Fortunately, resulting unfavorable publicity was not disastrous, although subscriptions declined until Hill, who had left the station, returned in August. Partly because of the hi-fi craze, FM radio became popular once again, and KPFA recovered its losses by January, 1955.

During the next two years the station operated at a deficit, in a constant, nerve-straining battle to keep going—hectic appeals to listeners for funds, missed salary checks, innumerable bills. Lewis Hill, with a unique gift for fund-raising, and despite illness which kept him in almost constant pain, kept pushing KPFA on.

In July, 1957, Hill committed suicide. Rather than falling apart at the loss of its guiding force, KPFA dedicated itself to realizing Lewis Hill's dream. Listeners found themselves in the midst of a massive subscription and fund-raising drive, with contributions going to the Lew Hill Memorial Fund. Lew Hill's memorial was to be a fully-operative, self-supporting KPFA. In two months KPFA's staff and subscribers had erased the station's financial deficit of $15,000 and had $15,000 more for current operating expenses.

KPFA holds an important place in the lives of its listeners. For the station offers, as Kenneth Rexroth says, "a whole universe of discourse that just doesn't exist anywhere else in radio."

But KPFA is more than a venture in radio. It is, in the words of a former Pacifica Foundation president, an "audacious and challenging adventure of the mind and of the heart."

Changing Pattern In the South

by MURRAY FRIEDMAN

IN THE SUMMER of 1954, an employee of the American Safety Razor Company (now A.S.R. Products) in Brooklyn, New York, wrote to a friend in Richmond to ask for information about Staunton, Virginia, where the plant was transferring its operations. A substantial number of ASRC employees, he reported, were Jewish and Italian-Catholic and disturbed about the pending move. Were there any synagogues and Catholic churches in Staunton? What kind of reception would they and their families receive from local residents?

Several months after this letter was mailed, an editorial appeared in the Staunton *News Leader* dealing with the decision of Westinghouse and General Electric to open plants in the area. The *News Leader* was troubled by the dangers of over-industrialization. While some people looked upon this as progress, the editorial pointed out, farming would lose its place as the primary industry. Workers from crowded industrial areas and slums, some of whom might be organized in Communist-dominated unions, would be attracted who "would certainly not be the type of citizen who has kept this the fine 'Bible-belt' community that it is."

The undercurrent of concern in the letter and editorial reflect certain changes that have been taking place in the South in recent years. They make no banner headlines like violence in Birmingham, Alabama, or Clinton, Tennessee, but they are considerably more significant. New patterns of living and new attitudes are emerging from industrialization which will, in time, lead toward a solution of the South's vexing race problem.

Augusta County, Virginia, in which Staunton is located, is a good illustration of what is quietly taking place. Situated in the broad, bright green Shenandoah Valley between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains, is the second largest county in the state. Staunton with 24,800 people and Waynesboro with 15,000 are its two major cities. Traditionally, Waynesboro has been the back door to the aristocracy of its somewhat older neighbor, Staunton.

Typical of the Old South at its best, Augusta County is rich in culture and reverence for the past. Its fertile soil has also made it one of the state's top ranking agricultural areas. Located only a few miles from Monticello, it is steeped in the Jeffersonian heritage of hostility to industry and urban living and belief in the virtues of an agrarian society. In recent years, however, the "traditional land of bygone days," as the tourist guide puts it, has succumbed to the lure of industry, and agricul

ture has moved into a secondary position.

Waynesboro felt the impact first. In 1925, the Crompton-Shenandoah Company which makes velveteen and corduroy was established. Nature-cooled water brought E. I. duPont deNemours & Co. and its Benger Laboratory four years later to manufacture acetate yarn and orlon; it employed 3,100 last year. General Electric, representing an investment of $6 million and 1,000 employees, made Waynesboro the headquarters for its specialty control manufactures in 1954. Today, Waynesboro claims 30 industries with a payroll of about $30 million and 7,000 employees and, according to Mayor W. C. Caldwell, "We're just starting."

Major industry came to the Staunton area with sudden impact in 1954 when Westinghouse Electric Corporation (air conditioners) and American Safety Razor Products (Personna, Gem, and Pal razors and blades) began operation. Together, they represent an investment of $13 million and employ 2,700. With other industries already there and Waynesboro only 12 miles away, Augusta County stands as eloquent tribute to Henry Grady's prediction of a New South.

The growth of industry has brought prosperity to the area. Buying income of the average family in Staunton and Waynesboro was $5,850 last year, and residents spent some $11 million on food alone.

Industry is the reason for the great change taking place in the region, and it is what industry brings that is making vast inroads on the area's ways —schools, books, magazines, radio, television, automobiles, travel, and new people from other parts of the country. "Augusta County has become the nearest thing to a melting pot Virginia has," says Louis Spilman, publisher of the Waynesboro *News Virginian*. (The contrast between Spilman's vigorous editorial page, which is unafraid of change, and the *News Leader's* symbolizes the clash between the Old and the New South.) From sparking the drive for better schools to purchasing hi-fi sets, the newcomers are making an impact on every phase of life. An established Staunton merchant complains of the engineers and their wives shopping together in shorts on Saturday in the supermarket "examining canned goods with a slide rule." Food tastes are becoming more sophisticated. Pick up the telephone directory in Staunton and you will find Notre Dame football team type names like Urbanczyk, Usry, and Szczur.

What has happened—and this is taking place in varying degree all over the South—is that the rural, agriculturally oriented, and small town pattern of life is being replaced by a more urban type of civilization. The result is not the huge metropolis and probably never will be but neither is it the *News Leader's* "Bible-belt" community. In spite of the violent debate over civil rights issues, the outlook of the Southerner is growing more like that of the Northerner and Westerner.

Augusta County has demonstrated this in its unwillingness to be thrown into total confusion by the school segregation problem which has placed Virginia at the forefront of the resistance movement in the South. Two and a half years ago, Virginians went to the polls to vote, in effect, on whether the state constitution should be amended to permit the state to provide private school tuition grants to parents who didn't want their children to go to desegregated public schools. The plan, which was looked upon by many as a threat to public education, was approved by better than a two-to-one margin. It carried in 25 of Virginia's 31 cities. Augusta County and Staunton, however, approved the plan by a margin well below the state average, and Waynesboro actually voted it down by almost a two-to-one majority.

Augusta County's comparative freedom from racial tension may be the result of the small number of Negroes in the population—Staunton has 18 per cent and Waynesboro only nine per cent. Equally important, however, is the fact that the clarion calls to protect states rights and the Southern way of life fall on the less receptive ears of many people who come from parts of the country where either schools are mixed or these issues are not so transcending.

The increasingly middle class character of Augusta County is also seen in the shift to Republicanism in recent years. To some extent this has resulted from the Eisenhower popularity. Nevertheless, in 1948, Staunton broke its traditional Democratic allegiance to vote for Dewey, and Waynesboro lacked only seven votes to join the bandwagon. In 1952 and 1956, both cities liked Eisenhower by landslide majorities.

In what is probably a more advanced rate than the rest of the region at the moment, Augusta County is demonstrating the breakdown of the Old South and all that that term connotes in the way of values, patterns of life, and firmly held ideas. While segregationists denounce the U.S. Supreme Court's "sociological" decision, far more important sociological changes are taking place in the region. Harry Ashmore, executive editor of the Arkansas *Gazette* and one of the South's leading interpreters of current social problems, put his finger on this in a recent speech when he said:

"Legal segregation was only one of the three peculiar institutions that set the Southern region apart through most of its history. The other two were the one-crop agrarian economy . . . and the one-party political system . . . All three of these institutions are so closely interrelated as to be virtually one, and none can survive the others. Thus the Southern leaders who are working with marked success to industrialize the region are undermining the system of segregation many of them so passionatetly defend."

The crucial question is how long will it take for these changes to be translated into new racial adjustments. The answer is not a simple one. Already, more than half of the states affected by the May, 1954, Supreme Court school desegregation decision are engaged in some form of compliance. However, custom dies hard in this area. Nostalgia for the past and a way of life is being exploited by the Klan and citizens councils as well as by sincere and honest opponents of social change. But new racial patterns are developing in the South not only because of forces outside the region such as national and international opinion and the U.S. Supreme Court but the revolutionary changes taking place within it. The significance of this is that the conditions in which the older society existed are gradually being whittled away.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

7/12/58

For your information

Harold Fleming

thanks for letting me borrow this. Suggest you can "clear" SRC by giving G.L.K. Smith as reference.

Regards

Art Levin

Gentlemen: You may have 100 — 500 — 1000 or more of the Enclosed Letters titled — "WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT"

Send in your Request and state amount Needed.

There is no Charge.

OVER

Gentlemen:- you may have as many of the DIARY NUMBER 2 Letters as you may Care to Remain.

Send in your Request for amount Needed.

No Charge for these Letters on DESEGREGRATION

OVER

. . . .

Christian Nationalist Crusade
Gerald L. K. Smith, Director
Post Office Box 27895
Los Angeles 27, California

Yes, I want the copy of the manuscript entitled "The Goldfine Scandal". Count on me to stand with you through thick and thin.

Enclosed is my gift of $_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

7-11-58

∴ VERY. IMPORTANT NOTICE

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT

July 11, 1958

Dear Friend:

The exposure of Bernard Goldfine promises to alert millions of sleepy people who had failed heretofore to realize that a Jew-manipulated cabal has attempted to get a death-grip on our central government, our national policy, our military affairs, and our diplomatic strategy.

As this is written, I am sending Dr. Wesley A. Swift to Washington, D.C. to direct the activities of a special committee having to do with the issues which confront our Nation. Dr. Swift and his committee are being instructed to get the full unpublished truth concerning the Goldfine scandal. It is to be assumed that the most pertinent and significant facts are not reaching the people by way of the press, television or radio. We must have these facts, and I am convinced that Dr. Swift can get them. I am also working with other individuals who promise to keep me accurately advised concerning this super-scandal which has broken wide open in the sleepy face of an American public.

It is rumored that the erstwhile multi-millionaire John Fox, who broke the scandal wide open, was threatened with all sorts of reprisals, but refused to be intimidated. It seems that he had made some statement which offended the Jews because of his intense contempt for Goldfine and his practices. As a result, the 'hidden hand' operators of Washington proceeded to wreck his business even though he was worth about $25 million. I understand that Fox is determined to expose that secret and 'hidden hand' force which claims to be able to make and break American citizens according to their conduct and behavior.

I am preparing a special manuscript based on this research entitled "The Goldfine Scandal" and I will send a copy of this manuscript as soon as it comes off the press to every person who answers this letter, using the enclosed coupon.

As Dr. Swift goes to Washington he carries with him the legal impeachment brief setting forth the documented reasons why the Supreme Court of the United States should be impeached. Upon arriving in Washington he will contact the members of Congress who now hold in their possession the impeachment petition three blocks in length. These Congressmen have promised complete cooperation in the formal filing of the impeachment brief appropos to the petition.

We are winning on another great issue. Intelligent pressures, directed by our Crusade in cooperation with constructive and fearless patriots, are serving to frustrate a conspired attempt to get us into a Jew-made war in the Middle East. Thanks to you and others who have cooperated, the Congress of the United States is beginning to realize that the so-called Lebanese crisis has been synthetically and fraudulently exaggerated. The Jew-controlled press and the Jew-manipulated propagandists were about to convince our authorities that we should send our troops into the Middle East to fight the Arabs and save the multi-trillion dollar mineral deposits for the Zionists and their international Jewish ilk.

This propaganda trick has failed, and I am convinced that there will be no Middle Eastern war involving the United States because of the Lebanese situation. If my logic is correct, you can thank God that again we have

(OVER)

defeated this attempt of the Jewish cabal to maneuver us into another unwanted war.

Thanks to you and the alert patriots of the Nation who have worked with us and given your prayerful and financial support, the military dictatorship bill is dying for want of support.

The tons and truckloads of printed matter which have gone out from our headquarters week after week and month after month and year after year are at last beginning to show results. Truth is beginning to reach the people. Every reader of this letter will be happy to know that just a few days before this letter was mailed a fearless and faithful patriot in San Francisco sent in a check for enough to buy a copy of the newly published edition of "The International Jew", (as originally published by Henry Ford) for 100 members of the Congress of the United States. Wouldn't it be fine if others could do the same, not only for members of Congress, but for school teachers in their district and for the members of their legislature in their state and for other public servants and community leaders.

We are winning the greatest victories of our Crusade right now in the middle of the summer. Wouldn't it be foolish for us to think of relaxing our pressures or taking the summer off in the name of a vacation? No, now is the time for me to stay right at my desk, discussing strategy with my compatriots, to the end that other victories may be won and current projects may be matured.

I am counting on you to give with greater regularity and greater generosity than ever. The old axiom "Strike while the iron is hot" is still sound logic. Stand with us. Give to the limit. Pray for us. We shall not relax. We shall not retreat one-sixteenth of an inch. On the contrary, we shall press on with greater vigor and more determination than ever.

Just the moment that Dr. Swift returns after working with our confidential committee in Washington, D.C., I shall begin the preparation of the manuscript "The Goldfine Scandal". This will be more than just a report on the crooked operations of this powerful Russian Jew within the White House. It will develop the background and the supporting facts related to the 'hidden hand' manipulations within our political structure and our national life.

Everyone who fills out the attached coupon will be put on the list to receive the Goldfine manuscript.

I count on you and I know you will not fail us.

I remain, your servant
for Christ and America,

Gerald L. K. Smith

Gerald L. K. Smith

GLKS:L

Post Office Box 27895
Los Angeles 27, California

→ READ PAGE 2 - ITEM 50

DIARY

Below are items of interest assembled under the direction of Gerald L. K. Smith during his recent 9,000 mile tour including New York City and Washington, D. C.

SECTION 2

39.

Distress: A feeling of distress comes over me when I enter the City of Washington, D.C. Here is one of the most beautiful cities man has ever planned. Its majestic architecture includes the dome of the Capitol, the Jefferson Memorial, the Washington Monument, and the magnificent tribute in marble and stone to Abraham Lincoln. This once majestic city is now a Negro ghetto. Whites are fleeing from the blight of integration almost as though they had received an emergency warning concerning an approaching armed enemy. The streets are no longer safe even in the daytime. The population is just about 75% black and 25% white. Beautiful school buildings in erstwhile residential sections are now overrun by a black and mongrel herd. This is the fruit of Jewish propaganda, sappy sentimentalism and cold-blooded political demagoguery.

40.

Segregation for the Demagogues: The political opportunists who have enforced integration upon the helpless whites do not send their children to public schools. They live over in Virginia where segregation is being bootlegged. Thanks to the courageous statesmanship found in the historic state of Virginia, these political shysters who vote 'civil wrongs' are able to send their children to schools kept clean and wholesome by segregation.

41.

At this writing it is my belief that the military dictatorship bill will be defeated. The brazen ambition of the White House cabal, acting under the influence of 'hidden hand' manipulators, taxes the imagination. If our kind of people had not objected vigorously, these over-ambitious militarists would have given us a military dictatorship. The fight is not over. The manipulators have not given up, but it is my prophetic guess that they would not have been defeated had it not been for courageous and alert opposition.

42.

Deep-seated Resentment: There is a thread of resentment running through the Congress against the idea of one man controlling our entire military force, with a little handful of Jews behind the scenes controlling him. The original formula projected by these 'Zhukovites' called for the merging of the Navy, Army and Air Force with a complete surrender of their individual identities. If this took place treason at the top would mean complete treason, but with three services we have a check and balance against error, bad judgment and treason.

43.

About the time that this appears in print the executive officers of the Christian Nationalist Crusade will file their annual request with the Congress of the United States by way of the Un-American Activities Committee

(OVER)

for an investigation of the ominous and enigmatic activities of the Jewish Anti-Defamation League. It is our opinion that this organization has usurped powers outside its legal rights. It has indulged in the formation of what might be called a Jewish Bureau of Investigation which interferes with citizens' rights, prys into personal affairs, conspires to deny patriots the right of free speech and free press, and it raises large sums of money for pseudo-political activities, and these monies are given tax-exemption.

44.

Jews in the Kremlin: One Max Frankel in a special dispatch from Moscow to the New York Times, dated April 21 (appearing in the Times April 23, 1958), makes an illuminating report which reads as follows: "Noting the Israeli Ambassador, Joseph Avidar, before him, Premier Khrushchev was moved to touch on the issue of Soviet treatment of Jews. Dowager Queen Elizabeth of the Belgians had asked about that on her recent trip to Moscow, Mr. Khrushchev said. And she was told by Marshal Voroshilov that the Russians had a special attitude toward the Jews. 'In fact', said Marshal Voroshilov, according to Mr. Khrushchev, 'my wife is Jewish'. And Mr. Khrushchev added: 'Half the members of the (party's) Presidium have Jewish wives'".

45.

We are giving support to the special bill in Congress designed to curb the dictatorial authority of the Supreme Court. Senator Jenner of Indiana, in cooperation with Senator Eastland of Mississippi, is pressing for this legislation. The subtle and 'hidden hand' forces which seek to ridicule any attempt to curb Supreme Court tyranny never cease to amaze me.

46.

My theory could be right: Many patriots have been defeatists when discussing the power of Khrushchev. I have contended from the beginning that Khrushchev would crumble and the power of the Kremlin regime might be destroyed by feuds and quarrels for authority from within. Now comes a special report which reads as follows: "Here's the inside on the mounting suspicion that Khrushchev is getting into serious trouble at home: top-level political experts think old-guard Stalinists (and adherents) caused the Soviet boss to slow down his own Stalin-type consolidation of power, that the inscrutable Russian moves on the summit signaled Kremlin conflict, a retreat by K. Evaluation is that policy fumbles regarding Tito and in the U.N. clipped Khrushchev's stature, undermined his position."

47.

Underground Leaks: News seeping out of Poland into Washington reveals that the Polish people are very frustrated over the continuation and the fruits of Jewish tyranny. Jews sent in by Russia to lord it over the Poles practice such evil liquidations and persecutions that large numbers of the Polish population have reached the place where they would rather die fighting in the streets for their liberty than to be ground down any further under this tyranny.

48.

The State Department has just filed a request with the Congress and the Treasury for an appropriation with which to buy $1,000,000.00 worth of whiskey during the coming year in order to lubricate their diplomatic policies.

49.

A Negro paper known as the "Dispatch", insinuated that the bombings in Miami and elsewhere may have been performed by Jews. The "Dispatch", a

Los Angeles periodical, published by Negroes for Negroes, has frequently been attacked for its alleged anti-Semitism. It seems that the editors of the "Dispatch" feel that Negroes are being manipulated, embarrassed and injured seriously by Jewish organizations and personalities.

50.

The brilliant patriotic report entitled "Closer Ups", now edited by Mr. George Deatherage, calls our attention to a dispatch which appeared on May 1: "A Southern Rabbi says Rabbis in both the North and South should align themselves with 'every bona fide organization that is interested in ameliorating the plight of the Negro'. The attitude of the Rabbi both in the South and North must be 'clear and definite' concerning integration, Rabbi Paul Reich of Norfolk, Va., declared. He added 'there must be no pussyfooting'. Rabbi Reich spoke to 600 spiritual leaders of the conservative branch of Judaism at the annual convention of the Rabbinical Assembly of America . . ."

Such reports as this should be called to the attention of Southern leaders who are occasionally blind to the part the Jews are playing in the promotion of mongrelization in the South. These blind Southerners exhaust their energy fighting Negro leaders and unidentified Northern leaders without taking the time to discern that the real force behind the whole nationwide program of mongrelization is the professional and organized Jew and the professional and organized Communist.

51.

President Eisenhower addressed the Negro leaders of America on May 12. The speech was filled with platitudes and evasions which indicated that the President had begun to realize that the campaign for mongrelization in the U. S. is not as popular as he might have thought it to be earlier in his Presidential career. In fact, the Republicans have received no political reward for their suicidal gesture in sending 'storm troops' into Arkansas. Demagogues within the Party had assured the President that if he would take this extreme step it would win the Negro vote. Wherever elections have been held since the Arkansas episode, the Negro vote for Republicans has not increased, and in some instances it has diminished.

52.

Suspicion: Suspicions are developing on a wide front concerning the intrigue of the self-righteous, Jew-owned New York Times. This paper poses as the most sophisticated daily newspaper in the United States. Recently the Pan-American Anti-Communist Association of New York exposed the Times and identified it with pro-Communist revolutionary activities in Mexico, the Carribean area and the South American continent.

Note: A detailed report on the subject was prepared by the President of the Association, one Pedro de Mesones. This brochure may be had on request at 50¢ per copy. Address orders to the Christian Nationalist Crusade, P. O. Box 27895, Los Angeles 27, California.

53.

Members of our staff visited the headquarters of every Jewish organization in Washington. These outfits are fat with wealth and their offices ooze expensive printed propaganda. The professional Jew is determined to manipulate the United States into a Mutual Security Pact between England,

(OVER)

France and Israel in such a way as to compel the United States to go to war against the Arabs, if necessary, to guarantee Jewish power.

54.

We had as our guest at dinner one of the most important and brilliant Arabs in the world. He is in the United States to plead with Americans not to do anything that will alienate the natural good will of nearly 100 million Arabs. The gentleman in question, whose name should not be used here, is a brilliant attorney, educated at Oxford University. When the Jews drove him out of Jerusalem they took one-quarter of a million dollars worth of property from him and without one penny of compensation or remuneration. How can Christian people support the so-called State of Israel, which indeed is a bandit state, and justify such injustice.

55.

A Pleasant Honor: I have been invited to address the congregation of the First Christian Church of Viroqua, Wisconsin. This is significant because of the fact that it is my old home church, located in the community from which I graduated from high school.

56.

If the Middle East crisis was left to the professional soldiers and professional diplomats, we would have little difficulty. These lifetime career servants of the people are thoroughly enlightened concerning the Jew-Zionist trickery.

57.

J. B. Matthews, the noted expert on Communist intrigue insists that a propaganda campaign is being launched to white-wash Alger Hiss. He accuses one Fred J. Cook of being one of the leading factors in this campaign to smear the patriots and justify Hiss. Matthews points out that the chief praisers of Cook's campaign are men like H. H. Wilson of Princeton University who has been associated with 15 pink and Red-front outfits, and Thomas I. Emerson of Yale University, who has been associated with 40 pink and Red organizations. Another individual who has cooperated with Mr. Cook in his white-wash campaign is B. W. Huebsch of the Viking Press. Huebsch, according to Matthews, has been tied in with 16 front organizations. Matthews names Margaret Halsey as another endorser of Cook, who has been affiliated with 12 pro-Communist enterprises.

58.

Speaking of Hiss: Although Nixon went soft in his defense of Senator McCarthy and has done everything in his power to recruit the Negro vote, regardless of how it offended the self-respecting white elements, it is believed that the South American riots against Nixon are due to the fact that the Reds have never forgiven him for his activity in the exposure of Alger Hiss.

59.

Why did Rabb Quit? Maxwell Rabb (Rabinowitz) was the first man appointed to a job in Washington by Eisenhower. He was a protege of Henry Cabot Lodge. He was made the Secretary of Minorities, and while holding that job he became the chairman of the White House Secretarial staff. It is reliably reported that Sherman Adams, assistant to the President, learned that Rabb had collaborated with the Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell in curbing an investigation of Powell's income tax. The matter got out of hand. The Grand Jury took the 'bull by the horns' and indicated Powell. Rabb was forced to leave before the scandal broke.

60.

Speaking of Rabb: He was the chief instigator behind the President's order to send troops into Arkansas. Furthermore, it is known that Rabb was an intimate friend of the late David K. Niles (Neyhus) who served in the same position under Roosevelt and Truman. Niles was a known pervert and was considered by important students of world Communism as a part of the under-cover Communist apparatus.

61.

U. S. Senator Herman Talmadge says that Eisenhower's blunder in sending the troops into Arkansas will give the Democrat Party an overwhelming victory this fall. Conservative Republicans in the North will be defeated and a crew of New Deal radical Democrats will be elected which will make Hubert Humphrey (notorious left wing Democrat) look like a reactionary.

62.

The anti-Christ: Congressman J. Floyd Breeding of Kansas very innocently and sincerely introduced a bill asking for a postage stamp to commemorate the birth of Christ. Since introducing the bill the Congressman has received vicious and threatening letters from Jews and others opposed to honoring Christ in this way.

63.

Mike Wallace: The Russian Jew who goes by the name of Mike Wallace and who poses as a 'prosecuting attorney' in his interviews over television, is being subsidized by the left wing Fund For the Republic. Senator William Jenner, Congressman Francis Walter and Senator Herman Talmadge have all refused to appear on his program. The Fund For the Republic has been exposed by the Un-American Activities Committee as a subtle promoter of left wing propaganda and in some instances not too subtle.

64.

Congressman Overton Brooks, prominent member of the Armed Services Committee, has assured me that the military dictatorship bill, as originally proposed by the President and supported by Baruch, will not pass.

65.

New speculation for New York City politics is Nelson Rockefeller for the U. S. Senate and Leonard W. Hall (former chairman of the Republican Party) for Governor.

66.

The Big Cover-Up: Hold-over employees from the Roosevelt-Truman era in cooperation with the same type of personality in the Eisenhower regime have been able to create a black-out on historical publications in an effort to hide and cover up the secret deals that were made by Roosevelt and Truman with the Kremlin.

67.

Admiral Carl Doenitz, who succeeded Hitler in the closing days of World War II has recently written a book in which he accuses General Dwight David Eisenhower of manipulating East Germany into the hands of the Russians. The British officials, according to Doenitz, were willing

(OVER)

to accept the surrender of the Germans, but Eisenhower pursued the formula of annihilation. General Eisenhower stopped his troops at the Elbe, thus permitting the Russians to occupy Germany.

68.

French Crisis: The government of France is existing on loans from the United States. Our last loan to her, added to the billions she has already received, was $650 million. This is now disappearing at the rate of $50 million per week. The French people are losing confidence in their government and refuse to buy government bonds. The people who want General De Gaulle to head the French government are motivated by about the same spirit as the people in the United States who wanted General Douglas MacArthur for President. That does not mean that MacArthur and De Gaulle are agreed on all principles, but it does illustrate the psychology of the situation. The Jews, the Communists and the whole ilk of radical extremists hate De Gaulle and are opposed to him.

69.

Stubborn and Stupid: President Eisenhower insists that if any other state or any other area resists the mongrelization techniques of integration in their school system that he will not hesitate to call out the troops again. It is my belief that the State of Virginia will close her school system before she will permit such invasion of her domestic rights and the authority of her State Government. I visited in the heart of Virginia with highly informed individuals and I am convinced that the citizens of Virginia have set their jaws against this scandalous campaign of race-mixing being spearheaded by our President and the puppeteers who manipulate his decisions.

70.

Encouraging Pessimism: Confidential surveys now being made by the shrewdest Jews in the business reveal that they are very pessimistic concerning their coercive campaign to force non-Jews into submission. In fact, their surveys are so pessimistic that they hesitate to make them public. It is now estimated that at least 50 million Americans are highly sensitized to the Jewish trick to manipulate and control our national and world affairs.

71.

Gold Gone: U. S. Senator George W. Malone reminded me that we only have about $6 billion in gold left at Fort Knox. The rest has been given away by those who put America second instead of first. Malone reminds us that Russia has an abundance of gold and if she should happen to go on the gold standard our financial system could be wrecked because we do not have enough gold to support our currency. Malone reminds us that our government has wrecked the gold miners of the Nation by its international policies.

72.

Free trade through reciprocal treaties is permitting aliens to ship goods into this country in competition with our own domestic factories. Cheap foreign labor continues to destroy the jobs of our highly paid American workers. This is largely responsible for our recession. A protective tariff is a traditional weapon in safeguarding America's high standard of living.

73.

A Shocking Reflection: The trend to destroy Americans in favor of aliens can be traced to the thinking of men like the late Harold Stettinius. Mr. Stettinius, when Secretary of State, spoke on the occasion of the formation of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Believe it or not, he said: "The world will never have peace until the American standard of living is brought down more nearly to the world average."

74.

Encouraging Boycott: The Jewish Anti-Defamation League organized a big expensive banquet at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. They invited every member of Congress to be present. They even announced in advance that Congressman Joe Martin and Congressman Sam Rayburn, Party leaders of the House of Representatives, as well as Senator William Knowland and Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of the Senate would be present. When they sat down to eat the two leaders of the House of Representatives were absent and only Senator William Knowland appeared for the established leadership of the Senate. Out of more than 500 Congressmen invited only 91 attended. Members of Congress were not only invited to attend, but they were high-pressured. This was the occasion when Knowland accepted in behalf (?) of Congress a citation of honor from the Anti-Defamation League for what the Congress had done the previous year in passing the so-called Civil Rights Bill. This affair served to demonstrate beyond all doubt that organized Jewry is behind the campaign for integration and mongrelization.

75.

My staff and I visited the Virginia homestead of Colonel John Beaty, author of the great book "The Iron Curtain Over America". It is Colonel Beaty's studied opinion that Jewish power has now reached its apex and is now in the beginning of its decline.

76.

Harold Stassen, the erstwhile Minnesota Governor of Pennsylvania, seemed to have unlimited sums of money available. It has now leaked out that the directing source of this money was Sidney Weinberg, the most powerful financier in the United States.

77.

Emanuel Celler, who is now the head of the Judiciary Committee of the U. S. Senate is being considered as the Democrat candidate from New York State to succeed Senator Ives, who is not offering himself for re-election. Ives is in ill health. Emanuel Celler is an aggressive and arrogant Jew. If Celler is elected then New York State will have two Jews in the U. S. Senate. There is a rising tide of resentment against Jewish domination of New York politics.

78.

Congressman Francis Walter has finished the preparation of an effective document entitled "The Chronicle of Treason". It is a 15,000-word expose of the subversive machinery seeking to undermine our Constitutional Republic. If the supply is not exhausted, copies may be had free by addressing Congressman Francis Walter, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

79.

Write Jenner: U. S. Senator William Jenner insists that he wants to retire from the Senate even though it is believed that he would have little difficulty in being re-elected. Patriots are urged to write Senator Jenner, urging that he change his mind and offer himself again for re-election. America needs men of this calibre in the Congress and Senator Jenner is one of the greatest.

Christian Nationalist Crusade

P. O. Box 27895

Los Angeles 27, California

REVEREND G. SMITH
P.O. BOX. 27895
Los Angeles 27, Calif.

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SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

Rcd 7/17/58 mf

Send to DFF

For your information

7/16/

Harold Fleming

So what's new with you?

Regards
Art Levin

copy
Dent file ~~Frank~~ David Freeman
7/24/58

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

1316 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3042

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Administrative Assistant

July 15, 1958

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Art:

The Lutherans and Methodists were correct in their report to Rabbi Gilbert. So far as I am able to determine here is the situation. You will recall that at the last meeting in New York the group decided to have a small (150 to 200 persons) consultation of religious leaders to attempt to draw up a common statement rather than the large conference which we discussed some several million times. Upon my return to Nashville, Roy McCorkel and Arnold Aronson requested me to be responsible for the Protestant delegation. I immediately sent out letters to 20 or 25 denominational leaders asking them if they would agree to attend such a consultation and if they would be responsible for bringing with them a delegation from their respective denominations. Most of those replying have indicated a willingness to do so. One exception was Dudley Ward of the Methodist Church, who seems to have some misgivings about the idea. However, if and when such a meeting is held I am sure that the Methodists will come through with their usual "conference enjoying" manner.

I did not hear from anyone in New York for several weeks. Week before last I had occasion to see Harry Fleischman at the Fisk Institute. I questioned Harry as to the status of the consultation and he indicated that he had received no further word. I requested that he get in touch with Roy McCorkel or Dumont Kenny of NCCJ or Arnold Aronson. Last week Arnold called me from New York seeking information as to what, if anything, I had done. Since I had done my homework as best I could, I proceeded to make the same inquiry of him. He reported that so far as he knew no one had made a move for inviting Jewish and Roman Catholic participants. I replied that I felt there was nothing else I could do until something more definite as to time and place has been decided. It was generally agreed in the early spring that the place should be Williamsburg and that the date should be September. However, it appears to me now that it will be virtually impossible for such a meeting to be held at that time.

It has been my plan all along to inform the Southern group which worked on the original idea as soon as I have anything of which to inform them. It appears to me that I have spoken two minutes into this mechanical device on my desk. I have great confidence in the ability of the machine. I have less confidence in the mind of man. Perhaps we should turn the whole project over to some machine or other and see how it comes out. I am sorry that I have nothing further to report but that's it. I did ask Arnold to get in touch with Roy as soon as he returns from his trip abroad and see if we cannot get the wheels turning again. Personal regards to you.

Cordially yours,

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDCiddy

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

8/26

Harold Fleming
Paul Anthony

You'll recall that somebody from Jackson, Miss., forwarded to you an anti-semitic mailing from Goody which you called to my attention. Attached is a run-down on Goody for your files. Regards

Art Levin

Sent to Art Levin
8/20/58
adl

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . .

REPORT ON ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA
By: John Alexander

m 2. Although the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is principally represented in Arlington by Bill Korey of Washington it has been of inestimable service. As mentioned in previous reports it has served to coordinate the various liberal forces and agencies working in the community. It has been the sole point of effective contact between the CPPS and more overtly pro-integration forces in the community. Any contact with the community should be coordinated with ADL. ADL Washington address is 1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.; Executive 3-5284.

File - Criticisms - SHC

SOUTHCENTRAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

606 Common Street, Room 401 New Orleans 12, Louisiana

MEMORANDUM

To: Art Levin

From: Irwin Schulman

Date: August 5th, 1958

Subject: Archibald S. Coody

Discuss with Harold Fleming 8/25

Subject individual, about whom you penned a note on July 15th, is by no means new to us. On October 19th, 1955 Jerry Bakst wrote to Mort Feigenbaum attaching to his memo a photostatic copy of a letter which Coody apparently wrote to James Madole. This letter is not in my files but Jerry quotes the last paragraph: "And you are one of the few who understands the part the Jew plays in this game. The Jew seeks the destruction of the strong races, hoping to keep his blood pure enough, and to mongrelize and degrade all others so that they will accept Jew domination. The Russians are due for a sad awakening".

Attached to Jerry's memo in my files is a run-down on Coody, from whom I don't know; a copy of the letter I am sending you with this memo.

On April 18th, 1957 Jerry again wrote to Mort about subject, enclosing copy of letter which Coody wrote Frederick Weiss, in which again he was anti-semitic. And again on January 31, 1958 Jerry wrote to me with further information about Coody. At this time Jerry attached another photostat of a letter from Coody to Fred Polzin, the publisher who handles a good deal of Weiss's propoganda. In this memo Jerry gave evidence that Coody was in correspondence with Bob Patterson, of the Mississippi Citizens Council.

This is what my files reflect on subject and I think you will have enough information here to discuss the situation with Harold.

I will discuss Coody's latest mailing with my people in Jackson so that they can keep an eye on him.

Kindest regards.

IS

IS:mlh

cc: Alex Miller
Milton Ellerin

file
Kind
Coody

Coody is a man a little over 70 years old - a retired employee of the State Taxes... Probably has a modest retirement pension from the State as he was a trusted employee for many years. Generally held in high esteem in Jackson by the people who know him - his son is an attorney, I think for a railroad in Texas, not too successful, who is know to be sort of an eccentric, belonged to all sorts of radical groups such as there were while at the University of Missiissippi while in attendance there. We in Jackson are convienced that Coody, Sr. wrote the letter to the National Renaissance Party regarding Walter Sillers We do not think that Walter Sillers is a member of the National Renaissance Party, but nothing would surprise us that he might do. We think that Coody might have possibly approached Sillers who is connected has connections in the State showing him what a "wonderful" thing the National Citizens' Council was. Sillers probably sluffed him off saying "Yah, it is a good thing"and so on. Coody probalbly took it upon himself to writeThe head office of the Party recruiting Sillers, probably without Sillers acknowledgement. However, again, nothing Sillers would do would surprise me because Sillers is getting up in years and is probably a little senile himself/ As far as Simmons is concerned we have talked out that he is a Nazi, however he comes from a phemoninally wealthy family. He has done nothing to earna living he doen't have to- his family has sent him to study at such places as the Sorbonne he was an art student and he is probably fiddling around with the Citizens Council because he has nothing better to do with his time and is not paid for his efforts. He is the typethat will be swayed by the last person to talk to him except fro the fact that he has become a little hipped on this Citizens' Council stuff in lue of the great publicity he's getting in and around Jackson and the rest of Miss. To our knowledge he's never held any kind of a job and has done nothing to support himself, but then he didn't need to. The general consencses of opinion of everybody that knows him is that he is a little off his rocker. Simmons' father is a asute, but hard-boiled business man who's ethics are generally considered impecciable. He owns quite a bit of high-priced real-estate in Jackson and is a very prominent figure in the Deposit Guarantee Bank, Jackson which happens to be the largest bank in the state, hence very influencial in moneyed circles. When Coody's letter was printed in the Jackson Daily News, the Rabbi in Jackson wrote a letter to the editor of the Daily News objecting- to which he got a reply from the editor that no anti-semitic feelings were from the editorial staff of the Daily News and he went on to explain that naturally he can't cull out every thing that goes into the paper and further said that had he seen the letter- it would have been relegated to its proper place- the wastebasket.

September 11, 1958

Mr. Art Levin, ADL
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Art:

I am told that possibly only one UAW local puts out a paper - and even this is not certain. It would be Local #10 at the Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac plant. This paper is reportedly mimeographed. It is thought unlikely that it takes ads since the UAW tends to frown on ad taking. I don't think this is the final word, but my source should know of any substantial publication.

I will be out of town September 15-19, and I thought I would pass this on by note since you are away this week.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

11/26

Harold Fleming

Attached are samples of our Stenofax reproduction, done on our Gestetner mimeo machine, as per our conversation of yesterday

Regards
Art Levin

PA - Art says ADL can do this kind of thing for us - or with us - at modest cost.
AHF

Savannah Morning News
SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

ALVAH H. CHAPMAN, JR.
PRESIDENT AND PUBLISHER

October 16, 1958

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York City

Gentlemen:

I have just had the privilege of reading "Your Neighbor Celebrates" and feel that the information it contains is so valuable that I should like it to be readily available to editorial members of the Savannah Morning News and Savannah Evening Press.

Would it be possible for you to send us several copies to be used as a valuable and ready reference?

Sincerely yours,

Alvah H. Chapman Jr

Alvah H. Chapman, Jr.

The Atlanta Journal and CONSTITUTION SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1957

RALPH

McGILL

The Cost of "Little Rock"?

What effect "Little Rock" will have on the political and economic future of the South is a question which only the future will answer.

But that it will have an effect is not to be questioned.

In the past year a recent industrial survey revealed that some 40-odd states had raised a total of more than $37,000,000 to be spent in attracting industry. This is being done by national advertising and direct appeals to companies known to be planning new plants.

Some states have run special trains carrying their governor and a committee of businessmen to extoll the benefits to be found in their state. Other governors have arranged luncheons and dinners in industrial cities where companies were believed interested.

The agricultural states have been especially active. As machines replace farm population the need is great to find jobs in industry.

Even more important, of course, is the rising cost of state government. New firms pay taxes and their wage-earners spend their income in the state, increasing the sales tax return and benefiting all business. Many a city, large and small, has been given what amounts to financial blood transfusions by new payrolls.

Big Question

One of the big question marks is whether a corporation with anywhere from $5 million to $40 million or more to invest in a new plant would come into a state where there are acute racial tensions and the possibility of violence.

Some of the queries now being asked by these companies are "Would a plant be likely to be bombed if it hired Negro labor and 'trouble' came? . . . Would there be picket lines and threats by citizens councils or klans? . . . Will the schools be shut down and our plant managers be unable to send their children to school?"

Some states could give a negative answer and assurance of law-abiding people. But a long, slow questioning look at the South is certain to be the policy for at least the immediate future.

It is not a situation beyond repair. The South does offer opportunity and a great pool of excellent labor. It is labor which learns quickly and has a pride in its job. But certainly long months of disorder, violence and racial tensions would be disastrous to industrial development.

Chaotic Picture

Politically, of course, the picture is even more chaotic. Southern Democrats are in revolt. The Republican party has suffered a setback in its attempt to develop a two-party system. Whether this is temporary or not depends on the outcome at Little Rock and developments in the other states. It cannot be said the GOP will be wiped out. It may, indeed, retain a considerable percentage of the strength shown in 1956 when the Republicans carried Mobile, Montgomery and other Southern cities. At least 50 per cent of that vote will remain loyal. It was the shift of the Negro vote to the GOP which provided the margin.

The political South is in danger from another point of view. The Bureau of the Census figures show the population trend to be westward.

It is estimated that after the 1960 census is taken California will gain seven House seats and that Michigan and Ohio will gain two. Indiana, Arizona and Oregon will gain one.

Fifteen states are due to lose seats.

Six of these are in the South. They are Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Virginia. Oklahoma and West Virginia are likely to lose one House seat each.

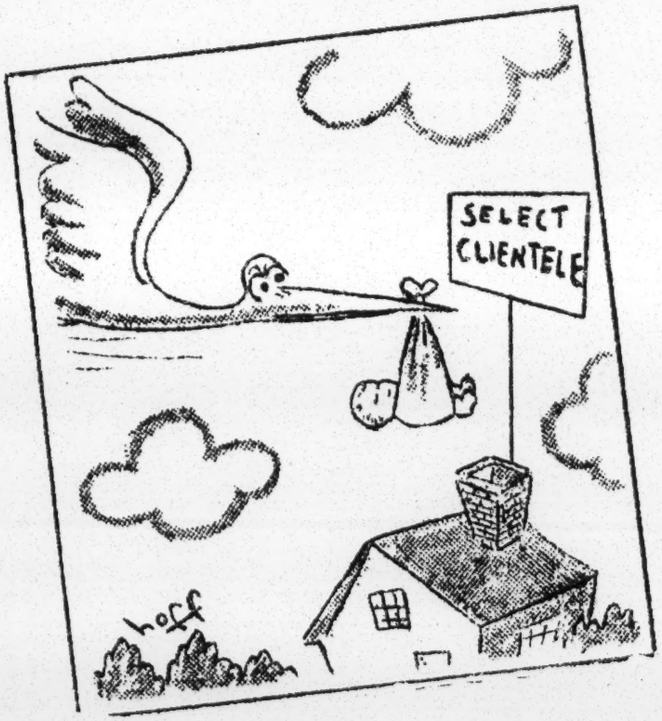
On the basis of present population and the trend, the West alone probably will elect nine more representatives than they now have.

The big states, the key to political victory, will become even more important. By 1960, New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Texas and Michigan are expected to have almost half the nation's population.

It is a time of change. There are disturbing signs that many in the South do not comprehend what already has happened and what seems to be ahead.

ADL PROGRAM SERVICE

BARRIERS -- PATTERNS OF
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JEWS



"Don't disturb your father - he's counting how many Jews moved into the neighborhood!"

You have read Mr. Goldstein's glowing endorsement of our new book BARRIERS. I share his enthusiasm -- for the book offers many program ideas for lodges, chapters, schools, clubs and churches . . . Here are some of the chapter titles, which offer opportunities to present an ADL Program with a speaker, discussion leader, or suitable film we will provide:

"JEWS NEED NOT APPLY" . . . "BARRIERS IN HIGHER EDUCATION" . . .
"MEDICAL SCHOOL QUOTAS" . . . "THE DECLINE OF FRATERNITY BIAS" . . .
"HIDDEN BARBED WIRE IN HOUSING" . . . "HOW TO KEEP EXCLUSIVE" . . .
"ANTI-SEMITISM TODAY" . . . and many others.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

FYI only!

Art Levin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: ADL Regional Offices

From: Harold Braverman

Date: November 28, 1958

Subject:

The latest report of the President's Committee on Government Contracts entitled Five Years Of Progress, 1953-1958, includes a tabulation of complaints received by the Committee since its inception five years ago. This analysis discloses that from August 1953 to June 30, 1958, the Committee received a total of 644 complaints.

Of the 644 complaints, 208 were referred by the ADL. In short, during the Committee's five years of existence, almost one-third of the complaints it received and investigated were referred to it by the ADL. Full credit for this remarkable achievement goes to our Los Angeles regional office, which made these referrals to the President's Committee on the basis of an investigation of discriminatory job orders received by private employment agencies in that city.

~~You are free to use the foregoing information in any way you wish.~~

HB:mwr

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

Oscar Cohen

Nathan Perlmutter

December 2, 1958 (Dict. 12/1/58)

A. Levin

You will recall your helpfulness in recommending to NEW SOUTH, Dr. H. Franklin Williams' Leonard L. Abess Award Address. I was with Franklin at a luncheon last week and he advises that since his address appeared in NEW SOUTH, it has been reprinted by a newspaper in Chapel Hill and that he has been invited to sit on the Board of the Southern Regional Council.

The President of the University having approved the latter, Franklin is very, very pleased.

NP/lw
cc: Leonard L. Abess
Paul Seiderman
George J. Talianoff
Alex Miller

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

Rcl
2/11/58

Red Probers Call 35 Here

MIAMI NEWS - 2-6-58

By BELLA KELLY
Reporter of The Miami News

At least 35 persons were subpenaed today to testify before a Florida legislative committee investigating communism and the racial situation in the state.

The witnesses will testify in Miami at a three-day public hearing which will open Feb. 26 in the Dade County Courthouse.

Among those subpenaed thus far are:

ARNOLD GREENFIELD
Attorney Subpenaed

Arnold Greenfield, attorney, of 180 Palm Ave., Palm Island, and his wife, Ruth; Pansy Flaum, florist, of 2445 Pine Tree Dr., Miami Beach; Nathan Sirota, apartment house manager, 1040 15th St., Miami Beach.

Also, Ruth Perry, Miami Beach librarian; Jack Solomon, tailor, of 317 23rd St., Miami Beach, and his wife, Mollie; Erwin Stander, 961 Jefferson Ave., Miami Beach; and Anna Rosenblatt, 605 Euclid Ave., Miami Beach.

Headed By Johns

The legislative committee, headed by Sen. Charley Johns, has been seeking to show a link between the Communist party and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Florida.

It is believed that a number of NAACP leaders or members are among those on the Miami subpena list.

Mrs. Perry had been called by the legislative committee previously. She is secretary of the local branch of the NAACP.

It was at the home of Attorney Greenfield and his wife that Mrs. Morton Sobell, wife of the convicted A-bomb spy, was presented to a select group of Miamians several years ago to obtain money for a committee organized to free Sobell.

Cited for Contempt

Solomon has previously been identified as a Communist. He and his wife were among those subpenaed to testify before the Dade County Grand Jury in 1955 during former State Attorney George Brautigam's investigation of the Communist Party.

Mr. Sirota was cited for contempt by a Dade Grand Jury in 1954 for refusing to answer inquiries about Communist activities. He was once mentioned in the Communist Daily Worker as the recruiter of 38 new party members.

The subpenas on the witnesses called thus far were served by Miami Beach Constable Rocky Pomerance.

Sen. Johns refused to elaborate on details of the hearing at this time. He said he would issue a formal statement Saturday.

Other Hearings

The Miami hearings will be conducted by Mark Hawes of Tampa, committee counsel. Similar hearings are believed to be scheduled for Tampa and Jacksonville and Tallahassee. The ones in the state capital will open Monday.

The committee was created by the 1956 Legislature and extended at the last session. It has a $75,000 appropriation.

In Dade Courthouse

MIAMI HERALD
2-7-58

Communism, Race Issue Hearing Opens Feb. 26

Hearings to investigate communism and the racial situation in Greater Miami will begin Feb. 26 at the Dade County Courthouse.

Thirty-five persons have been subpenaed by the Legislative committee, headed by Sen. Charley Johns, which will conduct the investigation.

The investigative committee has also scheduled hearings for Monday in Tallahassee, and a number of persons have been subpenaed for those sessions, which will probably last two or three days.

Local persons subpened for the Miami hearings so far are:

Pansy Fiamm, 2445 Pine Tree Dr., Nathan Sirota, 1040 15th St., Erwin Stander, 950 Jefferson Ave.; Anne Rosenblatt, 895 Euclid Ave.; Jack and Molly Solomon, 317 23rd St.; Ruth Perry, Miami Beach librarian and local NAACP secretary; Arnold and Ruth Greenfield, 180 Palm Ave., Palm Island, and Alex Muldavin, no address available.

All these persons live on Miami Beach and were served with subpenaed by Beach Constable Rocky Pomerance.

Constable William M. Hudson, Miami, was also given a number of subpenas and his deputies were busy serving them late Thursday.

A number of NAACP leaders and members were believed to be on Hudson's list.

The committee, which will not complete its job until spring, has already spent $17,000 of its $75,000 allocation for the 2-year, state-wide investigation.

Hearings in Miami will be conducted by Committee Counsel Mark Hawes. It is believed the committee will also conduct similar sessions in Tampa and Jacksonville.

Suit On Integration Headed For Trial

MIAMI NEWS - 2-6-58

A suit for complete integration of the Dade County school system headed today for trial before a 12-member jury in federal court.

In an order containing only three paragraphs, Judge Joseph P. Lieb denied a request of the School Board for summary judgment, dismissing the complaint filed by Theodore Gibson, Negro minister, in behalf of his son, Theodore Gibson Jr.

At the same time, the judge denied a motion submitted by NAACP attorney G. E. Graves Jr., for advancement of the case on the court's trial calendar.

A second order of three signed in the controversial litigation granted the Rev. Mr. Gibson and associated complainants in the action the right to renew their early trial application at a pre-trial conference set down for 3 p.m. March 17.

The order denying the School Board's request for summary dismissal made no mention of the issues in the case, and noted only that the court had heard arguments of counsel on both sides and had examined the record as well as legal briefs submitted by the contending attorneys.

The case, in which parents of Negro pupils sought the right for their children to attend county schools on a basis of complete equality with White pupils, was filed originally in June, 1956.

Twice dismissed by Federal Judge Emett C. Choate, it was appealed after the second dismissal to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans, which sent the matter back to Miami for further disposition and trial.

Today's action by Judge Lieb indicates that, subject to some further upset, the case will go to trial sometime after the March pre-trial conference, unless the county School Board should decide to appeal today's order.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

PA

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

SRC

defense file

For your information

Harold Fleming

Please destroy

Confidential

Art Levin

to Clay Miller

FROM: Nathan Perlmutter

DATE: February 7, 1958

Pers

Rcd 2/11/58

Confidential

You will recall that in Atlanta a telephone message from Tampa was relayed to us, advising that the state legislative committee was holding hearings on the NAACP, beginning Monday, February 10, in Tallahassee.

And, perhaps more distressingly, I discovered upon landing last night in Miami, that yesterday's paper announced 35 subpenas issued here in the Miami area by the investigating committee in connection with ~~the~~ hearings, ~~which are~~ scheduled for February 26, to probe alleged connections between Communism and the NAACP.

While we do not know the names of all the persons who have received subpenas we do know that they included a number who had been unfriendly witnesses during the Brautigam investigations approximately 3 years ago.

Others, educated guesses are, are not Communists, but are liberals with past involvements in so-called left wing activities.

The subpenas have also been issued to many like Rev. Graham, a Negro minister active in the NAACP, and others whose primary identification is with the NAACP. I am also advised today that Rev. William Williams, of the Dade County Council for Community Relations, is substituting for another individual in the Florida Human Relations Council who was subpenaed.

Ruthie tells me that last night we received any number of calls in connection with this matter. Indeed, late yesterday afternoon, I understand attempts were made to reach us in Atlanta. These attempts were made by persons who are neither Communists, nor personally involved.

Also today we have been called upon in connection with this matter, which has reawakened all of the fears and uncertainties stirred up by the Brautigam investigation.

What is already very obvious is that ADL is being looked to for counsel and are expected to give counsel. Perhaps as the picture evolves even more will be expected.

We discussed on the phone today the need for us to walk our piece of road with an eye cocked in each direction, and I intend to act with the advice of our Executive Committee and, of course, the national office.

At this point, as an individual, our advice has been that if at all possible the use of the 5th Amendment should be avoided. It is obvious, I think, that to plead the 5th Amendment will be tantamount to doing Charley John's work for him. That is, pleading the 5th Amendment would promote the image of a Communist, NAACP that John's is trying to foist.

I suspect that those persons who are not in fact involved with the old Jewish Cultural Center may see fit to pursue this tactic. As I have been advised, however, the witnesses are not really a single unit. That is they include many who would likely plead the 5th Amendment for diverse reasons, and others who are sincerely concerned with an attempt to answer the committee's questions in a manner both truthful, and for its being truthful incapable of contributing to John's purpose.

Lastly, the NAACP professional in Tampa as well as their attorney called again today to discuss the hearings in Tallahassee and to inquire about the hearings scheduled

for here. You'll be interested in knowing their attorney advised me just a little while ago that he has returned from a seminar in New York, at which time committee hearings of this kind were discussed, and that it was the consensus of opinion amongst the NAACP men there, that the 5th Amendment should not be pleaded, for reasons identical with those we discussed this morning. I will continue to keep you advised, and will likely, if this continues to snowball, be in regular phone touch with you.

Not incidentally, you will note that most of the names are "Jewish names".

NP/lw

cc:Arnold Forster
Ben Epstein
Oscar Cohen
Moshe Decter
Southern Offices ✓ Art Levin
George J. Talianoff
Paul Seiderman
Burnett Roth
Al Pallot

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

12/31

Harold Fleming ✓
Paul Anthony ✓

Regards
Art Levin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
216 North 2nd Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Milton Ellerin

Murray Friedman

23 December 1958

NORTH CAROLINA DEFENDERS OF STATES' RIGHTS.

I am quoting below from page 10 of the December, 1958 issue of Southern School News with regard to the above

> A new segregationist group, the North Carolina Defenders of States' Rights, was organized and held its first meeting at Burlington. The group's charter says it is dedicated to the preservation of "national and racial integrity, states' rights and individual liberty."
>
> At its first meeting the group adopted a resolution commending the stand of Gov. J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia. It said, "it is our prayer that the Virginians continue 'standing like a stone wall.' It is our purpose to make it clear to all that the people of North Carolina stand at the side of Virginia in this struggle."
>
> SAYS COURT ERRED
>
> In another resolution, the group said, "we believe the Supreme Court has erred in dictatorially usurping the prerogatives of the legislative branch of our government." The group, which includes some well-known citizens, also heard a speech by William J. Storey, superintendent of schools in South Norfolk, Va., who declared that "integration is an evil and ugly thing."

I am making further inquiry about this group and will report this information when it is obtained.

Regards.

COPY

ADL

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E. ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Director

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Dear Friend:

THE SOUTH SPEAKS OUT FOR LAW AND ORDER

Attached is a sample copy of a new publication published jointly by the ADL, The National Council of Churches, The United Church of Christ and The United Presbyterian Church.

"The South Speaks Out" is a collection of press editorial opinion culled from a large number of Southern newspapers which express (from a variety of points of view) the necessity for the preservation of law and order during this period of social change in the South.

We feel that "The South Speaks Out" is a valuable pamphlet because of its stress in condemning the use of lawlessness and violence in the South and for its forthright support of law and order.

This pamphlet is available in limited quantities.

Arthur J. Levin

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

FBR
JC

Art Levin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
216 North 2nd Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Milton Ellerin

Murray Friedman

3 February 1958

RICHMOND DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES.

On January 14, the Defenders locally held a public meeting at which Delegate James Thomson of Alexandria spoke. I am enclosing a copy of the story in the Richmond Times-Dispatch of January 15 on his remarks.

At this meeting, the four Defender units in the area were consolidated. I am enclosing a copy of the announcement on the meeting which describes a new team organization of approximately ten members each on a geographic basis for "more effective, more dynamic action."

At the meeting, copies of THE SHOCKING TRUTH! ABOUT NORTHERN VIRGINIA'S PARENT-TEACHER GROUPS published by the Fairfax Citizens Council and attacking B'nai B'rith, the Southern Regional Council, and other groups were distributed along with the November-December 1957 issue of DEFENDERS' NEWS AND VIEWS containing the covert attack on the Virginia ADL for its booth at the VEA convention.

Regards.

MF:bh
enc.
(dictated but not read)

CC: ALEX MILLER
ALL SOUTHERN ADL REGIONAL DIRECTORS

COPY

Richmond Times-Dispatch, Wed., Jan. 15, 1958

New Racial Committee Is Proposed

A bill is being prepared for introduction into the General Assembly, to create another Committee on Law Reform and Racial Activities but with greater power than that of the original committee, Del James Thomson of Alexandria said last night.

Thomson, chief sponsor of the bill that created the committee in the 1956 special session of the General Assembly and chairman of the committee, said one major job of a new committee would be to investigate whether teachers in Northern Virginia are advocating racial integration in their classrooms.

"I don't say they are," Thomson told about 90 persons at a meeting of the Richmond area chapter of the Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties. "But we should find out."

Asks More Money

Thomson didn't enumerate what powers he thought a new committee should have. But he said it should be given more than the $25,000 the previous committee got in order to pay for a bigger staff that could do more investigating and preliminary work.

He also said it should have authority to cite persons appearing before it for contempt and to refer such cases to a court for action.

The original committee of 10 members of the General Assembly had broad powers to investigate individuals and associations it believed might be trying to influence or promote litigation relating to racial activities.

The committee conducted a series of hearings, primarily of officers of the National Association for the Advancement of of Colored People (NAACP) but also of the Defenders and other groups.

DEFENDERS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES

Tuckahoe Brookland Chapter

IMPORTANT MEETING JANUARY 14th: The January meeting of the Richmond Defenders will be held at the War II Memorial Auditorium at 8:00 P.M. Tuesday night, January 14th. Ample parking is available and the parking lot is entered from Belvidere Street.

Representative James M. Thomson, Chairman of the Thomson Committee of the General Assembly will be our principal speaker and will present the Thomson Committee report.

TEAM ORGANIZATION: With the consolidation of the various Chapters in the Richmond area, a complete reorganization has been in progress. The entire membership has been divided into small groups of approximately ten members each with a temporary Team Leader. So far these number twenty-four. The various teams are geographic and in the near future particular teams will be called to neighborhood meetings under the direction of the Team Leader. Thus we will be organized for more effective, more dynamic action.

CHANGE OF NAME: At a Board of Directors meeting held December 30th, your Board of Directors proposed the following choices for a new name: Capital City Chapter, Richmond Area Chapter, and Richmond Chapter. It is felt that a name should be chosen for our consolidated Chapter that reflects the true scope of this organization.

FISCAL POLICY: The organization is now on a fiscal year-calendar year basis, which means that one joining now will receive a 1958 card, and anyone not having a 1958 card should see their Team Leader as the 1958 dues are now due and payable.

STATE CONVENTION FEBRUARY 18th and 19th: We are Host Chapter to the State organization for the convention to be held on the 18th and 19th of February. Our best effort is necessary to make this a success. More about this at the meeting.

ATTENDANCE: As indicated, this is an important meeting. Every member is urged to attend, and there will be enough room for friends and guests. Bring them; we want two hundred and fifty present!

Lewis S. Pendleton, Jr.
President

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

EDITORIAL PAGE

The Richmond News Leader,
Thursday, March 26, 1959

Postscript on the 'CCD'

A month ago this newspaper carried on its editorial page the minutes of a meeting held by an interesting if unknown body, the Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. These minutes, never intended for publication, described with revealing frankness the coordinated, professional efforts being made by integrationist groups to advance their point of view.

The Consultative Conference on Desegregation was a new outfit in our book. Inquiry to the Associated Press in New York at first drew a blank. The secretary was unwilling to disclose the names of the member agencies of this conference without their consent.

Now, however, a letter is at hand from the New York bureau of the Associated Press, forwarding information obtained from Arnold Aronson, of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, who serves as secretary of the CCD.

The Consultative Conference on Desegregation was formed a little over two years ago, Mr. Aronson advises, "in order to further communication among organizations committed to facilitating orderly compliance with the constitutional requirements regarding desegregation." The CCD is a "mechanism for inter-consultation and for an exchange of information, views and experiences." It does not engage in legislative activity "nor does it take public actions or issue public statements."

Member agencies include the following:

Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; Catholic Committee of the South; Synagogue Council of America;

American Friends Service Committee; American Civil Liberties Union; Americans for Democratic Action; American Jewish Committee; American Jewish Congress; Anti-Defamation League; Board of National Missions, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Catholic Interracial Council; Council for Social Action, Congregational Christian Churches; Department of Social Welfare, United Christian Missionary Society, Disciples of Christ; Evangelical and Reformed Church, Commission on Christian Social Action; Jewish Labor Committee; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; National Board, YWCA; National Council of Jewish Women; National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Division of Christian Citizenship; National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.; National Social Welfare Assembly; Southern Regional Council; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Unitarian Service Committee; United Automobile Workers of America; United Church Women; United Steelworkers of America; Women's Division of Christian Service of the Methodist Church.

That is the lineup: Twenty-nine organizations, including several of great wealth and political influence, working smoothly together on one coordinated drive to promote racial integration.

And the American South, whose society, culture, and institutions are the targets of this formidable assault, remains almost defenseless in a war of ideas. When will we marshall our scattered forces for an effective campaign of our own?

Augusta (Georgia) Courier
March 23, 1959

"40 National Organizations Form Consultative Conference on Desegregation to Force Race Mixing on People of U.S.; Protestant Minister, Rabbi, Catholic Priest are Directors of War on Southern Whites

"The wild-eyed radical race mixers are using every conceivable method to ram race mixing down the throats of decent people.

"A new one jumps up now. The Associated Press has discovered that a group of approximately forty national organizations over two years ago quietly established in New York City the Consultative Conference on Desegregation.

"This aggregation has three co-chairmen. They are: Dr. Eugene C. Blake of the National Council of Churches; Rabbi Abraham Feldman, Synagogue Council of America; and Father Maurice Shean, of the Catholic Committee of the South.

"The executive director is Arnold Aronson of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, and Lewis Hoskins, of the American Friends Service Committee, is treasurer.

"The Consultative Conference has established what they call the 'Mass Media Committee'. The CCD's Mass Media Committee met in New York on February 4, 1959.

"Believing that a copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee would be of interest to our readers to show how these wild-eyed radicals operate and the names and organizations which some of them represent, we submit below a verbatim copy of the minutes of this Mass Media Committee meeting:....."

John Temple Graves' Column
March 18, 1959

FLASH! The Putnam Letter is upsetting the "Mass Media Committee of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation."

And massively!

The organization is made up of some 40 organizations interested in promoting integration. Recent minutes suggested that members "check with editors and publishers about the problem." (Apparently checking has been successful with The Washington Post and Los Angeles, which refused the letter as an advertisement) "To judge from the waspish tone of (the minutes)," writes Editor James J. Kilpatrick in The Richmond News-Leader, "the 'Carleton Putnam letter' is beginning to hurt." The "Mass Media Committee" circulates stories and editorials from "The Arkansas Gazette (Harry Ashmore), The Washington Post and The Urban League (which is still receiving over $2 million a year from community chest groups even though a number of Southern chest organizations have dropped it).

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold (Gray) Fleming

Lividly

Art Levin

THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER ★ TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1959

Old Hugh's Notebook: A CHILD'S GARDEN OF CONTROVERSY

Dear Kiddies:

In case you missed it... a book about a white rabbit and a black rabbit is considered BAD in Alabama.

Also, some grown-ups in Florida want to send the THREE LITTLE PIGS to the pen... 'cause one is a white pig and another is a black pig.

Just to make sure you read only GOOD, uncolored things, we suggest these stories:

BA-A, BA-A GRAY SHEEP,

SNOW GRAY,

LITTLE GRAY RIDING HOOD,

GRAY BEARD, THE PIRATE,

LITTLE BOY GRAY AND

THE LITTLE GRAY HEN.

Of course, you may read what you please, if some folks use their GRAY MATTER. But don't expect too much from adults.

The Courier-Journal

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

4/5

Paul Anthony

see pg 2 - marked

Regards

Art Levin

86th Congress - First Session
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD DIGEST - 16
Washington, D.C. Office

4-22-59 (No. 61)

Thurmond (D-SC)	A-3275	Includes article by Jim Bishop praising Simon Baruch, father of Bernard, as the "ideal immigrant".
	D-270	Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights hears testimony against civil rights legislation from Governor Patterson of Alabama and testimony in support of National Catholic Interracial Council. Governor Patterson declared that Alabama will scrap its public school system rather than submit to integration. But while Senator Sparkman had opposed the anti-dynamiting bill, Patterson endorsed it. Catholic Interracial Council came out in support of the Douglas bill.

4-23-59 (No. 62)

Talmadge (D-Ga)	A-3287	Includes testimony of Governor of Georgia in opposition to civil rights legislation before House Judiciary Committee.
Andrews (D-Ala)	A-3309	Includes testimony of Governor Patterson of Alabama on civil rights before House Judiciary Committee.
Wolf (D-Iowa)	A-3311	Says Passover should be a reminder to all of us, Christian or Jew to fight against oppression and for freedom.
Barry (R-NY)	A-3375	Details Russian oppression of Jews and urges the Soviets to open their doors to allow Jews to emigrate to Israel.
Bentley (R-Mich)		Introduces H.R. 6554 to make clear that facilitation of mortgage financing for minority groups is a prime objective of the home mortgage credit program.
Moore (R-W.Va)		Introduces H.R. 6581 to provide for the entry of certain relatives of U.S. citizens and lawfully resident aliens.

4-24-59 (No. 63)

	D-280	House Judiciary Cimmittee hears further Southern witnesses in opposition to civil rights legislation.

4-25-59 (No. 64)

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4-27-59 (No. 65)

Javits (R-NY)	6075	Calls the kidnapping of a Negro from a Mississippi jail "a damaging blow to American prestige...sure to be exploited by the Communists".
Morse (D-Oregon)	6075	Says the "tragic episode" in Mississippi shows the need for passage of a true civil rights bill by Congress.
Grant (D-Ala)	A-3445 and A-3452	Includes testimony of Alabama Attorney General before House Judiciary Committee on civil rights.
Forrester (D-Ga)	A-3466	Includes speech of Sol Blatt, Speaker of the South Carolina House of Representatives to the Hebrew Benevolent Society. Says that the speech of Blatt, who is a Hebrew should be read by persons of other races.
Boland (D-Mass)	A-3480	Says that Passover is a time to make sure that our national policy toward Israel continues to be helpful.
Lindsay (R-NY)	A-3483	Includes his speech on Individual Liberties and National Security delivered before the Civil Liberties Clearing House.
Williams (D-Miss)	A-3485	Includes letter to him from the New Bedford Standard-Times charging that the Southern Regional Council is an "offshoot" of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

4-28-59 (No. 66)

Loser (D-Tenn)	A-3505	Includes statement of Attorney General of Tennessee before House Judiciary Committee in opposition to civil rights legislation.

4-29-59 (No. 67)

Holt (R-Cal)		Introduces H.R. 6797 to extend for an additional two years the present law granting nonquota status to orphans adopted by U.S. citizens.

4-30-59 (No. 68)

Hart (D-Mich)	6410	Introduces S-1848 to make lynching a federal crime.
Ervin (D-NC)	6416	Includes text of Georgia Federal District Court decision holding the civil rights act of 1957 unconstitutional on the ground that the act authorizes the Attorney General to seek injunctions against individual infringements of individual rights in the absence of state action.
Lindsay (R-NY)		Introduces H.R. 6826 Administration's bill to revise McCarran-Walter Act.
Miller (D-Cal)		Introduces H.R. 6829 to grant nonquota immigrant status to certain relatives of U.S. citizens.

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SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

Regards
Art Levin

RECEIVED MAY 21 1959

AL
FYI
NP

Senate Sidetracks Close-Schools Bill

MIAMI NEWS 5-14-59

By CHARLES F. HESSER
Miami News Politics Writer

TALLAHASSEE, May 14 — The Senate today sidetracked a controversial proposal which would have abolished the free public school system the day White and Negro children were taught in the same school.

By a 26-to-12 vote, the Senate sent the drastic measure back to its general legislation committee for further study.

It is in the form of a constitutional amendment which would be voted upon by the people in a special election 92 days after the Legislature closes in June.

Belser admitted to his Senate colleagues that integration at Dade County's Orchard Villa elementary school in the Fall would close all the schools of the state under his plan.

"Let the people decide this issue," implored Belser. "If the people of Florida have a chance to vote on this, it might delay integration at Orchard Villa. I don't believe the people of this state will allow a school to be integrated in Florida.

"If the people of Florida approve this amendment, I believe the citizens of Dade County will go to their school board and tell them to revoke that order."

BIG ENROLLMENT SEEN

Dade Sen. Joe Eaton explained that the Dade school board actually had not ordered integration, but simply the admission of four Negro children to Orchard Villa.

Eaton apparently was hinting that Orchard Villa may become an all-Negro school when it opens this Fall.

Senator Doyle E. Carlton Jr., of

Continued On Page 12-A, Col. 3

Senate Sidetracks Close-Schools Bill

Continued from Page 1-A

Wauchula, asserted, "I'm in violent disagreement with the senator (Belser) on this proposal.

"When you destroy the public school system, you are gnawing away at the foundation upon which this nation was founded."

STRONG OPPOSITION

Carlton said that the proposed amendment really didn't give the people any choice. He said if they voted for it, it would destroy the public school system; if they voted against it, it would "carry implication that they endorse integration."

Declared Carlton:

"It's just like asking a person whether he wants to eat a spoiled fish or whether he would rather eat a spoiled fowl."

In pleading for his plan, Belser declared, "We are at the crossroads, and fight every step of the way. We can't capitulate."

Sen. Fred O. Dickinson Jr., of West Palm Beach, asked of Belser:

'FIGHT' DERIDED

"If one White child and one Colored child go to school all schools close, is that right? Is that your idea of fight, fight, fight?"

Sen. Harry O. Stratton, of Callahan, who moved to recommit Belser's bill to the committee, declared, "We've got to fight roads in this state. We don't know where we're going. This bill has important and far reaching implications."

Belser got in a final protest with this remark: "If you don't vote on this bill, you'll regret it. You'll integrate this state."

BOLSTER BILLS PASSED

The Senate, however, did pass bills designed to strengthen segregation laws which would:

1. Authorize 25 adults to set up non-profit corporations to operate private schools without benefit of state funds.

2. Amend the compulsory school attendance law by providing that parents of children may withdraw them from integrated schools.

3. Strengthen the pupil assignment law by adding certain criteria for admitting children to schools.

4. Give school boards discretionary power to separate the sexes in schools.

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SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

9/11

Harold Fleming ✓
Paul Rilling

Regards
Art Levin

Problem 'Cries For Solution'

THE COMMISSION on Civil Rights chose a time when Congress is plowing ahead toward adjournment to make its first report and recommendations. They provoked angry repercussions among the Southern opponents of civil rights—so angry indeed that the dying session may be prolonged.

Most of the heat was generated by a proposal for temporary federal registrars in areas where Negroes are denied the right to register and vote. These officials to be named by the President upon a finding of fact that voting rights are denied, would administer state qualification laws and register all qualified applicants to vote for any candidate for federal office.

"The commission finds that substantial numbers of citizens qualified to vote under state registration and election laws are being denied the right to vote by reason of race or color," the report said in this respect. "Existing remedies under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 are insufficient to secure and protect the right to vote of such citizens."

IT IS surprising that five of the six commissioners, including two Southerns, went along with this recommendation for federal supervision of registration for national elections. This is a procedure certain to ruffle Southern moderates. They do not approve the denial of voting rights to Negroes. But they stop short at the remedy proposed by the commission majority.

Commissioner John S. Battle, former Governor of Virginia, will get widespread support for his vigorous dissent. "(It) would place in the hands of the federal government a vital part of the election process so jealously guarded and carefully reserved to the states by the founding fathers," he said.

THERE were in all nine recommendations, covering also discrimination in schools and housing. On a proposal to withhold federal aid to educational institutions refusing students on racial grounds the committee showed the wide range of its thinking. The three Republican members suggested such grants be denied colleges and universities, public and private. Commissioner George M. Johnson, the sole Negro member, would extend this withholding to elementary and secondary schools.

The three Democrats objected, calling this "a program of economic coercion."

In the field of housing discrimination, the commission suggested bipartisan conciliation committees in cities and states which have large non-white populations.

The commission by its report may have passed its own death sentence. Southerners are now prepared to let it die, by filibuster if necessary, when its term ends in November.

ACTUALLY the commission does not deserve extinction. Despite its controversial field the bipartisan group did a thorough and comprehensive job. Much remains to be done.

While the recommendations may cause tumult in Congress no one can disagree with the general finding stated by Commission Chairman John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University.

"This commission has attempted to provide a guide for executive or legislative action that will contribute to a solution to the civil rights problem. It is a problem, as our report makes clear, that is native to neither North or South. It is, rather, a dilemma that concerns all Americans . . . a problem that cries for solution."

Atlanta Herald 9-9-59

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SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming ✓
PA ✓
LWD ✓
MM ✓
MA ✓
AH ✓

Art Levin

John Crosby's Guest

Satire Doesn't Stand Chance Against Reality

(John Crosby is on vacation. While he is away his column will be written by guest columnists.)

By JULES FEIFFER
Author of "Sick, Sick, Sick"

A while ago Arthur Miller in a preface to a satirical magazine piece commented that he was updating its publication because he had found that his satires, far-fetched as they may be, had the depressing habit of coming true.

It seems to be Mr. Miller's point (and it's certainly mine) that satire doesn't stand a chance against reality anymore.

For example, what satirist in his right mind would dare dream up Robert Moses on the erosion issue or Sam Leibowitz and his courtroom passion plays.

Or the A. E. C. setting up a group to study the effects of nuclear radiation and naming the group: Project Sunshine.

Or the erring wife in Front Royal, Virginia, who escaped public censure by accusing her cockolded mate of being in favor of mixed schools.

Or a president who seems to begin every press conference with, "Now, I want to make this clear," and then proceeds to render the English language indecipherable.

Or the present era of warmth toward our former enemies which suggests that the best way to get to love the Russians is to go to war with them, win it, and then feel guilty. We might then arm them with nuclear weapons to help protect us against Cuba.

Or the writer who wrote a novel while a Communist, recanted and then had it bought by the movies, thereby presenting an interesting road-map for those Communists who feel they've got as much right as any other bad novelist to see their works in Vista-Vision. The wave of the future may well be for a stifled writer to join the party, write a novel, quit the party, and make that movie sale which is the ritualistic rite of his acceptance back into the tribe. An added fillip might be for the film studios to then hire a blacklisted screen writer who would anonymously do the adaptation.

Or that a test of good citizenship is to take shelter quickly during an H-bomb drill which few feel they would, in reality, survive. And a test of bad citizenship is to sit out the drill in the park and wave signs that say so.

Or the casual acceptance of the curious ethic that in time of crisis all previous opposition to policies which helped induce the crisis in the first place must suddenly be switched to support, in the interest of national unity.

Or the recent theory that we should give the West Germans nuclear weapons so that they won't get to feel like second-class citizens and thus grow hostile. A sort of megatonic pyschotherapy.

Or the blase satisfaction in accepting brand names as the root of our national malaise. "I'll tell you what our trouble is, Harry! It's Conformity, it's Madison Avenue, it's the Organization Man, it's the Alienated Man, the Status-Seeking Man, the Exurbanite, the Rat Race, It's the Emasculation of the Father Figure, Harry!"

Or that television's answer to the charge that it had killed the art of conversation was to inaugurate a series of discussion programs.

Or that each time an increase of strontium 90 is discovered in our air, a reliable source suddenly finds that we can really absorb more than was originally anticipated.

Or that the country's most influential literary critic is Jack Paar.

It is, you must admit, a pretty awe-inspiring list. And moment by moment it piles higher—a babel of incongruity. How can satire hope to compete?

To be effective, humor must have the touch of "happen" about it. W happen—and day a that—humor loses which to hang its satirist has been ployable by the around him. Afte out can you go in moonshots are ta factly?

It seems to n one way out. An out, quit the ra standards of the If you can't out derstate it. It' funny that way sounds plausib

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Leading Previe

Cheyen A Story Of Murd

(By Marie Torre and 3-4 P.M. (CHANNEL dette Colbert brings sociologists and psych answer the question Marry Too Young?" der discussion inclu relationships, emotion bility, early dating, causes and effects of toward early marriage.

7:30-8:30 P.M. (CHA —CHEYENNE. "Shad Man." Action - pack opens with a man sin quicksand. Bronco La Hardin) comes to the rescue. Subsequently t and a henchman thr kill our hero. A murd stage coach robbery a rather morbid exciten

9-9:30 P.M. (CHA —PECK'S BAD GIR That Touch Lipstick" sue when Torey insists ing lipstick to a pa her father objects to necessary artifice." appearing little - girl party, Torey frantical to her mother for h ing episode.

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This is r in June R doctor, wh stood the m on a brass wall, has a wider cir your hap creased, yo ries lessen in June sale at ne

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SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAY 25 1959

For your information

~~Harold Flemming~~

M7 - File

Art Levin

Phone [illegible]

The Race Relations and Public Relations Council

(Serving the State of Georgia)

Dr. R. W. Greene, President

Mr. J. H. Hill, A.B.
Secretary - Treasurer
1019 Dixie Avenue
Columbus, Georgia

Office:
3216 Morehouse Street
COLUMBUS, GEORGIA

THE PROBLEMS OF THE SOUTHLAND ARE SOUTHERN IN ORIGIN AND NATURE, AND CAN ONLY BE SOLVED BY SUFFICIENT TACT AND HONESTY—
GREENE

☆ ☆

PHILOSOPHY OR OBJECTIVES

To keep communism from the working class of people.

Better understanding between mankind.

Emphasis on religious worship of church attendance.

The importance of supporting community projects.

Help new comers to find living quarters and jobs.

Aiding the labourer to adjust himself or adapting his will to work.

To guide man in the art of getting joy out of his work.

[illegible] something with mankind.

The South is fastly becoming the Paradise of America.

Dr. R. W. Greene,
Chief Consultant

Human relations in Georgia excell any State in the Nation. State Negro population, 1,086,730—30 census.

Dear American:

The supreme purpose of this enclosed booklet, "A Letter to the South on Segregation" is not to force anyone to believe but to arouse and stimulate the mind of mankind to a sense of reality of sane thought in action.

The german of conscious actually has become dormant with a lot of the leaders over the nation.

One must first live in the Southland for a period of years if he were to give a true picture of the - - - valuation of human relationship.

We trust you will enjoy this booklet. If America is to enjoy her economy there ought to be peace and racial understanding with justice for all.

I am yours for a greater America.

Yours very truly,

R. W. Greene

Dr. R. W. Greene, President

"Georgia is the greatest State in the Nation, and with one of the largest colored populations in the Nation."

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Founded 1950, Columbus, Georgia

Phone: [illegible]

The Race Relations and Public Relations Council

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Secretary - Treasurer
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Dr. R. W. Greene,
Chief Consultant

Human relations in Georgia excell any State in the Nation. State Negro population, 1,068,720—'50 census.

May 15, 1959

Dear Sir:

The Race Relations and Public Relations Council has proposed to mail to each Representative and Senator in Washington, D. C. one of these booklets which you have read, "A Letter to the South on Segregation", which has been changed to read, "A Letter to Americans on Segregation".

After sending the booklet to each member in Washington, D. C., then we will send the same publication to each State Representative and Senator covering each State in the nation.

The cost is tremendous but worthy of undertaking. The cost broken down is as follows:

19,000 booklets	@ 7c each	$1,330.00
Stamps, 19,000	@ 4c each	760.00
Secretary, extra help		514.20
Addressing, 16.10 per M, Franklin Printing Catalog standard work manual		305.90
Folding, 2-folds, Franklin Printing catalog standard work manual		121.35
Inserting in envelopes, 3-pieces and sealing flaps, Franklin Printing catalog standard work manual		86.95
Miscellaneous		550.00
19,000 Letterheads, printed		113.95
19,000 Envelopes, printed		175.27
19,000 Cards, printed		105.45
TOTAL		$4,063.07

Your contribution will be greatly appreciated—the South needs YOUR help.

Please send check or money order made out to: "The Race Relations and Public Relations Council", 3215 Morehouse Street, Columbus, Georgia.

Yours very truly,

R. W. Greene

R. W. Greene, President

Woodall Press, 106 10th Street, Columbus, Georgia, is now producing the letterheads, envelopes and cards. Mr. Johnston Woodall was kind enough to estimate the cost through the Franklin Printing Catalog and will be glad to attest each item listed under the cost.

"Georgia the g[illegible] State in the Nation, [illegible] relations in the Nation."

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

THIRD PRINTING
January, 1958

A Letter To The South

ON SEGREGATION

A LETTER TO THE SOUTH

To be accurate the logotype above should read: A Letter To The White People Of The South. For the doubling back on our phrases, to achieve at all points parallel arguments addressed to both races, would be too cumbersome a procedure. But we wish that every man of good will, white or colored, in the South from which we came, could read this letter we now send you across the miles and the years. It contains a warning which, though by no means new, is important enough to deserve endless repetition.

I

Those miles and years had changed our attitude, towards the racial problem in the South, in some ways of which many of you will not approve. We ask earnestly for your patience, through these first paragraphs, while we summarize that changed outlook. There are readers for whom such an introduction will make what follows more convincing.

For we had come to believe it to be inevitable, and desirable, that *formal* segregation would eventually be abandoned everywhere in the South. In time, we felt sure, nothing would be left but a voluntary and incomplete segregation in purely social activities, resulting from the rights of any man, white or colored, to have friends of his own choosing, and from the tendency of those with like interests and friends in common to associate together. We thought this would be brought about by a yielding, area by area and step by step, to the pressures of enlightened opinion.

Many Southerners, we know, have felt the same way. One of our good friends, as typical a "Southern gentleman of the old school" as you can well imagine, is a member of the nine-man governing council of one of the largest cities in the South. He took an active lead, only a few years ago, in the successful campaign to have a Negro elected to that council. Another close friend — now deceased — was a wealthy manufacturer in another large southern city. He personally led the movement, also successful, to provide a municipally-supported golf course for its colored population.

These were, as yet, only straws in the wind. But you do not meet with a man, whom you learn to respect, as one of a group of "city fathers" in a small room, once a week for years, without eventually being willing to sit beside that man in other meeting places. Or let some of the young men in that "colored" golf club have begun to achieve fame as champions — and the Negro has the stuff of which champions are made, as has already been shown in baseball, football, boxing, and many other sports — and it would not have been long before somebody would have been arranging occasional matches between their team and the teams of white clubs in the same area. Then sportsmanship would have started adding its powerful influence towards breaking down the barriers.

Also, we were aware of some different straws, in another wind blowing towards the same goal. These were the efforts, laudable and earnest, which the South has been putting forth to comply more realistically with the "separate but equal" requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment. An excellent illustration is the way the state of Georgia has, for several years, been spending more than fifty per cent of its total education funds on improvement of its schools for Negroes. Colored people constitute only thirty-five per cent of the state's population, and pay only ten per cent of its taxes. But the white people of Georgia, who pay ninety per cent of the

taxes, have been in favor of this program, in order to bring the school facilities for Negroes up to a truly equal basis.

Even under the still-far-from-equal standards that have prevailed our Negro population has been making steady gains in its educational level. THE LONDON ECONOMIST has pointed out that already a larger percentage of American Negroes get college educations than the percentage of Englishmen in the British isles. We believe it could also have pointed out, if there were any satisfactory statistics on the subject, that the material standard of living of the average American Negro is today higher than that of the average Englishman. For the improvement in economic status of our Negro population has been parallel with the improvement in education. It is only in comparison with white Americans of the same communities, not in comparison with people elsewhere on the planet, that the American Negro can now justify any feeling of inferiority in his living conditions or his cultural opportunities.

The tangible supports of even this feeling have been slowly but surely fading; in the South, as everywhere else in our nation. In educational facilities and educational accomplishments; in the kind of jobs that were available; in the business and professional openings; in general living conditions; in the acquisition of luxuries and leisure; in the growth of entertainment and information media, such as radio and television, that reach all races alike on exactly the same terms; in every aspect of our daily lives, the gap between the positions of colored man and white man has been getting perceptibly narrower. And we have felt sure that every item of progress towards more real equality was, in its inevitable practical results, an equal step towards less separateness.

For let us suppose that by some miracle the gap of inequality had been completely closed a few years ago; that the Negroes of the South could suddenly have had as good homes, as many bathtubs as frequently used, as good clothes, as much per capita wealth, as much earned standing in the business and professional worlds, as much education, as their white neighbors; and that both colored and white members of the community had become conscious of actual equality. Under these circumstances we believe that the prejudice against desegregation would have begun to evaporate rapidly, and that formal and public segregation would have become ridiculous — and completely unnecessary. No such major miracle was possible. But an infinite number of minor miracles were slowly adding up to the same result.

At least, to return to our earlier figure of speech, we believed that the winds were blowing towards more equality and less segregation; that the atmosphere was being changed by these winds to a healthier and more comfortable one for everybody concerned; that they were good winds, blowing in the right direction. And we must further confess that we, like many others — including Mr. Faulkner — were somewhat impatient at times, and anxious for the South to open more doors to these winds, more readily, before the accumulated pressures began rattling things about.

Now the whole situation has changed. Progress towards voluntary desegregation has already been set back a generation. The very people, of farsighted and recognized leadership, who were doing the most to create equal opportunities for the Negro population and thus to eliminate tremendous abuses

to more equal association between the races, are now being driven into the same camp with the most irreconcilable segregationists. And the easy-going colored man, who has been finding steadily increasing ways open to improvement of his lot, even on his side of the segregation fence, and who has never let this slowly eroding barrier disturb him too much, is now being inflamed into a hatred of his white neighbors which he never felt before.

It is this foreboding outlook, and some slight knowledge of the even more foreboding forces behind the scenes, that prompt this letter. We hope you will take a good look with us, while there is still time, at the hurricane that is replacing the beneficent winds and growing in intensity. And the place to start with that look is at the lightning stroke which ushered in the storm. This was the U. S. Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954.

II

THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT forbids any state to "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." But the Tenth Amendment specifically provides that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." Public education is, by this reservation, a function of the states, so far as the people of any state wish to have their state government perform that function for them. Thus each state has the clear right to establish schools, control schools, and close schools, according to the wishes of its own citizens, so long as its acts or policies do not violate the Fourteenth Amendment forbidding discrimination.

Sixty years ago the Supreme Court, in the case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson*, decided that the provision by any state of "separate but equal" schools or other public facilities, for colored people and white people, fulfilled the requirements of the Fourteenth Amendment. This was in accordance with legal precedent which had already prevailed since the Amendment had been adopted in 1868. When, in 1954, the Supreme Court again considered the relationship of the Tenth and Fourteenth Amendments to each other, there had been no change in either, nor any new amendment or law affecting that relationship, since the earlier decision. Nor did the 1954 Court claim that its predecessor had erred as to the law sixty years ago. It merely contended that, in the light of modern psychology which had not been available to that earlier court, "separate but equal" schools did constitute discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Other writers and speakers have already publicized the Communist sympathies and connections of the "authorities" on modern psychology to which the Court referred in its decision, and on which its action was theoretically based. Let us merely draw on their observations here to point out that foremost among these authorities were Theodore Brameld, E. Franklin Frazier and Gunnar Myrdal. The first two names are well known to anybody who keeps up with the activities of officially-cited Communist fronts. Gunnar Myrdal is the Swedish socialist and collaborator with Communists, employed by the Carnegie Foundation (of Alger Hiss fame) to study race relations in this country. The result of that study was his book, AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, in which Myrdal stated that the Constitution of the United States was "impractical and unsuited to modern conditions", and that the Conven-

At the other end you have people like Milton Mayer, whose actual purpose can most easily be indicated by this passage from a speech he made in Syracuse in 1947, as quoted by the Syracuse Post-Standard on February 17 of that year: "We must haul down the American flag. And if I wanted to be vulgar and shocking I would go even further and say, haul it down, stamp on it, and spit on it." In between you have Communists, Communist-sympathizers, Communist fronters, Communist-aiding trouble-makers, and misguided liberals and idealists, of many shades of pink and red. And the list is, as we have indicated, only a sample of one that might be prepared.

The truth is that, if you look far enough, you will find every agitator on this issue being pushed, from somewhere behind, by a Communist — even though the agitator may not know he is just a pawn in a dirty game. And any thought that the trouble in the South — even the Supreme Court decision which blew open the door for this trouble — has not been Communist-inspired and contrived, is just one manifestation of that gullibility and lack of perception of the true picture, on which the Communists are counting so heavily in their plans to take us over.

This is not to imply that there is even one Communist on the Supreme Court bench (though of course there may be). In the fall of 1951 we wrote, in a small book on the dismissal of General MacArthur: "It is my utterly sincere belief that, through whatever strings may have been pulled and whatever puppets activated to exert their combined insidious pressures, MacArthur was fired by Stalin." This did not argue that Harry Truman, who issued the dismissal order, was acting as a conscious agent of Stalin. In fact, we made this opinion clear that Truman was *not* a Communist. The behind-the-scenes history of the period, that has been laboriously excavated and put together since, hardly leaves any room today for doubt as to the correctness of either part of our intepretation of events. And we believe that exactly the same considerations apply to both the Supreme Court decision on segregation, and to the formal steps of implementation being taken or urged.

For this rising racial bitterness is the finest grist the Communists have yet been able to obtain for their American mill. It is exactly the same kind of raw material out of which they have so successfully manufactured violent strife in one country after another. And their planned use of this raw material makes the need all the more urgent for the American people, north and south, white and colored, of all states and all races, to become aware of what is being done to them — and by whom. The increasing schisms within Protestant sects, the growing doubts of each other's good will between Catholics and Protestants, the rising intolerance by Christians of Jews and animosity of Jews towards Christians, and now the darkening storm of activated hatred between white people and colored people — these things aren't *just happening by chance* and they didn't, like Topsy, *just grow up*. They have been carefully planned, subtly fomented, cleverly nourished, and raised to tremendous forces of disruption by the Communist conspirators and the misguided dupes and allies who have been cued and egged on by them.

One illustration should be permissible here, because the episode is more pertinent than at first appears. It's a matter of court record that one of the most loud mouthed and effective smear artists in America in the area of charging government officials with being Communists

worked for months as an *agent provocateur*, passing out vicious anti-Semitic literature. Anybody he could find to nibble at his bait he then encouraged to go further in the anti-Jewish feeling which he claims to despise. It's true that any man who listened to him was foolish, or worse. But being foolish and easily misled in such prejudices is one of *homo sapiens'* most innate characteristics. And obviously this man — who is not even a Jew — doesn't give a damn about either Jew or Gentile. He just wants to make trouble between good Americans of both categories, for entirely other and sinister purposes. The activity of conspirators of this kind can be found in connection with every one of the spreading and dangerous cracks now being opened in the great melting pot which was our America.

It is easy to see the field day which the Communists and their agents plan to make out of this even greater opportunity. They do not have the slightest real interest in the welfare of either the colored people or the white people of the South. It is not desegregation as an end in which they are interested, but the bitterness, strife, and terrors of mob action which can be instigated while that end is supposedly being sought. If complete, one-hundred-per cent integration and racial equality could, by miraculous dispensation, be achieved in the whole South tomorrow, these troublemakers would be as disgusted and disappointed as were the Chinese Communists, for a while in 1946, after Chiang Kai-shek offered them every single thing they had been shouting for, in the proposed new constitution for China.

Now admittedly the Communists, even with their radical and fanatical non-Communist sympathizers, could not make this situation so dangerous and so difficult to resolve peacefully, were it not for the support of many, many times their number of perfectly honest and entirely honorable liberals, of both races. There are, of course, both altruistic idealists and vain busybodies all mixed together in the forefront of the crowd calling for the police to come and enforce the law. There are thousands of misguided liberals who, completely ignorant of the pragmatic difficulties in the way of imposing their racial Utopia on the South forthwith, will add their voices to the shouts for the policeman to do his stuff. Right in our home city there are "proper Bostonians", who have hemorrhages at the mere suggestion that an Irish American or a Greek American or a Jewish American be admitted to one of their clubs, who nevertheless will demand that the U. S. Army be used to ensure that you and your colored neighbors have dinner in each other's homes every second Sunday. And they will feel very virtuous in making the demand.

These innocent and not-so-innocent stooges of a Communist-led agitation are troublesome, and give strength to the movement. But most of them are out in the open. You can know who they are and learn what they do. And to whatever extent you may be willing to yield or to compromise, most of them will at least give you credit for trying to make progress in the direction they demand. Try to meet the honest liberals, in argument and in action, with all of the reasonableness and patience you can muster. Please have, and show, all the tolerance you can achieve, for the aberrations of other earnest and truthful men who get involved in this struggle, even when they are blindly doing great damage. For we all make mistakes, out of ignorance or obstinacy, that we need to have forgiven. And remember, unceasingly, that it is the actual Communists, both hidden and

tion which adopted it was "nearly a plot against the common people". Among those who helped Myrdal prepare this book were Franz Boas, W. E. B. DuBois, Alain Locke, Ira DeA. Reid, Doxey Wilkerson, Ruth Benedict, Charles S. Johnson, Clark Foreman, Arthur Raper, Louis W. Jones, Rose Nelson, Sterling Brown, Eveline Burns, Thomas Jones, T. Arnold Hill — and E. Franklin Frazier. All of these have been active participants in known Communist fronts, most of them in many such fronts. But it was AN AMERICAN DILEMMA, that Gunnar Myrdal turned out with their help, which the Court cited as its chief authority in "modern psychology" dealing with race relations.

Equally significant, in order to arrive at its conclusion the Court had to get around the one most important and firmly established base for the interpretation of any legislation, which is the intent of the legislators at the time a law or an amendment — or a constitution — was promulgated. It pleaded ignorance of the intent of the framers and ratifiers of the Fourteenth Amendment, with regard to the meaning of the "equal protection" clause, in the face of overwhelming evidence that those framers and ratifiers did consider "separate but equal" schools a satisfactory compliance with the law.

Of course, even if Myrdal were right that the U. S. Constitution is so horrible an instrument, there are perfectly proper ways for the people, through their state legislatures, to change it. While it is amply clear that this decision of the Supreme Court constituted a deliberate rewriting of basic law simply by judicial fiat. *It established the doctrine that the meaning of our laws and of our constitution itself changes — without any new legislation being needed for that purpose — with changes in psychological and sociological theories, and according to the preferences for particular theories on the part of the current justices. Through its abandonment of the bases of judicial determinations, that have been hundreds of years in the building, this decision strikes at the very foundation of every legal protection previously held by any citizen of the United States — white or colored, in the South or in the North. It is, we believe, the most brazen and flagrant usurpation of power that has been seen in three hundred years, in any major court in the whole Anglo-American system of jurisprudence.*

III

WE NOW COME to the point and purpose of this message — which is to offer advice. It is not the advice of an "authority" on modern psychology or anything else, but it derives from long study and deep convictions, in connection with the very nature of such storms as the one now gathering fury over your once peaceful landscape. With humility, but without apology, we offer this one man's opinion for whatever it may be worth.

1. Do not put the responsibility where it doesn't belong. Do not blame your neighbors, the colored people of the South. They had nothing to do with the Supreme Court decision, did not seek it, and as a class have not been the ones to bring the racial issue to a boil. Most of them would be just as embarrassed as you would at *forced* integration, and are just as opposed to the whole idea. In fact, some of the most sensible and level-headed discussions of the whole problem have been coming from Webster McClary, Dr. Joseph Winthrop Holley, Zora Neale Hurston, and other southern Negroes with personal pride and great understanding.

The ordinary colored people of the South can easily be misled by clever agitators, as you would be if you were in their position. Some few of them here and there will want to become virtuous heroes of the new dispensation, or martyrs to a newly acquired oppression complex. Many will easily be stirred into mob action that will constitute the gravest aspect of your overall problem. But truly, in most cases, they know not what they do; and if there was ever a time and place when patience and charity and a huge reservoir of deep good will were needed, it is in the South today.

2. Put the blame where it does belong, squarely on the shoulders of the Communists. Even the known and major preparations by the Communists over many years, for bringing about this situation, have been tremendously more extensive than is realized, or even suspected, by the American public. For you must remember that in any ideological arena one Communist can count on the support of ten fellow travelers; each fellow traveler can marshall the help of ten leftwing liberals; each leftwing liberal can lead by the nose ten "progressives" who look up to him intellectually; and the influence of the Communist at the center spreads through hundreds of agents who do not have any idea that their actions and beliefs and demands are Communist-inspired.

As you study in detail the huge complex of organizations, fronts, and activities that have helped to blow up this storm — either directly and intentionally, or as a by-product of other purposes — you will find many names constantly reappearing on the reports that you read. A comparative few of those names are: Ella Reeve Bloor, Ralph Bunche, Allan Chalmers, Evans Clark, W. E. B. DuBois, Herman Edelsberg, George Field, Clark Foreman, John Gates, Lester Granger, John J. Gunter, Langston Hughes, Rev. John Paul Jones, Stetson Kennedy, Conrad Lynn, Patrick Murphy Malin, Milton Mayer, Emil Mazey, Loren Miller, Clarence Mitchell, A. J. Muste, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Victor Perlo, Pettis Perry, Shad Polier, Mike Quill, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Reuther, Walter Reuther, Winthrop Rockefeller, Eleanor Roosevelt, Rev. Ralph Lord Roy, Whitney North Seymour, Paul Sifton, Maxwell S. Stewart, Rex Stout, Tom Tippett, James Waterman Wise, Roy Wilkins, Aubrey Williams, and Charles S. Zimmerman.

Gunnar Myrdal's book, *An American Dilemma*, contains 1542 large pages. If some group, less influenced by the admirers of Alger Hiss than was the Carnegie Foundation, would finance a similar study of the subversive forces seeking to use that dilemma for selfish and sinister ends, it might be possible to disentangle the aims and effects of the actions which brought the above names onto our list. And it might be possible also, as it would certainly be desirable, to distinguish between the good aims and bad aims of a long list of supposedly public-spirited and usually tax-exempt organizations functioning in this field — organizations in which and through which many of these people have labored to stir up racial bitterness and to lay the groundwork for civil disorder. For at one end of the spectrum of intention, represented by the forty-one names, you have people like Winthrop Rockefeller, whose chief claim to such a niche of notoriety lies in the contribution, by himself or through his influence, of considerable sums of money to "liberal" associates and associations; without his showing, in our opinion, much sense or enough concern about the ultimate objectives some of that money was being used to accomplish.

visible, who are your real enemies, and the enemies of your country, and who have deliberately stirred up this whole storm for reasons of their own. Put the blame where it belongs; on those who, making no mistake but proud of their crimes, are consciously doing all the harm they can to the South and to our whole nation.

IV

Finally — as our last consignment of advice — recognize what you are up against, and get that same realization over to your colored neighbors in every way that you possibly can. For this action in the South is only a part of the larger and longer plans of the Communists. When the point was reached, in their time schedule, where their strategic design for the ultimate conquest of America called for the incipient moves towards civil war in the South, they were ready. They simply brought off the Supreme Court decision and went to work. Please understand that the Communists behind this trouble are not playing. They mean business all the way.

As to how far and how fast you should comply with the Supreme Court decision; the extent to which you should try to use "interposition" or state contributions to private schools or other legal maneuvers to block its impact; whether and in what ways you should work towards a constitutional repeal of that decision through another amendment or through federal legislation; just how you should meet and handle the spikes of the dilemma that are daily crowding you — and that will begin to crowd you a great deal more viciously as soon as the elections are over this fall; as to these things we have neither the knowledge nor the presumption out of which to offer any advice. It is true, as the idealists claim, that the core of the difficulty is a moral problem. But it is so far from an *abstract* moral problem, it is so imbedded by concrete excrescences, that only the conscience and the intelligence of those who know every inch of this crust should be applied to its solution. Keeping hands off, so far as dealing with these excrescences is concerned, is probably the most helpful thing the rest of us can do.

We do wish to assure you that there are plenty of good citizens in the North who will agree with you that there is still a limit — or should be a limit — to the right of the federal government to interfere in the local affairs and the self-governing privileges of duly organized smaller governmental units — whether they be states, counties, municipalities, townships, or villages. There are plenty who feel that this question of segregation is one that should have been left — and should still be left — to the determination and handling of such smaller and local units. To whatever extent you can use legal and constitutional means, therefore, to slow down the bites of desegregation to a speed at which you can digest them, you will find considerable — and probably adequate — moral and political support.

But failing that, or being urged to more direct resistance, consider carefully the consequences of all you do or plan. For this is not going to be a sillabub storm in a teacup. Our friends in the South write us that they will not be *forced*; that nothing will *force* them to immediate desegregation, short of civil war. And what we are trying to tell you, what this whole letter is really about, is the very real danger of this extreme result; of a civil war that would engulf the South and spread through race riots and other Communist-fomented disorders into a chaotic terror over our whole nation.

For civil war, of course, is exactly what the Communists want; and what they now have every intention of inflicting on this country by whatever means they can. Communist-initiated civil wars, whether in China or Vietnam or Spain or Yugoslavia, never start as full-fledged warfare. The exact pattern is too well worked out, and too successfully tested, for that. They always begin as localized clashes, over some such principle as "agrarian reform" or "abolition of tyranny", that has no easily apparent connection with plans for Communist conquest. In the present instance the phrase is "civil rights". Racial jealousy actually furnishes them a far better tool than they usually have available. And not only is it likely to seem to them the best they will ever have available in America; but, in their efforts to put on pressures that will force you to armed resistance, they have exactly what they always take pains to have for such occasions — the appearance in the minds of most people, not close enough to be truly informed, of right and justice on their side. Of one thing you can be certain. These enemies in our midst are not going to let this opportunity get away from them if they can help it, or fail to make the very most of it that their cunning, ruthlessness, and long experience in exactly similar situations can achieve.

On February 8, 1956, there was a demonstration staged at Manhattan Center, in New York City, by the *Provisional Committee For Justice In Mississippi*. The main speaker of this rally was W. E. B. DuBois, once indicted for his pro-Communist activities, and long a front man for Communist causes. Angus Cameron, who was kicked out of his editorial job at Little, Brown and Company, because of his identification as a member of the Communist Party, was one of the promoters of the rally. Dr. Otto Nathan, Hugh Mulzac, the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, and others of their ilk, all did their part to make the rally as noisy and as successful as possible. *The Daily Worker* gave the affair front page support for several days preceding the rally. Altogether it would be hard to imagine a more open and obtrusive example of pro-Communist activity. Yet the sponsors who staged this show got approving messages from members of the N. Y. Assembly, from U. S. Congressmen, and from other public officials. They attracted a considerable crowd, most of them perfectly innocent and well-meaning Americans, to listen to their bitter and vicious charges hurled at you, and to contribute food and clothing for the "embattled Negroes in the South."

This is just one small sample of the attacks the Communists are turning loose on you, which they intend to augment into a deadly barrage; and a very weak sample, because their most telling blows will be delivered far more secretly, and cunningly, and effectively. If you would like some advance knowledge of just how foul, how cruel, how ruthless, and how *deceptive* they can get, study carefully the details of some of those civil wars we referred to above. Study especially the "rehearsal performance" in Spain, where they enticed hundreds of idealistic young Americans to fight on *their side — by their appearance of being in the right* — and then shot those same American boys in cold blood as fast as the boys became disillusioned.

You have read and heard for years that "it can't happen here." To believe that was to deny every clear lesson of the history of the past thirty-five years. But the argument is now only academic. *It is happening here*, right now. In Mississippi and South Carolina and all

over a fourth of our country the Communists have already entered — incipiently, insidiously, patiently, farsightedly, deceptively — onto the last stage, the physical-fighting stage, of their three-pronged strategy for making the U. S. a group of provinces ruled by Moscow. Even the Communists hope, we believe, that they can take us over by more subtle means, long before this embryonic civil war could amount to much more than a help in their other plans. But they will foment it and spread it to the equal of what happened in China if the rate of progress in other ways makes such a full-fledged civil war the necessary or surest road to success.

"The ugly threat which now imperils every community south of Washington," and the less visible but equally ugly threat to our whole nation, are one and the same thing. That threat is eventual and complete mastery by the Communists over our freedom and our lives. Put the responsibility for every ugly step, towards carrying out that threat, squarely where it belongs; then act accordingly, and do not let yourselves be blinded by the mud and lies the Communists will throw so diligently to affix the blame elsewhere. There is only one thing the Communists fear, and that is the truth about their methods and their plans. With all the fervor we can convey we beg of you that you recognize this whole movement for what it is, and handle its every aspect with foresight equal to that of the Communists themselves. In your case that means with understanding and good will towards its innocent victims, with deeprooted patriotism, and with statesmanship worthy of your heritage. For the fate of all of us, and of our country itself, is largely in your hands.

ABOUT THIS ARTICLE

These reprints, of our "Letter To The South" on segregation, will be sent postpaid to any address in the United States, at the following prices:

IN QUANTITIES OF	10 - 99 -----	10¢ EACH
IN QUANTITIES OF	100 - 999 -----	8¢ EACH
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The article first appeared in the fourth number -- the September, 1956 issue -- of ONE MAN'S OPINION, an informal "review" edited by Robert H. W. Welch, Jr. The subscription rate to the magazine is five dollars for twelve issues, to any address in the United States and Canada; seven dollars to other countries. For either reprints or subscriptions address

Robert Welch, Inc., Belmont 78, Massachusetts

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

RECEIVED MAY 26 1959

Harold Fleming

The time is past — !

Art Levin

For Bob Hughes?

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

41 Exchange Place, S. E. Atlanta 3, Ga.

MEMORANDUM

To: Whom It May Concern

RECEIVED MAY 1959

From: Arthur J. Levin

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

Date: May 25, 1959

Subject: Now is the time...

The tentacles of the Klan are reaching out from Tuscaloosa to engulf the whole state of Alabama, spreading the black cloud of "venom, hate, fear".

When the Alabama House of Representatives extends the privilege of its floor to "Grand Dragon" Robert Shelton, the problem becomes one of state-wide significance and the remedy lies only in state-wide revulsion and repudiation.

As Buford Boone, the courageous editor of the Tuscaloosa News suggests, "... we shall be able to live easier with our consciences if we repudiate the wild, fear-inspired and faith-lacking positions they support. We still have time to do so, for the noise we keep hearing from Grand Dragon Shelton is out of all proportion to the strength of its source."

"The News believes Shleton's voice is not the voice of Tuscaloosa (or Alabama). But if it is not, it would be well for others to be heard, in strength. For the good of our community, he must be recognized and labeled as our No. 1 troublemaker."

Now is the time for all good men to join with Buford Boone in expressing their opposition to and condemnation of the Klan in Alabama through letters to the publicly elected Governor and State Representatives, and through public resolutions from civic clubs, religious groups, and other organized segments of the community. Silence is assent!

ajl/bw

reprinted in THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER May 19, 1959 Montgomery, Ala.

Klan Leader Shelton And Boone

Shelton: Boone One Of 'Yankee Lynch Mob'

A Letter To The Tuscaloosa News

QUISLING—An editor in the South who betrays the white man by promoting appeasement for mongrelization.

These Dixie Quislings are on a par with the Reconstruction scalawags and carpetbaggers. They betray their kind for rewards, citations, questionable glory and synthetic honors. No citizen of the South has filled this pattern more accurately than the editor of *The Tuscaloosa News* and its publisher, Buford Boone. In his editorial columns, as well as in his slanted news stories, he attempts to justify the propaganda decisions handed down by the Supreme Court and the Jew-controlled NAACP along with the bayonet rule enforced by Eisenhower's storm troopers. He joins the Yankee lynch mob in its campaign to persecute the Klan, the Citizens Council and its members.

As a reward, the Jew-founded propaganda mechanism, known as the Pulitzer Prize award, cited *The Tuscaloosa News* as well as Buford Boone by placing him on the Pulitzer jury for special recognition and monetary reward.

Since *The Tuscaloosa News* has joined with most Northern newspapers as a typical product of the unholy ferment which has been agitating the Southern people since the ruling of the Supreme Court in '54, it is quite easy to isolate the cause of their being the way they are: namely, the influence of the Jews.

The editor should read again the meaning of "subversion." You should also check form 98 of the U.S. government to see if the U.S. Klans are subversive, as you state. The Klan has not, as you have, endorsed the Human Relations Council with all its communist affiliates. Don't say you don't know any since I have given them to you before in documented form and you refused to print them.

Too few newspapermen have the fortitude to stand up against high-pressure tactics. So effective have their organized intimidations proven that many overly-timid or flaccid-willed editors have decided to play safe by turning over to the mongrelizers as many of their news columns as they might require to be filled with whatever material they might suggest.

Regardless of what you write or your ill-talk, I'm proud of the U.S. Klans. No, our sign will not come down. ROBERT M. SHELTON.
1708 15th St.

Boone: Shelton Reflects 'Venom, Hate, Fear'

An Editorial In The Tuscaloosa News

THE NEWS publishes today a letter from Robert M. Shelton. It reflects all the venom, hatred and fear that lie unconcealed in the Ku Klux Klan which he heads in this state.

Shelton is afraid of Jews in the United States, and uses against them hate literature coming from sources of known irresponsibility and containing half-truths, inaccuracies and lies. He has condemned the mental health organization, the Red Cross, the American Cancer Society and other groups working for the good of mankind. He has worked against the United Fund which serves so well the people of his home county.

Recently, Shelton has let it be known that he considers the tiny amount of fluoride we add to our water to be poison, despite the fact that the substance is found naturally in the drinking water of some places where people are normally healthy and teeth are amazingly good. He puts his judgment against that of Tuscaloosa dentists, who reported after controlled tests that Tuscaloosa youngsters have far better teeth than others in areas where the water has not been treated.

THIS man with Hitler-like tendencies must credit himself and his members with having run out of Tuscaloosa an efficient tuberculosis hospital superintendent who wanted to comply with segregation wishes of West Alabama people. Responsible men belong to the Citizens Council received cooperation from Dr. White in this area after they suggested changes, which he tried to make.

Without forgetting Tuscaloosa, Shelton is operating, too, in Montgomery. Having supported the administration now in power, he naturally is not unwelcome there. But he has not taken a low-paying state job. He has, instead, transferred to the sales department of his company and is in a position to profit personally from selling tires to the state. He would not have such opportunity, of course, but for his position of Klan leadership.

No announcement has been made on Shelton's next move in Tuscaloosa. Does he plan to turn on the pressure to eliminate fluoride from our drinking water, or perhaps to kill the agencies supported through the United Fund?

IT IS obvious that Shelton is ambitious. He will reach and grab for power and influence until he is stopped by reasoning people unafraid to incur the wrath of this reckless man and his few followers. He is an opportunist, taking shrewd advantage of the overwhelming opposition in the South to integration.

We never have met Shelton. He is described by people who know him as a "nice young man" whose confusion is difficult to understand. Certainly it is unfortunate that one with better-than-average education and with ability and such energy should devote his time considerably to negative and destructive purposes.

The News believes Shelton's voice is not the voice of Tuscaloosa. But if it is not, it would be well for others to be heard, in strength. For the good of our community, he must be recognized and labeled as our No. 1 troublemaker.

He and his gang have caused our community much embarrassment. They will cause more, but we shall be able to live easier with our consciences if we repudiate the wild, fear-inspired and faith-lacking, positions they support. We still have time to do so, for the noise we keep hearing from Grand Dragon Shelton is out of all proportion to the strength of its source.

UNDER THE DOME

The governor of Alabama who banned the United Press from his office is the same governor whose House of Representatives recently extended the privileges of its floor to the Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, Robert Shelton, of Tuscaloosa, Ala. Gov. John Patterson was irked at the UPI for reporting that Charlie Merriwether, his finance director, was going to be ousted.

from Drew Pearson
THE ATLANTA JOURNAL
May 16, 1959
Atlanta, Ga.

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

June 5, 1959

PERSONAL &
CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Harry Ashemore
Arkansas Gazette
Little Rock, Ark.

Dear Harry:

Harold Fleming relayed your request for background information concerning the KKK, in regard to the formation of a branch of the U.S. Klans in Little Rock.

You will find enclosed some information relative to the Klan, and also some other background material which may be of personal interest to you.

I also called my national office and asked that they too send you whatever they have, which will probably duplicate in part the enclosed materials. I trust that this will be sufficient background information for your story.

Come see us. Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/bw

CC: Harold Fleming

You're so nervous.

ajl

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED JUL 24 1959

For your information

Harold Fleming
Paul Rilling

Regards
Art Levin

Attorn

Title: 'Black and White' MIAMI HERALD 7/19/59

A Book for Children Rapped and Removed

SHREVEPORT, La. — (AP) — A children's book depicting the marriage of a "grumpy black man and a white lady" went off the shelves of the Shreveport Memorial Library amid an attack that it was "insidious interracial propaganda."

Editor George Shannon of The Shreveport Journal was the book's chief critic. He called for a re-examination of children's books in Shreveport libraries and libraries throughout the state.

Miss Inez Boone, chief librarian, said she removed the book, "Black and White," after the attack. She said, however, that the book was withdrawn "because it is worn out and not because of being objectionable, which it isn't."

Miss Boone said the book was a whimsical tale of fancy for children and the author, Margaret Wise Brown, never intended to advocate integration.

"We never had a complaint on it before," Miss Boone said, and added she believed the late author was looking only for contrast. Miss Boone cited other books by Miss Brown, such as "Red Light, Green Light" and "The Quiet, Noisy Book."

Shannon's editorial said to "circulate books advocating integration among adults is one thing, but to deliberately warp the minds of children is quite another."

He warned that parents must not only protect themselves "but must spare their children as well."

Asked if a check would be made to examine contents of other books, Miss Boone answered:

"If we're going to have a witch hunt through our picture books, we may as well close our doors. Anyone who's looking for something can read it into almost any book — even the Bible."

The incident recalled the protests in Alabama two months ago over the book, "The Rabbits' Wedding." The story told of the marriage of a black male rabbit to a white female rabbit and was banned from Alabama libraries.

Art Review
Pg. 1

4 Tallahassee Democrat

Friday, July 10, 1959

Civil Rights In The Far West

Out in the State of Washington, a Negro woman said a reducing salon indicated it didn't want her business. It didn't come right out and say so, but she said employes told her she "wouldn't be happy here."

So she sued under the State's "public accommodation law," which attempts to tell people in private business how to run their businesses and whom they must serve. She was awarded $1,000 damages in the lower court. But the Supreme Court of the State cut it to $750, in a 6-3 opinion.

The opinion of the three dissenting judges is interesting. They took the position that private individuals of every race have a constitutional right to choose with whom they deal in private affairs.

What's more, they citied the 13th amendment to the United States Constitution, which outlawed slavery and involuntary service. Judge Joseph A. Mallery contended application of the law penalizing private concerns for being selective about their customers is "subjecting white people to involuntary servitude by Negroes."

There's so much common sense and common justice in that decision that it's a pity it didn't prevail; but the fact that one-third of the judges in that far western state expressed that belief is encouraging evidence that there are some outside the South who are concerned about civil rights of someone besides the minority pressure blocs.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

The attached may be food for thought for your friends and neighbors.

RECEIVED JUL 30 1959

Art Levin

This is an Anti-Semite!

THE ATLANTA JOURNAL July 23, 1959 Atlanta, Ga.

Boy in Arson 'Hate-Sick'

Turned Inside Out With It, Columbus Grandmother Says

Special to The Atlanta Journal

COLUMBUS, Ga., July 23—The grandmother of an 18-year-old boy charged with setting a fire which destroyed some 160 valuable paintings in a museum here has described the boy as "turned inside out with hate."

Richard Vernon Smith Jr., a former student at Murphy High in Atlanta, is being held on second and third-degree arson charges in connection with a $40,000 fire Sunday at the Columbus Museum of Arts and Crafts.

R. V. Smith Jr.

"That boy is sick and needs help desperately," said his grandmother, Mrs. W. M. Renka of Columbus. "But I'm fighting mad because the police have arrested my two sons, Bobby, 18, and Dennis, 35. They came after them yesterday afternoon and haven't let me see them since. Neither of them had anything to do with this."

* * *

OFFICIALS AT the Muscogee County Jail confirmed that the two Renka sons are being held "for investigation."

Young Smith was brought to Atlanta for a lie detector test Wednesday. Police said he admitted the vandalism at the museum at that time, and the lie detector test corroborated his statement.

Police said the boy also admitted painting swastikas on two Jewish synagogues here last week, prior to the museum fire. Other swastikas were painted on the walls of the burned museum.

* * *

CAPT. R. E. LITTLE of the Atlanta Police Dept. said Thursday he plans to go to Columbus to confer with police and GBI men working on the case. Capt. Little spearheaded the investigation of the Atlanta Jewish Temple bombing case.

All investigators contacted by reporters said they have had no conversation with the youth's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard V. Smith Sr. of 2726 Pharr Rd., Decatur. The grandmother, Mrs. Renka, said Thursday morning she had not heard from the parents either.

Young Smith is being held in lieu of a $25,000 bond. Besides the two arson charges, he also faces a burglary charge connected with breaking into the museum, said Solicitor John Land of the Chattahoochee Circuit.

"He told me he thought the Jews here in Columbus were following him in cars and trying to run over him." Mrs. Renka said of the Smith youth. "Nothing I could say would change his mind. His sickness has been obvious for some time, but we thought he would outgrow it."

* * *

A MOODY but brilliant student, young Smith left the Atlanta school last fall. His grandmother said he made good grades but was "a discipline problem" in the classroom. Since then he has been studying science by mail from a Chicago correspondence school.

"He stayed with me for a while, but later got a room by himself," Mrs. Renka said. "He worked at a library here. He spent most of his time reading. He read a lot about Germany, and Hitler was his hero. He often said that one day his name would be in the headlines just like Hitler's was. It's just terrible it had to be like this."

Mrs. Renka described the boy as "a fifth wheel in the family," with habits and attitudes totally unlike other relatives. He was an avid chess player—so much so his parents had their phone removed to keep him from playing chess with friends by telephone.

* * *

SO FAR, the youth has been held incommunicado by Columbus police, who refused to divulge any details of the investigation. Sol. Land said the youth waived a preliminary hearing and that the case may go to the grand jury next Thursday if police "have all loose ends of the case tied up by then."

Where is the fine line that separates this boy from the "good people" who deplore his actions, yet practice discrimination -- the real estate or hotel operator who bars Jews, the employer who will not hire Jews, the college official who sets up quotas, the social club clique which blackballs Jews?

Vol. 2, No. 6, April-May, 1959

RIGHTS

ADL REPORTS ON SOCIAL, EMPLOYMENT, EDUCATIONAL AND HOUSING DISCRIMINATION.

PROGRESS IN FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES

A MAJOR breakthrough against employment discrimination has been achieved in two key states, California and Ohio, which recently passed enforceable FEPC laws. (According to the 1950 census, California and Ohio were respectively the second and the fifth most populous states in the Union.) In California, Governor Edmund Brown signed the measure on April 16, following its approval by heavy majorities in the state legislature. The law takes effect September 18. In Ohio, Governor Michael V. Di Salle signed the bill on April 29.

In a special statement, Governor Di Salle declared that the event marked "a step forward for decency in the State of Ohio." He said it seemed "incongruous that in a nation that has prided itself on the achievement of the democratic principles of equality, in the latter part of the twentieth century it is still necessary to adopt legislation guaranteeing to individuals equal opportunities for employment."

"This legislation," said Governor Di Salle, "is not an attempt to legislate morality but it is, in effect, an implementation of our Bill of Rights and an attempt to protect the individual against the abuses of prejudice and the rather human weakness of discriminating against persons who are different because of a foreordained accident of birth which differentiates in shades of color, in race, and in many instances—religious beliefs."

The Governor emphasized that the law, judiciously administered, will not "be a tool for persecution," but will in effect "protect and further the mutual objectives of those who believe in the oldest of our traditions—equality before the law and equality in opportunity."

Including California, Ohio and Alaska, sixteen states have now enacted enforceable FEPC laws, covering a total population of over 70 million. Two other states, Kansas and Indiana, have passed FEPC laws without enforcement provisions. Also, about forty cities, many located in states that have no FEPC laws, have passed ordinances against employment discrimination, some of them carrying provisions for their enforcement.

Under FEPC, a positive approach to the problem of employment bias will be opened both in California and Ohio, two states that have shown significant job discrimination, according to recent surveys.

California

In California, such discrimination has been particularly high in Los Angeles. A recent preliminary examination by the Anti-Defamation League's office in Los Angeles of a limited number of discriminatory job orders made available to the League, disclosed that in the latter part of 1958 and the first few months of 1959 more than 300 orders with discriminatory specifications were placed with some private agencies by over 250 firms. These firms represent a cross-section of American industry. They range from small businesses employing just a few people to large national corporations. The type of goods and services offered by them cover virtually the community's whole economy. Included among them are insurance companies, banks, department stores, oil companies, transportation lines, real estate agencies, food processors and manufacturers of many different products.

The 300 job orders placed by these firms all asked for clerical workers, and they provided explicit evidence of discrimination, clearly stating restrictions because of race or religion. Some of these orders specified "Gentile only," or "Caucasian only," or "no colored, no Mexicans, no Oriental." Other job orders used a code to identify employers' restrictions.

Forty-four of the 250 firms which placed these discriminatory job orders appeared to be government contractors and the Anti-Defamation League filed complaints against them with the President's Committee on Government Contracts. The Committee is empowered to enforce a provision in all government contracts against employment discrimination. The Committee has so far established jurisdiction in 23 complaints.

Previous Survey

In 1956-57, the League had found that more than 200 firms in Southern California had placed discriminatory job orders with several private employment agencies and filed a complaint against them with the President's Committee on Government Contracts.

These firms specified in their job orders that they did not want Jews, Negroes, Orientals, Mexican-Americans and Catholics.

The League had also found that employment agencies were using coding devices to facilitate their discriminatory practices. Accordingly, Jews were identified as "53's" and Negroes as "99's." The letter "C" was often used to specify the employer's preference for a Caucasian, while the letters "O" and "SP" were indications that Orientals and Mexican-Americans were not

wanted. At times, the restrictions were stated explicitly—"Gentile only."

The President's Committee has not fully completed its investigations of the complaints filed by the Anti-Defamation League in 1957. The Committee established jurisdiction with respect to 29 of the 202 firms cited and completed full field investigations and closed the cases on 21 of them. Eight investigations are still pending, with final reports to be issued.

Three of the twenty-one firms whose cases have been closed admitted having filed discriminatory job orders and took corrective measures. Eighteen denied the charge, but a number of them instituted several corrective changes to demonstrate good faith. Two revised their employment forms and removed what in effect were discriminatory questions. Two companies issued memoranda to all department heads instructing them to specify their companies' non-discriminatory policy when hiring through an employment agency. Two firms formally notified employment agencies that referrals must be made on a non-discriminatory basis. And one firm incorporated in its new policy handbook a statement expressing a policy of non-discrimination.

The following is a comparison between the discriminatory job orders examined by ADL in 1956-57 and those surveyed in 1958-59:

	1956 1957	1958 1959
Total number of job orders	218	303
Total number of firms	202	258
Restrictions against Jews	142	83
" against Negroes	62	162
" against Orientals	43	47
" against Catholics	2	2
" against Mexican-Americans	18	44
" against minorities (use of code term "All American," meaning "white, Gentile.")	....	30

The above table must be read in the light of the following facts. The extent of employment discrimination is greater than indicated in this table, for the information gathered by the Anti-Defamation League is far from exhaustive. A number of the people who provided the data were under the impression that the League was only concerned with anti-Jewish discrimination. This explains the substantially great number of restricted job orders directed at Jews. When questioned, these individuals emphasized that discrimination against Negroes immeasurably exceeded anti-Jewish restrictions. They reported that discrimination against Negroes for clerical positions is so widespread in Los Angeles that practically all job openings in this category are closed to them, even if no restrictions are stipulated on job orders. Employment agencies refer Negroes to firms only that state explicitly they entertain "no racial prejudice."

It is to be noted that 23 of the firms which placed discriminatory job orders in 1958-59 were repeating offenders, having also placed such job orders in 1956-57.

Ohio

According to a report published in December 1958 by the Governor's Advisory Commission on Civil Rights, employment discrimination against Jews in Ohio is practiced principally in certain occupations, such as public accounting and engineering, and in banks, utilities and manufacturing firms, especially those in heavy industry.

"The nature of discrimination in employment and personnel practices toward Jewish persons," the Governor's Commission said, "differs from that toward Negroes. The discrimination against Jews is considered by them to occur at different levels from that which occurs against Negroes. Furthermore, it tends to be more subtle and difficult to detect than does discrimination against Negroes."

The Commission found, based on interviews with Jewish personnel engaged in placement and guidance work for Jews, that anti-Jewish discrimination is most extensive in "top and middle management positions," and that a major factor in this situation is social discrimination against Jews.

The Commission noted that "the social discrimination against Jews in large cities results in a situation in which Jews are not considered for important executive positions because they do not belong to the right club and do not, therefore, circulate in the influential social groups."

The Commission interviewed fifteen bank executives and discussed with them the question of employment of Jews.

"These interviews," said the Commission's report, "established the fact that very few Jews are employed in management provisions in banks in Ohio."

Many of these executives indicated that Jewish women and men were employed in routine jobs in their banks, but were unable to estimate how many. Most of the bank executives stated that "Jews do not apply for bank jobs and that is the primary reason for the scarcity of Jews in management positions."

The Commission noted, however, that in large cities, according to Jewish agency personnel, "the Jewish community is large enough that it is comparable to the community as a whole. That is, there are Jews who are interested in job security and in banking and the lack of applicants is the result of the past employment practices of the banks producing the attitude among Jews that banks will not consider them for management positions."

In the utility field, the Commission found the same general attitude among executives as it did in interviewing top bank management.

"However, in the utility field," the Commission said, "reference generally could be made to a member of middle or higher management who was Jewish. This, it was claimed, disproved the charge of discrimination. One large electric utility firm in Ohio, it is reported, has a Jewish president. One of the gas utility firms in Ohio is controlled by a holding company with a Jewish president. The utility companies also claimed that they did not follow a policy of discrimination against Jews but that the employment patterns were a result of a lack of

RIGHTS

Funds for the work of the Anti-Defamation League are raised through the Joint Defense Appeal.

is a periodic report by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y.

Officers: Henry Edward Schultz, chairman; Meier Steinbrink, honorary chairman; Barney Balaban, A. G. Ballenger, Herbert H. Lehman, Leon Lowenstein, William Sachs, Benjamin Samuels, Melvin H. Schlesinger, Jesse Steinhart, honorary vice-chairmen; Joseph Cohen, Jefferson E. Peyser, Max J. Schneider, vice-chairmen; Benjamin Greenberg, treasurer; Herbert Levy, secretary; Benjamin R. Epstein, national director; Bernard Nath, chairman, executive committee; Paul H. Sampliner, vice-chairman, executive committee; Philip M. Klutznick, president, B'nai B'rith; Maurice Bisgyer, executive vice-president, B'nai B'rith; David A. Rose, chairman of Civil Rights Committee; Arnold Forster, Civil Rights Director.

Edited by Harold Braverman, Director Discriminations Department; Harold Berman, associate editor.

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qualified applicants. Again, the answer of the Jewish agency personnel was similar to that made for the bank situation."

In manufacturing, the Commission said, "few Jews were reported in middle or higher management positions except in the sales and research areas. The personnel officials claim that Jews in general did not prepare for management positions. Companies claim that few of them have engineering degrees and not many of them show interest in the production phase of business. A few companies reported that they presently are hiring Jewish college graduates for engineering and management training.

"Therefore," the Commission summed up, "whether the lack of Jewish persons in reasonable numbers, in banks, utilities and manufacturing is due to discrimination in employment and personnel practices, due to lack of qualified applicants, or the result of the recency of hiring of college graduates in technical and management training, is a matter subject to judgment evaluation.

"The matter was discussed with three owners of private employment agencies in various sections of the state and they stated that in their opinion the religious factor was rapidly becoming unimportant in placing qualified personnel."

The Commission's report was based on studies conducted in Ohio's major cities, Cleveland, Akron, Toledo, Cincinnati, Canton, Dayton, Columbus and Youngstown. Generally, the pattern of discrimination was similar in all.

The Commission singled out the city of Cleveland as an area "where the matter of discrimination in employment and promotion of Jews becomes one of significance," because Cleveland has a larger Jewish population than any other city in Ohio. The Jewish population of greater Cleveland is estimated at about 85,000.

The large number of Jews in Cleveland, however, made no easier the task of obtaining information on discrimination against Jews in employment. The Commission therefore relied heavily on the Jewish agencies in Cleveland as its source of information. These agencies were also severely handicapped in gathering evidence.

"They reported," said the Commission, "that they too had difficulty in collecting data on discrimination inasmuch as Jews are not heavily represented in the unskilled and semi-skilled fields that permit some statistical treatment. They also indicated that the problem was further aggravated by the belief that there is some tendency for self-segregation within religious lines whether Catholic, Protestant or Jew, so that there is a tendency to seek employment within one's religious groups where a friendly relationship can be expected."

"In March 1955 and 1956," the Commission noted, "a Jewish agency administered a questionnaire to persons who utilized its placement services. In a total of 236 questionnaires 27 respondents in 1955 and 26 in 1956 stated that they were asked questions about their religion even though Cleveland has an FEP ordinance. However, it is to be noted that some of the questionnaires related to jobs beyond the city limits where FEP is not in effect."

The Jewish agency also said that 36 clients in 1956 reported that they had applied to a private employment agency and in 13 cases had been queried about their religion. Furthermore, through a series of informal conferences with representatives of three leading private employment agencies, it is reported that about one-third of the job orders received by these three agencies were closed to Jewish applicants although not so recorded on the job order form.

One spokesman for the Jewish agencies in Cleveland said it was difficult to arrive at generalizations concerning discrimination in employment and promotion of Jews. He felt such discrimination involved particular firms in Cleveland rather than entire fields.

The Commission said some college placement personnel in Cleveland reported that there were areas of anti-Jewish discrimination. One placement official stated that Jewish graduates in accounting had trouble being placed in non-Jewish accounting firms. Another placement person said that some of the suburban school systems did not hire Jews or hired them only in token numbers.

The Commission also found that the prevailing opinion among Jewish agency personnel in Cleveland was that the city's large manufacturing firms did not employ Jews for management training and did not promote Jews into higher management positions. They expressed the belief that many firms employed Jews for only certain types of occupations, such as sales or scientific research, but excluded them from other management positions.

In Akron, on the other hand, the Commission found that some progress had been achieved since the war in management training programs for Jews. "Jewish accountants, engineers, chemists, and research workers have been employed in the rubber companies since 1946. They are placed on management training programs in some of the rubber companies."

The Job Agency's Role

Policies of discrimination in employment are laid down by employers, not by private employment agencies. Nonetheless, there is a growing body of public opinion that this should not absolve the employment agency which collaborates with the bigoted employer.

By accepting and serving discriminatory job orders, it is felt that the employment agency agrees to do the employer's "dirty work." It gives its consent to practices that are not in the public interest. It agrees to screen out many who may not fit the stereotyped pattern of acceptability by prejudiced employers.

Such employment agencies serve as a protective curtain for discriminatory employers, giving them anonymity and shielding them from public exposure. The willingness to do so can in part be ascribed to the singleminded attitude of most employment agency operators. As they see it, their role is simply to provide a service and collect a fee. It was summed up by one operator who told an ADL staff man:

"We get paid when we send an employer what he wants. I don't care if a person has green skin and two heads, if any employer wanted such a person and I could find him, I'd certainly refer him to the firm."

This narrow point of view has placed the employment agency in a completely subservient role, establishing it as the front line of bigotry. As a result, employment agencies require job seekers to fill out application forms that seek information regarding religion and racial extraction. They use coding techniques to protect their employer-clients. The system works so well that discriminatory employers are relieved of the embarrassment of having to confront unwanted job seekers. It is virtually an "underground operation.

Some employment agencies in New York State, for example, have worked out particularly elaborate codes to screen out job applicants, in violation of the state FEPC law. Some, according to sources in the employment

agency field, have used a system of figures:

#1—for white applicant.

#2—for colored applicant.

#3—for Spanish or Puerto Rican applicant.

#1-3—for a white Spanish applicant.

Other agencies are reported to have employed the following language to identify job applicants:

"Not recommended by Redbook"—for Negro applicants.

"Can't play the saxophone"—for Jewish applicants. (In one or two instances, the phrase, "No Sabbath observer — also high-type person" has been used to exclude Jewish applicants.)

"Generally U. S. citizen"—to denote a ban against Puerto Rican applicants.

New forces, however, are beginning to emerge. Recently, the California Employment Agencies Association adopted a resolution calling upon member organizations to remove all potentially discriminatory questions from their employment forms, and to refrain from soliciting racial or religious restrictions when an employer does not voluntarily state his preferences. Undoubtedly, California's adoption of an FEPC statute will accelerate this whole process of educating the employment agency to its public as well as its private responsibilities.

Other Areas

According to testimony recently presented to the Illinois Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, about 1500 Chicago firms are known to bar members of minority groups from office jobs. The Bureau on Jewish Employment Problems told the Committee in April that about 700 of these are "blue-chip" corporations, many of whom hold, or are eligible for, federal government contracts. The Bureau said that many of these firms specified in their job orders, "Gentile only;" "Caucasian, Nordic only;" "Anything but a Catholic."

The New York State Labor Department has taken action against employees in the department's employment service alleged to have engaged in discriminatory practices. In reports to Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the New York State Commission Against Discrimination on May 7 charged that "weakness and indifference" to discriminatory practices marked the attitude of some employees of the Labor Department's Division of Employment. Placement interviewers, according to SCAD, expressed fear of being branded as "troublemakers" if they strictly enforced the agency's official policy of non-discrimination. State Industrial Commissioner Martin P. Catherwood denounced laxity in the employment division and declared "there is absolutely no excuse for any discrimination in any branch of the Labor Department."

• • •

According to the New York State Commission Against Discrimination, racial and religious bias in employment has declined in the banking industry in New York State. SCAD noted that twelve of the largest banks in New York City have liberalized their hiring and promotion practices, and have hired Jews and Negroes in increasing numbers.

• • •

The Fair Employment Practices Commission of Minneapolis has reported that job discrimination based on race, religion or national origin continued to be a "sizable problem" in the city. In its annual report for 1958, the Commission said it had handled in 1957 46 formal and 18 informal complaints of unfair employment practices.

Of the 46 formal complaints, 34 charged race or color as the cause of the alleged discrimination. Eleven complaints charged religious discrimination, while one said he was discriminated against because of national origin. Fifteen of the employers accused were manufacturing firms, six were in the wholesale and retail trade, four were hotels and restaurants, and two were hospitals.

The Commission settled seven of the cases with a commitment from the employers to discontinue their discriminatory practices. Fourteen were settled by a satisfactory adjustment of the complaint. Five were dismissed because no discrimination was found. In five, the Commission lacked jurisdiction, while in seven there was not sufficient evidence to support the complaint.

• • •

The Michigan Fair Employment Practices Commission has charged that many boards of education in the state discriminate in hiring and placement of teachers.

"A substantial number of school board job applications contain questions relating to race, religion, place of birth, and requests for photographs, all of which are in violation of the fair employment practices act," said the Commission.

"In addition, forms used by public schools and college placement offices which refer graduates to job openings also contain prohibited questions and requests."

The Commission said several teachers reported that they were not hired or had difficulty in obtaining a job in various school districts. Others said that discrimination occurred in the placement of teachers after they were hired.

"This," the Commission declared, "is particularly shortsighted in the face of the fact that the number of inadequately trained teachers in Michigan has grown by about 3000 in the last year alone. At the same time there are fully qualified teachers being denied jobs because of their race or religion."

The Commission said it hoped to meet with the Michigan Association of School Boards and the State Association of School Administrators to discuss correcting inequities.

Support ADL — Give to the JOINT DEFENSE APPEAL

BENJAMIN MUSE
Box 312
Manassas, Virginia

RECEIVED AUG 6 1959

Dear Harold,

Many thanks for this one of the best presentations of the case for reluctant minimum compliance I have read. I have made a copy.

Regards,

Ben

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .
to Col. Benjamin Muse

July 29, 1959

Dear Ben,

I thought you would be interested in seeing this copy of a confidential memo by Everett Tucker of the Little Rock School Board. It was shared with us by Art Levin of the Anti-Defamation League here, and his explanatory note is attached.

Please return at your convenience.

Regards,

Harold

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

7/17

Harold Fleming - **Confidential**

H. C. Couch, Jr., President of the Union National Bank in Little Rock, and Boyd Ridgway of the Little Rock C of C offered to meet with a liberal group in Houston to give them advice about desegregating Houston. Ridgway also sent the attached report.

Regards **Art Levin**

Confidential (Whose file?) PR ✓ HCF ✓ LWD ✓ MM ✓

NOT FOR RELEASE (Note: Confidential)

The school integration controversy at Little Rock, as well as throughout most of the South, is so confused and distorted by emotionalism, half-truths, biased viewpoints on both sides of the question, and other such factors, that it is almost impossible to reduce the basic problem to practical size. In all of Little Rock I would estimate that there are barely a handful of people who would classify themselves as integrationists. There are a number of people who would probably not object too strenuously to the mingling of the two races in the public schools but the great majority would strongly prefer to continue the separate but equal doctrine in force. A considerable number - I would estimate that it probably exceeds 50% at present - are of the opinion that they would never permit their children to go to integrated schools.

Actually, I am equally convinced that some of the above extremists, when faced with the actual alternative of having their children receive inferior educations, coupled with the payment of tuition to private school operators, would elect to send their children to schools in which a few negroes had been admitted. The answer to this will not be known until we are actually faced with this situation.

Another unfortunate by-product of the situation here has been the way that certain people in authority have sought to capitalize upon the unhappy circumstances to their own political advantage. This of course has also been true in other localities and will no doubt continue to be the rule rather than the exception until it is demonstrated that this policy has lost its political magic. Nobody in Little Rock was particularly happy about the original, or Blossom plan, but it is the concensus of opinion that it could have been put into successful operation without the interference of the Governor in September, 1957.

As to any suggestions as to how other cities should prepare for the inevitable, it is obvious that any local Board should have some plan worked out in advance of the need. There are arguments pro and con as to whether it is more advisable to begin in the lower grades or to commence integration at the upper level. In my judgment, the arguments in favor of entering Negro children at the high school level outweigh the other school of thought. It is possible to exercise greater selectivity and to more effectively utilize any pupil assignment plan in the upper grades than it is at the primary school level. There might possibly be less violent objection to the first grade plan, and this has been followed at Nashville, Tennessee, but it would appear to involve a greater degree of integration than the high school level approach as was followed, I believe, at Charlotte, North Carolina.

We are finding here in Little Rock that there is considerable objection to the fact that integration was prescribed at Central High School, which is closer to the lower economic levels, whereas none was indicated at Hall High School which is in the silk stocking or high income residential area. There is some thinking that token integration in the latter would make the situation at Central more palatable to the majority of patrons of that school. This would also obtain, obviously, if integration was to be involved at other educational levels. In other words, if integration is to be begun in the lower income schools, it should simultaneously also be started at the white collar schools.

Radicals and extremists are prone to say that the Supreme Court overstepped its authority, that this is not a proper law and therefore need not be obeyed, that it should have been passed by the Congress instead of by judicial fiat; that certain amendments to the U.S. Constitution were adopted during the carpet bagger days and were never properly ratified by certain of the Southern states; and other

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

such extraneous arguments. Adherence to and respect for law and order are, of course, pat answers to this type of emotional thinking, however, in my judgment, it is not the most effective way to answer these specious arguments. Such an answer can serve only to type one as an integrationist in the eyes of the proponents of these views, and this merely fans the flames of the controversy.

In my judgment, and mine alone, there are two effective ways to rebut the arguments of the extremists. First, it is possible to point out the ultimate result to be achieved by following the course of outright defiance i.e., the destruction of the public school system which is sure to follow such a course. Secondly, an effective use may be made of an analogy: when your football team is about to make a touchdown and the referee calls an infraction of the rules against your team, which invokes a stiff penalty and prevents the score, even the most rabid fan would not want to forfeit the ball game. If the official improperly applies the rule, he will be replaced if he repeats his error frequently enough, and if it was an unfair rule in the first place, the rule itself will be changed. While it is readily admitted that it would be most difficult in the present circumstances to change either the "referee" or the "rule" in question, it is in this direction that the thinking people of the South should devote their energies and money during this trying time.

The best legal minds in the South have been devoting themselves to this problem for the past 5 years and to this date no one has come up with an effective plan which will totally prevent integration of the public schools. The only such known plan is to abandon the schools, and this is too high a price to pay. It is most unfortunate that the Southern states have not been able to pool their talents and resources in combating this situation and thereby present a more or less unified front. I realize the many obstacles in the way of such an approach, the most serious one of which is probably the attitude that "it can't happen here". Absent any such plan, however, it appears that the Southern cities will be picked off one by one as the strategy of the N. A. A. C. P. may dictate.

The ultimate solution, in my view, is to work out a plan proscribing token and absolute minimum integration and I am of the opinion that this sort of plan, if equitably and indiscriminately administered, will be accepted by the Federal courts. In my view, token integration can be achieved and maintained through the rigid application of the pupil assignment laws on the books of most of the Southern states. Moreover, I am of the opinion that the great majority of Negroes do not want to send their children to integrated schools, preferring to send them to schools with members of their own race. If they have the feeling that they could send their children to integrated schools, I believe this will satisfy most of them. And, if the vast majority of the extremists are convinced that desegregation will be handled on a token basis, I believe they will be much more amenable than they now indicate their attitudes to be.

From the civic standpoint, it should be emphasized that cities or areas which are victims of the controversy, will find that their chances for industrial development have been reduced to an almost absolute minimum. Little Rock, which was just beginning to achieve industrial stature, has not located a single new manufacturing facility since September, 1957. Nor is it likely to until the present situation is firmly stabilized. This should not be taken as an indication that business conditions in Little Rock are at a low ebb; on the contrary, all the usual economic indicators reflect a very healthy situation here, in fact, more so than exists at some of our more well-to-do and prosperous neighboring cities but the effect on industrial development is quite obvious, and the results of having secured no new plants in 1957, '58 or '59 will probably not become manifest until sometime later.

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Confidential

There is one final suggestion - the sooner a community's business leadership speaks out on the question, the sooner will a solution be found. This will be found to be one of the most difficult aspects of the situation.

/ET

Everett Tucker, Jr.
President, Board of Education
Little Rock, Arkansas

NOTE: With the thought that a little identification of the writer might help to place the above comments in better focus, I offer the following personal data:

I am a 3rd generation Arkansas, born on a cotton plantation in Southeast Arkansas, the operation of which I still supervise; attended Sewanee Military Academy in Tennessee and graduated (1934) from Washington and Lee University; 5 years Air Force service W.W. II emerging as Major; 9½ years as Manager, Industrial Department, Little Rock Chamber of Commerce, resigning therefrom when elected to School Board. Currently serve as Executive Director of quasi-civic industrial development company.

Wife is also 3rd generation Arkansas, granddaughter of U.S. Senator from Arkansas and graduate (1936) of Vassar College. We have 3 children: 2 boys 14 and 9, and a girl 6.

115 West 6th Street
Little Rock, Arkansas

June 24, 1959

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

cc. ref
C.R. connection

RECEIVED SEP 10 1959

For your information

9/9

Harold Fleming

the attached came today — explains the WSB newscast.

If Mr. Schultz said it, it's right!

Oy!

Art Levin

Sent to Met Press

For Release Tuesday,
September 8, At Noon

Henry Edward Schultz, national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, today lauded the U.S. Civil Rights Commission because its report "courageously deals with three points at which the shoe pinches hardest" in race relations -- voting rights, housing and education.

"Certainly, this is the most important governmental study of specific civil rights problems since the Presidential Commission report of 1948. Unreason has ruled too long in this area. Here again is evidence that a reasoned and reasonable application to even the most difficult civil rights issues can produce bases for dealing with them. This is the greater significance of the new Civil Rights Commission report.

"One conclusion to be drawn from the report is that the life of the Commission ought to be continued. The League is convinced that without such governmental machinery as the Commission represents we can not hope to break the barriers that block progress in solving civil rights and race relations problems.

"The report reveals a number of differences among the individual commissioners which reflect divided opinion in the general community on these issues. These dissents, however, only serve to emphasize the value of such a continuing body as the Commission. The report demonstrates that the Commission serves an invaluable function by providing a place where differing views can be brought, where facts can be established and where means can be devised to deal with them."

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming ✓
Les Dunbar. ✓

Regards
Art Levin

RECEIVED OCT 27 1959

PUBLIC OPINION AND ANTI-JEWISH PREJUDICE IN THE SOUTH

Delivered at the National Executive Committee Meeting, New Orleans, September 25, 1959, by Oscar Cohen.

Any report on recent opinion polls relating to anti-Semitism in the South must be viewed in the context of history, scientific research and field observation. Any education program for the South today must be based on theoretical principles and these are inherent in this report.

Our analysis of the present situation must be seen in historical perspective. The South has always been hospitable to the Jew, particularly before the Civil War. The Civil War marks a change, a turning point after which anti-Semitism became a significant factor for the first time in the life of southern Jewry. Prior to the Civil War the Jew was not only accepted in southern society, he was favored. True, there were instances of hostility, but these were exceptions rather than the rule. As an example of this, in 1733 Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia opposed the settlement of Jews in that state. But the residents of Georgia welcomed Jews and Jews stayed and prospered. Contrary to the situation following the Civil War when anti-Semitism assumed economic and social characteristics, one found hostility based on religious principles in the early history of the South. The history of the "Jew Bill" is well-known. The question was publicly asked: how could a non-Christian be trusted to be a legislator?

But on the whole, Jews never had it so good. Harvey Wish in his book, "Society and Thought in Early America" states: "The anti-bellum South displayed marked hospitality toward Jews." Indeed, it is remarkable that the small number of Jews in the South held so many high offices - the Quartermaster-General and the Surgeon-General of the Confederate Army were Jews, the Secretary of State was Jewish. Jews held the post of senator and other high offices.

There were exceptions, but by and large Jews in the South were in favor of slavery or at least played no significant role in the abolitionist movement. Apparently Jews throughout America were not overly active in the fight against slavery for in 1853 the American Anti-Slavery Society issued a public statement criticizing American Jews for their inactivity in the effort to abolish slavery. But despite this, historians indicate a significant rise of anti-Semitism during and after the Civil War, especially as the fortunes of the South deteriorated. The Jews lost their privileged position in the South, which they never fully regained.

There are historic similarities between the rise of anti-Semitism in the South and mounting hostility to the Jews in other times and places. It is evident from even a casual analysis of history that in times of great social crisis, opposition to the Jew tends to increase. Whether you look at the France of 1870, Europe after World War I, Germany in its years of great crisis, the depression in the United States and World War II, the phenomenon of the rise of anti-Semitism is consistent. It is upon this social theory that our present program is based.

Opinion polls as well as field observations would indicate that the Jew is still accepted more wholeheartedly in the South than in most parts of

the country. Apart from opinion polls, the reports of teams of ADL staff observers who visited over a hundred southern communities within the past year bear out the absence of overt manifestations of discrimination and reveal a high degree of acceptance of the Jew in community life. For example, an incomplete survey of 93 communities in the South indicates that Jews were elected or appointed to 60 civic offices, a record which could hardly be equalled elsewhere in the country.

One may well inquire if the acts of violence, such as bombings, may not indicate a general rise of anti-Semitism in the South. These acts were perpetrated by a few extremists and were not representative of attitudes toward the Jew in the South generally. In fact, they created a great outpouring of sympathy. We have a strong suspicion that sympathy engendered by acts of violence has skewed the polls in the direction of favorable attitudes toward Jews.

The introduction of anti-Semitic literature, circulated in the South for the first time in large quantities, is not referred to in our polls. The literature is of such extreme nature that the question naturally arises as to whether or not extremist literature convinces anyone except extremists. At the same time, in times of crisis more and more people can become extremists. Extremists can, in such times, gain political control of communities and states.

We have undertaken a number of polls in the South, limited by our financial capabilities, but aimed at securing samplings of opinions from the South as a whole, as well as in various areas and among interest groups.

First I will report on the national and southwide poll taken by the Gallup organization for the ADL and American Jewish Committee.

One of the questions to which we sought answers deals with the blame which southerners may place upon Jews for their role in promoting integration. To summarize answers to this question - not only do the white Christians in the South not attach any particular significance to the roles Jews play in the promotion of desegregation, but they feel that Jews are less active in the desegregation picture than do their counterparts in the North.

To the question: "In those southern communities where a serious dispute exists over the Supreme Court decision, which group or groups of people would you say have done the most to stir up trouble over the issue?", only 1% of white Christians in the South answered that Jews were most responsible. This is statistically insignificant.

Another question in the poll was: "In your local community, which of the following groups of people do you feel are in favor of, or opposed to, integrating the public schools in the South?" The groups in question are Jews, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, Catholics, Protestants, NAACP. In the nation at large, excluding the South, 32% stated that Jews favor integration, 4% indicated Jews oppose integration, 12% indicated that Jews are neutral on integration and 50% said "don't know."

In the South, 15% said Jews favor integration (as opposed to 32% in the rest of the nation), 10% said Jews oppose integration (as opposed to 4% in the rest of the nation), 8% said Jews are neutral and 67% said they don't know.

The question was asked: "Do you think the Jews are making more effort,

less effort, or about the same effort as most other white people to bring about integration in the public schools in the South?" In the nation as a whole, 4% said Jews are making less effort. In the nation, excluding the South, 36% said that Jews are making about the same effort as others, and for the South, the figure is 34%. Fifty-four percent of white Christians in the South said they didn't know.

Therefore it appears that people in the South are less inclined to believe that Jews are actively pushing integration than people in the rest of the nation. A significant factor, however, which could alter the situation radically is the large percentage (over 50%) who "Don't know."

The standard question which has been asked in opinion polls over the last 15 years designed to test trends in general attitudes toward Jews is: "Have you heard any criticism or talk against the Jews in the last six months?" The Gallup poll indicates that in the nation at large, excluding the South, 12% answered -yes- and in the South only 8% answered that they had heard criticism in the last six months. These figures have been approximately constant for the last four years and show a considerable drop over the last 15 years. Just after World War II, when this question was asked of a nationwide sample, about two-thirds of the people indicated they heard criticism directed against Jews.

As in the past, the principal criticism against Jews deals with the accusation of economic power and unscrupulous business methods. The only significant difference in the criticisms heard in the nation outside the South and in the South itself, deals with integration. In the nation at large 5% heard that Jews were leaders in integration and the NAACP. In the South, 15% of the 8% of white non-Jewish people who had heard criticism of Jews, had also heard that Jews were associated with integration and the NAACP.

Other questions that asked about the desirability of Jews as neighbors showed no significant difference between the nation as a whole and the South. Thus it would appear that on a southwide basis, attitudes toward Jews are comparatively favorable and show no deterioration over previous years. Jews are definitely not blamed by southern white Christians for the desegregation crisis.

A second southwide poll which we undertook has a decidedly different character than the Gallup poll and was completed in late spring and early summer. This poll consisted of a questionnaire sent to some 2,000 subscribers to the ADL Christian Friends Bulletin in 17 southern states. About 450 responses were received, which we consider rather good since the questionnaire was a long one. While the ministers who had been associated with the Christian Friends Bulletin were told that they did not have to sign the questionnaire, many did so and with regard to those who didn't, we were able to tell the origin of the questionnaire by the postmark on the envelope.

We recognize that the ministers who have been readers of the Christian Friends Bulletin tended to be friendly and that this is not a scientific sample of public opinion. Yet we asked the ministers to be frank in their opinions and to indicate what they believe the situation to be in their communities. The answers we received indicated a high degree of cooperation on the part of the ministers and although we must discount the friendly bias of ministers, nevertheless the results should give us some insights into the situation in the South.

We broke down our replies into those from the Deep South (Alabama,

Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina) comprising 16% of our replies, and those from the other 12 southern states comprising 84%.

In brief, a substantial majority believe that Jews are getting along with non-Jewish neighbors as well as or better today than they did a year ago. The statistics break down this way:

In the Deep South:

a. 56% thought that there is no significant change in how Jews get on with non-Jews as compared with a year ago.

b. 10% thought that relations are better with some portions of the Christian community and worse with others.

c. 33% thought that the relations are generally better with most Christian groups.

d. 2% thought relations are generally worse with most Christian groups.

In the rest of the South:

a. 63% thought there was no change.

b. 8% thought relations were better with some, worse with others.

c. 28% thought relations are generally better.

d. None thought relations were generally worse.

For the total South the figures are:

a. 62% thought there is no significant change.

b. 8% thought relations are better with some and worse with others.

c. 29% thought relations are generally better.

d. Less than 1% thought relations are generally worse.

Apart from the fact that the overwhelming majority of ministers believe that relations are as good or better than they were a year ago, it is significant that in the Deep South the score is slightly better than in the rest of the South.

With regard to desegregation, about 70% of the total South thought that Jews are either no more active or even less active on desegregation. Eighteen percent of the total South think Jews are more active but note that the Deep South has a lower percentage who think that Jews are more active than the rest of the South, 19 versus 16%. But more significantly, 22% of the respondents in the Deep South thought that Jews are less active on desegregation than others, as against only 11% in the non-Deep South who thought that Jews are less active.

The most favorable images of the Jew in our poll of ministers emerges with regard to the way the Jews maintain themselves as decent neighbors. Here

there is overwhelming acceptance. The least favorable image deals with the manner in which Jews conduct their business, but the difference is not very great. In both instances, however, the score for the Deep South is more favorable than in the rest of the South.

There can be little question as one reads the many comments, that the ministers were deeply affected by the bombings. The comments appended to the questionnaires provide many hours of interesting reading, but here are a few which are somewhat typical.

A minister in North Carolina writes: "Since the burning of the Jewish temple in North Carolina, a closer feeling and a warmer one extends towards Jews as never before by the Christian groups."

A minister from Georgia says: "The bombing of the Jewish temple in Atlanta crystallized the general sentiment of most Christian groups toward better relations. Many Christian groups sent contributions to help pay for reconstruction cost. Of course, the 'lunatic fringe' maintains the same unwholesome spirit."

A minister in Tennessee says: "The bombing of the Jewish Center aroused in the really concerned Christian community the feeling of indignation - 'we mustn't let it happen again.'"

A minister in Mississippi states: "The Jewish people in Jackson, Mississippi are high class citizens, respected by all people except a few Ku Klux Klan fanatics and bigots. I do not think that the people of Jackson feel that the Jews agitate the desegregation question. All Christian people regret the bombing of synagogues and Negro homes. Vandalism in every form is performed of savagery."

However, a minister from Alabama states: "The rise of the Ku Klux Klan to new power and the bombing of the Nashville synagogue plus the attempt at Birmingham indicate that anti-Semitism lies just below the surface of the anti-Negro propaganda of the Klan."

You may be interested in the remarks of a minister from Mississippi who states: "Jewish people are no different from other white people. All are anti-Negro. The Jews may feel differently, but they are probably too scared to speak or act differently. They are as cowardly as the white moderates."

These are a few of the scores of comments that we received and these must be analyzed in addition to the statistical data I have cited. The impression we get from a group biased in favor of the Jew, deeply moved by the bombings and trying to say nice things, is that while relationships are good, there is uneasiness below the surface, and a significant degree of at least latent hostility Incidentally, some of the most critical remarks we received about Jewish activity concerns religious education in the public schools.

A public Gallup poll taken last year should give us pause for thought. The question was asked: "If your party nominated a generally well qualified person for president and he happened to be a Jew, would you vote for him?" The answers are as follows: in the South - Yes answers were 43%, 44% No, and 13% said "don't know." In the north, 69% said Yes, 24% No, and 8% said "don't know."

In this poll, therefore, the South shows much more hostility than the

rest of the country. The explanation for this may be that in this poll people in the South are thinking of the Jew generally, the legendary far-off shadowy creature rather than the Jews in the South, their neighbors and respected friends. The exemption mechanism with regard to anti-Semitism is a phenomenon we have noted in many of our studies of anti-Semitism in America. People may hold prejudices against the Jew in general but treat the Jews in their community as equals. This is particularly characteristic of rural America. Nevertheless, this aspect of American attitude toward Jews can give us no comfort either for the country as a whole or particularly for the South since it indicates a rather significant degree of prejudice which, though latent, exists.

We have undertaken two other types of polls - field reports and those involving scientific samples in particular communities.

Our field reports consist of observations of communities in crisis by social scientists who, without cost to ADL except expenses, spend anywhere from a few days to a few weeks in the community interviewing people, observing the situation and writing up their analysis. We have published or have field reports on Clinton, Tennessee; Sturgis, Kentucky; Mansfield, Texas; Tallahassee, Florida; Tuskegee, Alabama, and a study is in progress in Little Rock, Arkansas. In not one of these communities did our researchers find any significant overt anti-Semitism. They heard unfavorable comments about Jews, but there seemed to be no significant anti-Semitic activity of a community-wide nature.

The difference between the field report and the scientific poll is that a scientific poll will measure attitudes whereas a field report will only be able to turn up activity unless one wishes to base conclusions on a few interviews. There is a wide gap between action and attitude.

In the two communities where crisis situations have occurred and where we have taken scientific polls, significant anti-Semitic attitudes are evident.

In Norfolk, Virginia people were asked as to whether they heard any anti-Jewish remarks in the last few months and about 20% said they had, well over double the figure for the rest of the South. In probing for the specific criticisms that have been heard, a very large percentage indicated that they had heard criticisms connecting Jews with desegregation. Here are some of the actual remarks "Give the Niggers a dollar apiece, and send them to Africa and the Jew will follow right behind them."

"Jews are behind all this trouble."

"Everybody says the colored people and the Jews will be running this country before it is over with."

"The Zionists started Communism in the Russian Revolution and the NAACP.

"Jews have been putting up the money for the Niggers."

While the data from our Charlottesville, Virginia study is not complete, the percentage of those who have heard uncomplimentary remarks about the Jews seem to be as large or larger than that in Norfolk and the criticisms somewhat similar.

This would seem to bear out our contention that in a crisis situation, anti-Semitism will rise significantly. A poll of the South as a whole will not

at this point be influenced by the few areas in which crisis situations are occurring. It will be a pretty safe bet that scientific polls taken in Miami, Front Royal, Prince Edward County and other areas in which the desegregation controversy is at fever heat, would reveal a decidedly unfavorable reflection of attitude toward the Jew.

Social scientists with whom I have conferred agree with our analysis of opinion polls in the South and the conclusions we have drawn, which are as follows:

1. The present crisis situation in the South contains the seeds of danger to the status of the Jew and an intensified program in the South is indicated, designed to reduce the rise of prejudice and to prevent prejudices from becoming institutionalized in discriminatory practices.

2. We must continue to analyze attitudes in the South, particularly in areas of tension, as intensively as our resources will permit. This will enable us to ascertain not only what kind of programs we should undertake, but the areas in which they should be initiated.

3. We will probably not be able to ascertain with any certainty for a period of about five years as to whether or not the level of unfavorable attitudes and hostility to the Jews has risen significantly in the South. In the meantime, the only safe assumption we can make is that the crisis situations are dangerous and that our program in the South should be intensified in anticipation of possible deterioration of the Jewish position. If after a period of years, our studies show no worsening of the situation, we would then be justified in reducing our program and diverting our resources to those areas of the nation where anti-Semitis is more virulent.

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RECEIVED OCT 14 1959

Regards

Art Levin

THE CASE FOR BENIGN QUOTAS

Delivered by Oscar Cohen, National Program Director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, at the symposium on Intergroup Relations and Changing Neighborhoods, annual meeting of the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, Monday, September 7, 1959.

The problem of housing integration in the United States has raised dilemmas for individuals and agencies. It is hard to face up to the decisions which involve questions of policy and principle. This paper reviews the difficult choices which confront those interested in housing integration. The suggestions implied do not represent the position of the agency with which I am associated nor do they necessarily recommend a course of action. My purpose here is to bring into the open for discussion some considerations on the housing integration problem which are not being sufficiently examined.

In the early part of this decade there was much starry-eyed optimism about the future progress of the desegregation process. United States Supreme Court decisions invalidating restrictive covenants in housing and declaring school segregation illegal were signaled as evidence of the impending end of racial segregation in America, even in the deep South. The court decision ending restrictive covenants plus social science research indicating that housing integration could work, encouraged the view that we were on the verge of radical changes in traditional housing patterns.

Time has now passed, and it is evident that the results of the past ten years were hardly up to our expectations. Those interested in effecting desegregation are now taking a sober second and third look at what has happened. Something went wrong. In the case of desegregation of schools, vast changes have been effected, even though the process of desegregation has been seriously slowed down. But in integration in housing, there has not been much improvement. Indeed, there is evidence that segregation may be increasing. The fact that a substantial majority of Americans in the North will accept integration in housing is one of the paradoxes of the present situation. A Gallup Poll taken in October of 1958 among Northern white people asked the following: "If colored people came to live next door, would you move?" Sixty percent of those interviewed indicated that they would not move.(1) The hard truth of the matter, however, is that housing available to Negroes is so limited, and the demand for housing by Negroes in the North so great, that an increase of segregated areas seems assured, at least in the foreseeable future. An indication of the extreme restrictions against Negroes in their effort to secure housing lies in these striking statistics. In the years 1946 to 1955 inclusive, out of ten million privately developed housing units, only eight thousand were interracial.(2)

In the larger cities, where the Negro population is confined within a deteriorating area, a tremendous desire on the part of Negroes for decent housing builds up behind ghetto walls. Any break in these walls releases a torrent of pressures. Thus, an almost invariable sequence is repeated when an all white neighborhood changes to an integrated neighborhood and then becomes a segregated neighborhood. The process begins with the pioneer Negro moving into an all white neighborhood. He opens the way for other Negroes. A few white residents sell their homes in panic, a panic frequently stimulated by unscrupulous real estate dealers. White people in a neighborhood that has become interracial become more aware of the change-over in

process. Having heard about the inevitable results in other areas of the city, they move out. Although the movement of whites out of the area may proceed at varying rates of speed, a "tipping point" is soon reached which sets off a wholesale flight of whites. It is not too long before the community becomes predominantly Negro.

Eager to move into better housing and neighborhoods than have been available to them in the past, a sizeable number of Negroes seek out every opportunity for decent housing. It is evident, therefore, that unless vastly greater opportunities for housing are provided for Negroes in the future, the development of segregated neighborhoods will continue. There is a possibility, however, that patterns of segregation in many instances could be changed to integration if certain social controls were exercised. These social controls assure white residents that the percentage of Negroes who became residents of a neighborhood will remain stable. Such social control has been called the benign quota.

Since the brutal housing shortage affects Negroes as it does, a situation is created which a large proportion of Americans in the North do not want. Despite much sentiment against it, racial segregation in housing appears to be increasing. During the years 1940 to 1950, Cowgill studied housing segregation in 185 cities. He found racial segregation had increased in 129 cities, decreased in 52 cities, and remained unchanged in four cities.(3)

This housing situation has been further complicated by the large-scale migration of Negroes northward. The flight from the South has taken on increasing momentum in recent years. As Grodzin points out, the Negro population in the central areas of major cities will continue to grow. In 14 major cities, he points out, the Negro population increased 68% from 1940 to 1950. During the same period, the white population in the same cities increased by only 4%.(4) In New York City, the Negro population is now about one million, a vast increase since 1940.(5) In Chicago, the Negro population has more than doubled since 1940. In San Francisco, the Negro community has increased by 1000% since 1940.(6) These examples of reported population increases are typical of what has happened in other cities outside the South, and, no doubt, the process will continue as long as equal opportunity is denied to Negroes in the South. When Negroes come North, they are usually forced into ghettos which are already overcrowded and, again, the demand for adequate housing becomes even greater.

Given a normal social situation, integrated housing works. There is ample evidence to prove that Negro and white residents can live side by side in harmony and friendship where there is some stability to the numbers of the Negro and white populations and where there is confidence that this proportion, roughly mirroring the general community, will continue.

The well-known Deutsch and Collins study of integrated housing projects(7) showed clearly that integration in housing made for more friendly and neighborly contacts between members of the different races, provided a social atmosphere more favorable to friendly associations and, as a result, more favorable attitudes toward living in interracial projects developed.

Similar findings, showing a positive relationship between residential proximity and favorable attitudes are reported by the Lavanberg Foundation Study on Hilltown. This study revealed that only 4% of the whites had expected race relations to turn out well before moving into the Hilltown project, whereas 21% were convinced that integrated housing would only end in conflict.(8) After a few years, three out of every four who had expected serious racial conflict found that their fears were unfounded. The study goes on to say "direct experience had shown what general admonitions for tolerance would probably not have shown; that interracial fears and hostilities were exaggerated and distorted beyond all resemblance to the reality."(9)

In a national survey, Eunice and George Grier found that some 50 private interracial housing projects had been built between 1946 and 1955.(10) They also found the following: most of these developments had not had an abnormally rapid turnover of residents; there was no indication of dissatisfaction between neighbors of different races; there was no evidence of split along racial lines among the residents; and in the older established developments, there was no report of a trend toward increased occupancy by Negroes. In a study by Davis MacEntire involving 549 residents in 35 interracial neighborhoods of an area near San Francisco, over 70% of the residents questioned said that their attitude toward non-whites was either neutral or favorable.(11) Even the 30% who were unhappy with new arrivals did not appear to be thinking of moving away.

The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights conducted a study of 219 Negro and 390 white families in interracial neighborhoods in the state.(12) When asked how they felt initially toward Negroes moving in, half of the white respondents said they were annoyed to some degree, more than a third said they were indifferent, while only 4% said they were pleased to some degree. When asked how they felt now about their Negro neighbors, the proportion of white neighbors who had felt annoyed to some degree dropped to less than a third, while the number who were pleased had increased to 14%. In a similar study conducted in public housing, the Commission report concluded, "There seems to be a significant degree of association between actually living in integrated projects, and attitudes approving of interracial living."(13)

These are only a few of the many studies which point up the success of interracial living. What this research does not indicate, however, are the conditions which caused these successful examples of interracial housing to run counter to the usual pattern in which a previously all-white area becomes interracial and then all Negro. The fear that the neighborhood will be inundated by Negro newcomers stems from personal experience or from the experiences of others. It is so real as to be irresistible, even to white people with ardent convictions in favor of desegregation. The invasion-succession process so relevant to these discussions has been capably analyzed by Eleanor Wolf.(14) This is illustrated by the October, 1958 Gallup Poll which asked: "If colored people came to live next door, would you move?" Forty percent of Northern whites said "Yes". The next question was, "Would you move if colored people came to live in great numbers in your neighborhood?" In this case, 77% of Northern white people answered they would move.(15)

This is further illustrated by the Griers in their study of Concord Park. White residents were asked if they would have purchased homes there, had they not been told that a quota exists. A slight majority admitted they would not have bought a home in an interracial development where the possibility of an eventual white minority existed.

Another closely-related aspect of this problem was highlighted by the March, 1959 Gallup Poll.(16) The question was asked: "Would you, yourself, have any objection to sending your children to a school where a few of the children are colored?" Ninety-two percent of the white Northern parents said they would have no objection. When asked, "Would you have any objection to sending your children to a school where half of the children are colored?," 63% of the Northern white parents answered they would have no objection. But "More than half of the children are colored?", brought the proportion of Northern white parents having no objection down to 35%.

The fact remains that rarely does an area remain interracial unless controls are in operation. The controls may be built in the situation -- for example, location, price range, general availability of housing for whites, etc. Or they may be consciously exercised controls either publicly acknowledged as quotas or disguided by other euphemisms. Techniques used to limit the number of Negro occupants include - advertising in media primarily read by white people; stricter criteria for Negro occupants than for whites; a price range which eliminates many Negroes from the market; persuasive efforts to have white people move into an interracial community, and the case of public housing, this persuasion may approach coercion.

Whatever the program used, some progress has been made in integration in low-cost public housing. The Federal Public Housing Authority has published a report which summarizes this progress.(17) In 1952, 41 states had low-rent housing, with 76 integrated projects or 30.6% of total low-rent housing. In 1958, 42 states had low-rent housing, with 385 integrated projects or 53.8% of total low-rent housing. Ten years ago Newark public housing was totally segregated. Today, the reverse is the case.(18)

There is evidence to indicate that quotas in one form or another have been, and still are, used to maintain integration in many low-cost housing projects. Apart from the legality of such action, the use of a quota based on color to maintain the interracial character of public housing presents difficult moral problems. Can a device, which was heretofore used as a technique for exclusion -- to keep apart...now be used to keep together, and more specifically to achieve integration? Assuming that we agree that morality is really a value judgment and, under the present social conditions the desirable end of interracial living can only be achieved through such a means, the situation is further complicated by practical problems. Low-cost housing is supposedly allocated on the basis of need and in the sequence in which applications are filed. A very high percentage of requests for public housing comes from Negroes; therefore, to maintain integration requires manipulation.

The dilemma of housing administrators was expressed to me by one housing authority official who wondered if he was justified in keeping apartments empty in order to secure white tenants when he had a long waiting list of Negro applicants who desperately needed apartments. He wondered if the relentless pursuit of planned integration justified the loss of income from empty units and unusual budget items such as the hiring of social workers in order to maintain standards and to achieve harmonious relationships.

The problems of housing and community officials regarding this issue is related in a survey by Amerman and Griers, who report: "In one Northern city, a few workers complained because authority officials maintain a conscious checkerboard or quota pattern in several projects, thus discriminating against the high proportion of low-income families who are Negro. Yet, interestingly, other workers in the same city approved the policy, viewing it as a necessary expedient for preserving integration in public housing."(19)

Benign quotas in private housing have worked well so far and seem definitely established as an effective technique. The interracial developments pioneered by Morris Milgram of Modern Community Developers, represent excellent though limited experiences. Quotas ranging from 25% to 45% non-white occupancy have been established in housing developments in Concord Park, Pennsylvania(20) and Princeton, New Jersey(21). Residents are assured of the maintenance of an integrated occupancy pattern over a period of time. There is every evidence of satisfaction on the part of residents, and harmonious productive community experiences have resulted.

In established communities there have been a few success stories with regard to the maintenance, at least for the time being, of integrated patterns. Various techniques have been used to achieve this goal. For example, in the Baltimore area, Ellsworth Rosen has reported on the strenuous efforts being made to encourage white families to move into an area into which Negroes have been moving.(22) Here, the community organizations have been helped by the economic factor since the homes are not low-cost.

It is not difficult to picture the agony of those seeking integration in housing when they are called upon to make hard decisions about the imposition of quotas. Thus, Richard Meister, reporting on Palo Alto's interracial housing experiment, states: "A few years back an absentee lot owner sold his holding to an outside realtor. In order to continue the tract's plan of a racial quota the home should have been sold to a white buyer. However, the realtor planned to sell to the brother-in-law of an association member, a Negro. The prospective buyer needed the home badly, minority housing in Palo Alto being nearly non-existent at the time. Association members held emergency meetings to decide the fundamental issue: Should the welfare of the tract transcend that of the individual?

"The crisis was resolved and the group decision was to place the tract's welfare above that of the individual. Funds had to be raised to buy the lot, and Negroes in the association led in collection. The Negroes' lead in saving the association's basic ideal at the expense of one of their own race, in spite of pleas of white and Oriental members for the individual Negro's case, helped cement the association's neighborly bonds."(23)

The Hyde Park area in Chicago which, ten years ago, appeared certain to become an all Negro area now seems assured of remaining an interracial community. Jeannette Fields and Sol Tax have described the techniques which were used to maintain the interracial characteristics of the community which is now 60% white and 40% non-white.(24) Here, intensive community organization, an effective tenant referral service, an urban renewal plan, and community planning which brought about renovation on a block-by-block basis were some of the successful techniques utilized. Sol Tax describes the problem that confronts this area in Chicago as follows: "Our task of planning is only begun, and I think we have learned that it is never finished. But the task now changes. How do we plan now for the kind of neighborhood that we want? A community like ours is as large as a city, but it has no government. Most of what we can do depends upon voluntary associations and the initiative of citizens. What

real controls do we have to put our ideals into practice? Perhaps when the land is cleared, can we as citizens form a corporation and hold the stock, to develop some of the land as a community project. Our Board of Directors, responsive to a basic by-laws and the wishes of our stock-holding members, could then build and manage a sizeable group of dwelling units, strategically located, to assure that no form of racial segregation again sets in."(25)

Saul Alinsky, whose vast experience in civic affairs and in the Back of the Yards Neighborhood Council in Chicago is well known, states: "I propose that a system of quotas involving a series of communities will be the means by which the segregation of races will be abolished. It will also be the means of preserving the life, continuity and future development of our communities. Strangely enough by doing exactly the thing that causes them the most fear and anxiety the white communities will guarantee their own future existence....For those who are shocked by the idea of opening up white communities to Negroes on a quota basis aiming toward the diffusion of the Negro population throughout the city scene, I can only ask what solution do they propose? The price of responsible criticism is a constructive alternative.

"...The basic issue here is the need for an instrument which can effectively control the population pressures raging without and the fears raging within. Only when communities are organized to the extent that they become the common repository of all the strengths of the local people and their institutions can we have the coming into being of this kind of effective and yet voluntary control force.

"...The Negro ghetto has now grown so large and broad that it directly presses against many more white communities. These communities must decide one of two policies. They may elect to fight it out on the old lines. If they do, they will be destroyed and their populations will be turned into nomads forever trekking from city to suburb, and from suburb to suburb. The only other choice we know is to do what has been advanced in this statement."(26)

In supporting his case for a quota, Alinsky relates his experiences during a race riot a few years ago in Chicago. He talked to a few white leaders who had organized against the entry of Negro residents into a formerly all-white area. He asked these white leaders whether they would object if they were given assurance that only 5% of the population would be Negro. Alinsky reports this statement from the mob's leader, "Mister," he said, "if we could have 5% or even a little bit more, that we knew for sure, and I mean for sure, that was all there was going to be -- you have no idea how we would jump at it! Buy it? It would be heaven! I have had to move two times already, pack up my family, move the kids to other schools, sell and lose a lot of money on my house....I know that when Negroes start coming to a neighborhood that means the neighborhood's gone; it is going to be all Negro. Yeah, your idea would be a dream. Why, I could start fixing up my home, and I know that this house would be my home forever, and this was where I was going to live."

There is, of course, a question as to whether or not quotas are within the law in many cases. An excellent analysis of the benevolent quota and the law has been made by Victor Navasky who suggests that "...The best way for the courts to handle the problem would be to use the 'reasonable alternatives' formulation."(27) He regards benevolent quotas with reserve and feels that the solution might be to "...try and get our integrated housing through site selection, pricing, promotion and other such techniques. If this doesn't work, private developers might then, with cause, rely heavily on quotas." I would suggest there is ample experience to indicate that the methods for a solution suggested by Mr. Navasky haven't worked.

There is a new development, however, which may have a radical effect upon interracial housing -- the fair housing or open occupancy laws passed by New York City, Pittsburgh, and in the states of Oregon, Connecticut, Colorado and Massachachusetts. These laws make it illegal for anyone (except under certain circumstances) to discriminate in the sale of houses in developments or rental of apartments. However, owners of individual homes and rooming houses are usually exempted. It is still too early to tell how these laws will work out. Unquestionably, they will have some effect, but a substantial amount of evasion is inevitable and, moreover, a vast number of individually owned homes is not involved. Nevertheless, fair housing laws represent a major advance and should be encouraged.

Even the most optimistic cannot, with accuracy, report substantial progress toward housing integration in America. The tremendous demand for adequate housing by Negroes, the limited housing available to Negroes and the fears of the white community make it almost inevitable that once Negroes begin movement into an area, the area becomes all Negro in due course. Sol Alinsky's definition of the word "integrated" is generally applicable, namely, "a term used to describe the period of time that elapses between the appearance of the first Negro and the community's ultimate and total incorporation into the Negro ghetto." The invasion-succession sequence appears inexorable. White people in the North are not generally opposed to integrated housing and do not move for reasons of prejudice alone.(28) They have learned from experience about the invasion-succession sequence and do not wish to be the last to move. White people have a legitimate attachment to community institutions which disappear as the area in which they live becomes 70, 80 or 90% Negro.

Could a significant advance toward interracial living be made if every new private housing development for rental or sale would publicly advocate a quota? If community groups living in the vicinity of Negro ghettos would realize that an invasion is inevitable and organize to achieve regulation and continuity for an interracial community, could progress not be more rapid? And, hopefully, such social control would only be temporary. Fair housing laws are extremely important and will continue to be helpful, but they do not constitute the entire answer. New housing in quantity to meet the demand required by the Negro community will not be available in the foreseeable future. Only through the acceptance of Negroes throughout an entire city with assurance for white people that interracial characteristics will be maintained, can the invasion-succession sequence be broken. Arguments can be made for and against quotas, and an excellent formulation has been made by Dennis Clark.(29) But, in essence, the real choice lies between segregation and achieving integration by means of a technique which many consider morally questionable.

It is true that the word "quota" has an ominous sound. Perhaps everyone would feel better if the identical process involved in the quota system were called by some other term such as "planned housing integration." Whatever it is called, however, the principle is the same.

With regard to public low-priced housing, manipulated integration at the expense of those who are in desperate need of housing is questionable. Apart from the legality of the controls used, the need for housing may be more important than the achievement of desegregation. The choice should be made by those most directly concerned.

For private housing, however, the situation is clear. Open occupancy laws will certainly ameliorate the situation, and must be extended throughout the nation. But, in addition, the question must be asked if community organizations utilizing some kind of benign quota system is not the only present answer to the evil of housing segregation.

To borrow from one of the early social scientists, William Shakespeare:

"He that...knows better...now let him speak."

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(3) Cowgill, Donald O., "Trends in Residential Segregation of Non-whites in American Cities, 1940-1950." American Sociological Review, 1956, 21.

(4) Grodzins, Morton, "Metropolitan Segregation", Scientific American, Oct. 1957.

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(7) Deutsch M. Collins, M.E., "Interracial Housing", University of Minnesota Press, 1951.

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(12) "Private Interracial Neighborhoods in Connecticut". State of Connecticut, Commission on Civil Rights, 1957.

(13) "Racial Integration in Public Housing Projects in Connecticut", State of Connecticut, Commission on Civil Rights, Hartford, Connecticut, 1955.

(14) For full discussion of the rational and irrational basis of "panic flight" see Eleanor Wolf's article "The Invasion-Succession Sequence as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy". The Journal of Social Issues, No. 4, 1957.

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(22) Rosen, Ellsworth E., "When a Negro Moves Next Door", Saturday Evening Post, April 4, 1959.

(23) Meister, Richard, "Laboratory for Equality". Frontier, August, 1957.

(24) Fields, Jeannette, "Integration on Trial in the North", published by the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, 838 Fifth Avenue, N. Y., 1958.

(25) Tax, Sol, "Residential Integration: The Case of Hyde Park in Chicago." Paper given at meeting of American Anthropological Assoc., Washington, D. C., November 22, 1958.

(26) Text of testimony of Saul D. Alinsky before Civil Rights Housing Hearing, Commission on Civil Rights, May 5, 1959.

(27) Navasky, Victor, "The Benevolent Quota", Yale Law School, Government Operations Division, January, 1959.

(28) For further discussion of the relationship between prejudice and discrimination, see forthcoming publication "Prejudice and Society" by Earl Raab published by Anti-Defamation League.

(29) Clark, Dennis, "The Use of Quotas to Desegregate Housing -- Pro and Con." Journal of Intergroup Relations, July 1958, vols. 1 & 2.

PR JC
LWD

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Important!

RECEIVED NOV 9 1959

Art Levin

new publications

published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

G363 WITH JUSTICE FOR ALL: A Guide for Law Enforcement Officers 36 pp. 35¢

A straightforward and well-documented law enforcement guide dealing specifically with group conflict and riot control. Endorsed by the Southern Police Institute; with a foreword by Attorney General William P. Rogers.

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To dramatically illustrate this point, two actual incidents of conflict between Negroes and whites are contrasted. The first began as the result of the bigoted attitude of one police officer and exploded into one of the worst race riots in modern American history. The second, twenty years later, never quite got off the ground because of the expert handling of a tense situation by the police.

Wild rumors often precipitate a riot. How do they get started? How can they be stopped? What are the danger signs that should warn the alert officer of impending trouble? These are some of the questions this pamphlet answers. Suggestions are made on how to cope with "instigators" and the specific qualities of mind and character that make for the good police officer are enumerated.

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For your information

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

December 4, 1959

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

You will find enclosed a copy of a letter to Rev. A. Dudley Ward concerning a forthcoming convention of Methodist Bishops at a hotel in Arizona, the Camelback Inn, which is notorious for its discriminatory guest admissions policy.

For highly placed officials of the Methodist Church to use the facilities of a resort which has already received much public notoriety because of its discriminatory policies would be to sanction such discrimination in the public mind. You may recall that several years ago the Association of Attorneys General of the United States cancelled their convention at the Camelback Inn when the discriminatory policy became a matter of public controversy. Perhaps it is too late to change the site of the Methodist Convention, which would be most desirable, and in that event the suggestion made by Rabbi Gilbert in his letter to Rev. Ward would be the least the Council of Bishops could do, it would seem to me. Otherwise all of the fine work that you have been doing over the years to combat prejudice and discrimination would be greatly harmed.

I call this to your attention because I know of your great concern in such matters. You may wish to communicate with officials of the Methodist Church about this, and also ask your many friends among the Methodist women who look to you for leadership to do the same. I am also calling this matter to the attention of several others who I believe share our mutual concern for whatever action they may deem appropriate.

After the wonderful spirit which prevailed at the recent meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, I must admit that I am a little disheartened by this particular situation.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin

ajl/lw

CC: Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
Rev. Edward Lanta
Rev. Sam Laird

October 28, 1959

Rev. A. Dudley Ward
General Secretary
Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

Dear Dudley:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the February-March 1957 issue of our ADL publication REPORT. The lead article describes Camelback Inn's discriminatory anti-Jewish admission policy. In addition I enclose a photostated letter from Camelback Inn dated more recently, November 8, 1958, which spells out quite clearly the continued policy of this hotel to serve "Gentile Clientele" only. If required additional documentary data is available, but I think you will agree that these two enclosures suffice.

We are aware of course that in the off season, when the hotel is dependent on conventions, racial and religious restrictions are relaxed. But the fact remains that Jews and Negroes whose money is welcome when they come as members of convention groups will find themselves unwelcome during the vacation season. The Negro Bishops and their wives who will be attending your meetings this November would undoubtedly find it impossible to obtain reservations during the regular season.

We would hope therefore that the Council of Bishops will use this opportunity collectively and individually to witness to the Christian conscience on this issue. Certainly Methodist leaders ought do no less than repudiate such bigotry.

At this time when Christian leadership in Arizona is pressing for a state law to bar hotel discrimination such action by the Council of Bishops will be emboldening.

Thank you for your efforts in bringing this important matter to the attention of your leading Bishops. Your consistent cooperation in every effort to extend democratic rights and improve intergroup relations is deeply appreciated.

Cordially,

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
National Director, Department of
Interreligious Cooperation

AG:mk
encls.

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ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming ✓ LWD ✓

Regards
Art Levin

Dr. D. R. Green To Address PTA

Dr. Donald Ross Green, Assistant Professor of Education and co-author of "If the Schools are Closed" which was published by Southern Regional Council, will be the guest speaker at the W. D. Thomson PTA meeting at 8 p.m. on Friday, Jan. 15.

The subject will be "Democracy in our Schools" and questions from the audience following Dr. Green's talk will be recognized.

For your information

Paul Felling

Regards

Art Levin

HCF ✓
LWD ✓

"Educational Disaster Area" Legislation*

Civil Rights groups and the Department of Justice, after deliberation, agreed that it might be self-defeating to try to propose a federal plan to educate children in closed school areas because this would take the heat off the state. It was their assumption that states cannot long permit closed schools and that the private school substitute would be so unsatisfactory as to have to be discarded sooner or later. It was realized that in planning an overall strategy, specific cases in specific areas may not be similarly affected and suffering will occur, but the presumptive strategy has to be "the greatest good for the greatest number".

However, constructive suggestions for such legislation would be welcome. If specific remedial legislation can be proposed, it would find sympathetic ears.

The Administration's Civil Rights Bill would provide federal schooling for children of servicemen in areas where local schools have been closed, but this is because the Administration feels that it has a special federal responsibility to the families of men in the armed services.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

The New South —
shall rise? Wasn't
Joan of Arc a maid?

Milwaukee — rains!

Art Levin

PRESS CLIPPINGS
FROM
MJC - ADL

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

NEWSPAPER The Milwaukee Journal

CITY Milwaukee Wisconsin

DATE Feb. 14, 1960

'Yankee, Stay Home'

To The Journal: I hope you will print this letter so that anyone considering a move to Georgia at this time may be forewarned.

My husband was transferred here from Milwaukee at very short notice so we did not investigate our future home. To say that the state of Georgia is defying the federal government in the present integration battle is the understatement of the year. One politician and/or legislator is even daring our president to use troops.

The law that ought to be passed is one against calling this inadequate, antique mess a public school system. It may be public but it certainly isn't education. Teachers are very young, unequipped and underpaid. Classroom discipline is unheard of. After the top notch and well disciplined educational facilities that Milwaukee offers, this is a bitter pill to swallow.

Now this system of education is threatened with closing. Doesn't it follow that people who are content to sit by in silence while their children receive a fourth class education in segregated schools now rise en masse because colored children wish to attend the traditionally all-white schools? They choose to abolish what token education they do offer, rather than give up their "traditions." But let me offer a suggestion:

The best way for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to get their point across would be to have every colored maid in Georgia fail to appear at her "white lady's" home until some of these "traditions" can be altered.

After a few maidless days, the sound of breaking traditions could be heard from here to Milwaukee. The old familiar cry of "Yankee, go home" is still heard. But I say, "Be smart, Yankees—stay home."

G. A.

Atlanta, Ga.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

2/15

Harold Fleming ✓
Paul Rilling ✓ – Anthony ✓

Did you hear the latest re the synagogue desecrations? Now somebody is going around painting Rx on Christian Science churches.

Regards
Art Levin

Ark Gazette - 2-11-60

Blast Is First In U.S. Aimed At a Student

C of C Head Fears Industry Project To Suffer; Others Deplore Incident

By ROY REED
Of the Gazette Staff

Tuesday night's bombing is believed to be the first directed at the home of an integrated Negro student anywhere in the South since the United States Supreme Court ordered desegregation in 1954.

The Southern School News, a reporting service that does nothing but keep up with events affecting desegregation in the South, said at Nashville yesterday that its files showed no other case of an integrated student's home being bombed.

Even for Little Rock, which has known various types of violence since 1957, the latest bombing was unique. Not even the much-publicized Labor Day bombings were directed at property occupied by people. They caused a great deal more monetary damage than the explosion at the home of Carlotta Walls. But all three targets—two buildings and a city-owned station wagon—were empty.

Carlotta, her mother and two younger daughters of Cartelyou Walls were in the house bombed Tuesday. They were asleep on the south side of the house, well away from the blast, and were not injured. The father was away from home.

The general reaction from the community's white leaders was considerably more subdued yesterday than after the Labor Day dynamitings. The reaction to the earlier violence was immediate and outraged. People yesterday were shocked and disgusted but they seemed to feel something else—something like fatigue.

'A Senseless Act'

"A senseless act," W. F. Rector called it. Rector as president of the Little Rock Chamber of Commerce is concerned with the city's industrial slump—a slump that is the same age as the city's desegregation problem.

"It was a silly thing," Rector went on. Every piece of violence makes it more difficult to convince out-of-state industrialists that Little Rock is the place to locate their plants, he said.

Rector was miffed, too, over the fact that any racial incident at Little Rock nowadays is worldwide news.

"This is a minor incident," he insisted, but it has been blown up all out of proportion by the press over the entire nation."

"When the Labor Day bombings occurred last September we were working on getting a $30,000,000 industry for Little Rock. Of course, those bombings wiped it out." He declined to comment further on the lost industry.

"We are working on nine good prospects

pro[illegible] industries to [illegible] here," he said. Then he mourned, "And something like this has to happen."

Everett Tucker Jr., president of the Little Rock School Board, and Terrell E. Powell, school superintendent, commented only that the Walls bombing was a matter for the police

Segregationists 'Surprised'

Two segregationist leaders, Amis Guthridge, Capital Citizens Council lawyer, and Dr. Malcolm G. Taylor, Council president, were "surprised."

"I was certainly surprised because it's been so calm and quiet," Guthridge said.

The Board of the Women's Emergency Committee for Public Schools deplored the bombing and added, "Once more world attention will focus on Little Rock and we hope that all of our citizens will work together to restore our good name."

Governor Faubus was not available for comment. He was making speeches in East Arkansas.

Possibly the strongest reaction from a white leader came not from Little Rock but from Washington. Senator Fulbright told the Associated Press there that the bombing was "a very terrible thing."

"I'm very surprised and very disturbed," Fulbright said. "I thought that spirit had been eliminated as a result of the conviction of the four bombers in the other case."

Jackson Daily Sun

May Apply Church Bill To All Groups

2-12-60

By ASSOCIATED PRESS

Several legislators may seek to remove limitations from a controversial protest church property bill and mak ethe measure apply to all religions, an informed source said today.

The source said backers felt they might reduce weight of arguments against the bill by making it apply to all churches.

The bill now pending before the Senate Judiciary Committee would permit 65 per cent of the adult membership of a local protestant church to win title to church property on grounds that its denomination has changed social policy.

CLASS LEGISATION

Legal criticism of the bill has included charges that it violates the principle of separation of church and state, and that it is class legislation because it would apply only to protestant churches.

The bill does nof name any denomination, but is aimed primarily at the Methodist Church and would also paply to the protestant Episcopal and possibly Presbyterian churches.

Baptist churches and others in which each congregation is autonomous would not be affected.

Five more Methodist churches joined the opposition to the bill yesterday.

The five were:

First Methodist Church of Booneville, whose official board asked lawmakers to vote against it.

Box Chapel Methodist Church, whose congregation opposed any legislation affecting church property rights.

Maples Memorial Methodist Church of Olive Branch, whose official board said it did not endorse racial integration but felt the bill would trespass on the principle of separation of church and state, needlessly, and injure both.

Sardis Methodist Church, whose congregation said the present Methodist system worked satisfactorily.

And Decell Memorial Methodist Church of Wesson, whose board charged the measure was unconstitutional and a step toward a state church.

Thus far only one church organization has supported the bill. The board of First Methodist Church of Greenwood became the first for it as protection against integration.

"Local congregations should be protected in their right to retain property for which they have paid," the board said.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming
et. al.

Regards
Art Levin

PRESS CLIPPINGS
FROM
MJC - ADL

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

NEWSPAPER The Milwaukee Journal

CITY Milwaukee Wisconsin

DATE March 22, 1960

How Economic Pressure Breaches Color Line

Sympathy is due at least some of the merchants who are caught in the middle by the Negro lunch counter "sit-ins" down south and the countermeasures taken against the demonstrators. Whatever the stores do, they lose.

Public pressures and sometimes local laws prevent them from giving the service to seated Negroes, which is what the demonstrators try to force. Store operators fear—and probably rightly—that compliance would bring far more loss in white patronage than gain through increased Negro patronage.

The Negroes do control important buying power, however, and are gaining more. And rebuff to Negroes at the lunch counter is very apt to result in a Negro boycott of other store departments. Chain store firms are most vulnerable, because northern sympathizers with the southern Negro demonstrators have begun picketing stores of these same companies up north. Probably most of these latter firms would be happy if the color line could be safely erased everywhere in their establishments. It is not so much a matter of tolerance as of profit and loss.

The economic pinch is felt in many ways. Southern cities find increasing difficulties in landing big conventions which include Negro as well as white delegates and guests. The hotels feel loss of such business acutely.

Recently we heard how a leading chain hotel in a border state managed to drop its color ban. A northern university team was coming to the city to play the most important basketball game of the year—a sellout that was drawing fans from miles around. But when the hotel notified the northern coach that it couldn't accommodate two of his players because they were Negroes, he said, "Take them or we don't come. My boys play together and they stay together."

Hurried calls were made to the local university, then to the mayor and both urged, "Whatever you do, don't force us to cancel this game." Then a call to the head of the hotel chain out east. He did not hesitate. "We've got a good excuse now, haven't we?" he replied. "They're gentlemen. They use American money, and that's what we want. Take 'em in."

This kind of dollar pressure will continue to help open new breaches in the color line. The lunch counter demonstrations are potent reminders that it cannot be ignored.

MUTILATED PAGE (s)

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

3/17

Harold Fleming - Personal & Confid.

Would you want to furnish the info requested in the last paragraph, either for SRC or the Georgia (or Atlanta ?) Council on H.R.? Anybody else you know of experiencing difficulty ?

Regards Art Levin

MEMORANDUM

TO: ADL Regional Offices

Confidential

FROM: Sol Rabkin

DATE: March 8, 1960

On February 12, 1960, the Internal Revenue Bureau of the Treasury Department ruled that the Committee on Civil Rights in Manhattan, Inc., was not entitled to exemption under Section 501(c)3. The group -- which was set up 1) to conduct investigations and research on racial and religious prejudice in public accommodations and housing, 2) to base objective reports on the results of such investigations, and 3) to encourage civic, business, labor, religious, educational and fraternal groups to combat intolerance and prejudice by any individual, corporation or association in any field -- was denied exemption. The ground for the denial was that its purposes are too broad to come within the meaning of the statute and that the methods used by the Committee were not of an exclusively charitable or educational nature.

It is the view of those of us who have been dealing with this problem over the past years that the ruling is not justified by the regulations and the statute. However, before taking up this ruling with appropriate officials in the Treasury Department, we would like to know if there have been similar rulings elsewhere in the country.

Could you, therefore, let us know whether or not any local civil rights organizations in your area have recently sought tax exemption and been turned down? If so, could you let us have the name of the organization and obtain for us a copy of the application for tax exemption and of the Internal Revenue Bureau's letter denying the organization exemption? This information will, of course, be kept in confidence by us except that we may, if we find there are several such cases, wish to refer to them in discussions we may have with appropriate officials of the Treasury Department.

Confidential

MEMORANDUM March 28, 1960

To: Art Levin

From: Paul Rilling

Harold is out of town and asked me to respond to your memorandum of the 17th concerning treatment of tax-exempt applications of civil rights organizations.

We are reasonably sure that applications for tax-exemption of our state Councils on Human Relations are being handled in a fairly routine fashion and are not meeting any special barriers. Within the past month, state councils in Virginia, Alabama and North Carolina have been granted exemption. Other applications are pending and have received the kind of routine communications that would lead us to presume they were being processed in a routine fashion.

The Georgia Council did run into a small snag in the way of a number of questions concerning some of their stated purposes, etc. They answered these questions and only today received confirmation of their exemption.

We are not aware of other organizations in the civil rights field which are having tax-exemption troubles in the South.

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Oscar Cohen

Arthur J. Levin

September 28, 1960

This is to confirm an appointment for you with Les Dunbar and Harold Fleming for Tuesday, November 22nd. I will also be available at that time and will be a most happy fella to join you all.

If, sometime soon, you can let us all know approximately at what time during the day you expect to be available, we will coordinate our watches accordingly.

Happy Thanksgiving, if it is not rushing the season too much.

Regards.

ajl/bw

CC: Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Harold Fleming

PR ✓
MF

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming

How about some sort of white-type mass meeting on the sit-ins in Atlanta?

Joyeaux Chanukah

Art Levin

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE of B'NAI B'RITH
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.

Irwin Schulman

Arthur J. Levin

December 22, 1960

This is in reference to your memo of December 14th concerning the current New Orleans public school situation.

I have a few suggestions, one or several of which may prove useful:

1. A meeting of all the community relations professionals to assess the situation and to see if you all can't come up with some plans for action through combined thinking and resources. I am sure that all of the lay contacts are not being utilized to the fullest. Among "professionals", I would include concerned ministers, priests and rabbis, even some of the most active and knowledgeable laymen and any others with whom you can"strategize" because I realize that there may be a dearth of professionals in the community.

2. A public mass meeting of the responsible and respectable people in the community who can be stimulated to counteraction. A sort of Citizens Council in reverse, so to speak. Such a meeting could either be church sponsored or sponsored by the United Church Women, or SCS sponsored or perhaps sponsored by some prestige organization such as the Jay Cees. Perhaps some famous, nationally known individual can be prevailed upon to be the key-note speaker, on the premise that "now is the time for leadership". The purpose of such a meeting in the end result, would be a resolve for as many people as possible to re-enter their children in the two public schools, and suitable resolutions addressed to the city, state and police officials demanding protection from intimidation and impartial enforcement of the law. It probably would be best to have this an all white meeting as an indication that the white people of the community are aroused.

3. Pressures ought to be brought upon Arch-bishop Rummell to begin parochial school desegregation now, or at least to begin thinking and speaking about it, so as to take the heat off the public schools. This may be impossible under the circumstances,

but I see no reason why the Catholic authorities all along the line should not have the burden of conscience as to their responsibilities in this dreadful situation.

Now that I have solved your problem, I would appreciate some suggestions as to what we can do about the "sit-in" impasse in Atlanta.

Happy New Year?

ajl:dg

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming ✓
Paul Rilling

Regards
Art Levin

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LOcust 3-9371

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Executive Secretary Emeritus
Colin W. Bell
Executive Secretary

December 27, 1960

Robert C. Kohler,
Regional Director
Anti-Defamation League
216 No. 2nd Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Robert Kohler:

We have your letter of December 9, addressed to Helen Baker, our representative in Prince Edward County, Virginia telling of the fine response you have had in your efforts to locate items needed at the Centers. It certainly is heart-warming. We note the wide variety of material, medical supplies of one kind or another, furniture, table tops, sheeting, and even toilet paper.

Helen Baker has asked us to write a note of thanks and appreciation and we are certainly glad to do this. Since names are not mentioned, we cannot send a personal letter to each but know you will see that the various people who have responded have our hearty thanks. Will you tell them how very pleased the people of Prince Edward County are to know they are not forgotten?

Best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

(MT) per Marie Turner

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LWD ✓
MM-file ✓

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

3/30

Paul Pelling

Attached is info about your inquiry of March 20.

~~Clips~~
(i) ~~Other~~ conservative ~~groups~~

Regards

Art Levin

C.O. Files
Anti Defamation League
Art Levin

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue — Suite 300
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To: Art Levin

From: Mort Kass

Date: March 28, 1961

Confidential

Subject: "Communism On The Map"

This is in response to your buckslip inquiry of March 22nd, addressed to Milt Ellerin, and requesting information on the film, "Communism On The Map."

The film was produced late last year by the National Education Program of Searcy, Arkansas, which is headed by Dr. George S. Benson, also the president of Harding College. I am attaching hereto a copy of a fact sheet on Benson.

Dr. Benson claims that the National Education Program is supported by foundation grants in order to document Communist and left-wing activities here and abroad that might lead this country toward communism, and to make studies of the American way of life in contrast to socialist life. Under the aegis of this group, Benson circulates a National Program Letter, which he describes as a monthly letter of thought and opinion about America's problems. He maintains that the NEP is a separate corporation, not connected with Harding College. Benson recently claimed that the NEP is highly respected in its home state, and the Navy, Army, and Air Force are using material produced by the program.

Dr. Benson has taken to the stump in recent months and in the first week of this month, he spoke in such widely-separated places as New Orleans, Louisiana and Seattle, Washington. According to Benson, the NEP has been reaching an estimated 25 million people a week with some phase of its varied activities for more than ten years.

On November 11, 1960, Benson asked the Arkansas Chamber of Commerce and the Associated Industries of Arkansas to set up an anti-Communist education program. He stated that the speakers platform, the schools, and the newspapers should be put to work arming Americans against the Communist ideology. Dr. Benson said that Harding College had a supply of suitable anti-Communist literature, which was probably second to none in the country, and it is available at moderate prices.

HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ
National Chairman

BENJAMIN R. EPSTEIN
National Director

The film, "Communism On The Map," has stirred about as much controversy recently as the film, "Operation Abolition," and, as you noted, they are often shown together. This film purports to trace "the conquest of the world by international communism with full shocking documentation on how the Reds have won each victory." The narration is by television announcer Dink Hawley of Memphis, and according to Glenn Green, NEP executive vice-president, the film has been shown to several million people and NEP has not been able to keep up with the orders. Six hundred prints of "Communism On The Map" have been distributed throughout the United States at a cost of $42.50, per print.

Following disclosures that the film had been shown at several Navy bases throughout the nation, including in your area, the air station in Glynco, Brunswick, Georgia, a Navy spokesman for the Defense Department said the film had been reviewed by the Navy and "not accepted" for official distribution through the information and education program. He added: "Although its use by local commanders for showing within their commands is acceptable, it is not considered appropriate for Navy sponsorship before civilian audiences."

As you requested, I am returning the March 20th letter of inquiry from Paul M. Rilling of the Southern Regional Council.

Regards.

MK:dw
Enc.
cc: Alex Miller
Milt Ellerin
Justin Finger

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Confidential

DR. GEORGE STEWART BENSON and HARDING COLLEGE, SEARCY, ARKANSAS

1. Born in 1898, graduated from Harding College (A.B. 1925, L.L. 1938). Benson served as professor of English at Sun Yat Sen University from 1929 to 1936. Since 1936, Benson has been president of Harding College, Searcy, Arkansas, a co-educational institution founded in 1924. For many years that college, owned by the Church of Christ, had been operated as a state school for girls by John H. Dye and was closed upon the latter's death. It remained so for many years until Dr. Benson took charge of it "on a shoestring." Since then Benson has made a success of his educational undertaking. As late as 1944, Benson's salary as president of the institution was listed by the Saturday Evening Post as $1800 a year. Only a few years later the Associated Press reported that Benson's life had been insured for one million dollars at an annual premium of $16,500.

The explanation for Benson's rather fabulous career and the amazing recovery of Harding College lies apparently in the fact that Benson's adherence to and teaching of an ultra-conservative socio-economic philosophy has attracted considerable financial aid from commerce and industry.

2. Liberals have expressed skepticism concerning Harding College's educational importance and Benson's extra-curricular activities such as the writing of a weekly column, the promotion of a transcribed radio program, the production of high-priced educational movies, etc. (See article "Whooping It Up for Adam Smith" by Harold V. Knight in the August 2, 1952 issue of The Nation.) Representative Andrew J. Biemiller (Wisc.) in an address (attacking the Committee for Constitutional Government) on June 5, 1950, said:

> "Dr. Benson has been associated with a number of reactionary movements in this country. Harding College, it may be noted, is not an accredited institution. That means that its education standards are low. The point in Dr. Benson's speech [which had been circulated by the Committee for Constitutional Government] which particularly strikes me is the suggestion that too much education is a bad thing anyway. I quote: [from Benson's speech] 'New York and California are the two wealthiest states in the Union and the two with the highest average expenditure per student for education but still have their problems. The percentage of crimes and the number of communists in those states testify to the fact that it takes more than money to provide proper education'."

3. Industry, however, looks upon Harding College and Benson with favor (see columns by Murray Kempton in the New York Post of February 7, 1950, and August 17, 1950). In 1951, Harding College was among the recipients of the "Freedom Award" from the "Freedom's Foundation."

4. In the past, anti-democratic and quite a number of anti-Semitic publications have been reprinting Benson's column. It must, however, be stated that the column itself never contained expressions of bigotry.

Benson was one of a selected number of individuals who were invited by Merwin K. Hart, anti-Semitic president of the National Economic Council, to attend a secret conference on June 28 and 29, 1949, in New York City. That conference, however, never took place on account of adverse publicity and exposure.

On November 14, 1954, the New York Times reported that Benson is a member of the National Policy Committee of For America (concerning the latter organization, see Facts for June-July, 1954,).

5. Neither Dr. Benson nor his institution have ever manifested religious bigotry. In fact, Dr. Benson has appeared as a lecturer before Jewish audiences, and Harding College has booked educational films pleading for better group relations such as "The High Wall."

ADDENDUM

Enjoying the financial support of big corporations such as Allis-Chalmers and General Motors, Benson has been able to spread his "free enterprise" propaganda and his attacks against what he considers "socialist trends through various media: newspaper columns, motion pictures, and radio talks.

Organized labor has attacked Benson for what it considers his hostile attitude towards labor and liberal social legislation.

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 EXCHANGE PL., S. E. ATLANTA, GA.

For your information

RECEIVED MAR 8 1957

Harold Fleming

Art Levin

First Baptist Church
PAUL W. TURNER, PASTOR
CLINTON, TENN.

February 25, 1957

Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Ave
New York 22, New York

Dear Sirs:

I saw a copy of your field report on Clinton, Tennessee, and my appraisal is that it is accurate and very informational.

Could I get from you a copy of same?

Sincerely Yours,

Paul W. Turner

March 7, 1957

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

This crisis fund-raising in unfamiliar territory is a rough deal, and I can't tell you how comforted I was by the sympathetic help which you and Arnold gave me. I have followed up by letter with both Mr. Maas and Mr. Rabinowitz. I have high hopes that both of them will help us shortly. Anything you can do to help matters along will be appreciated.

I am also writing Mr. Kivie Kaplan along the lines that you suggest.

It now looks as though I may be in New York for the latter half of the week beginning March 25th. I should know for sure before long and will call you then to see if appointments can be arranged with some of the people that we missed last week.

With thanks from one Confederate to another, and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

P.S. I am also writing Arnold a note of thanks

April 3, 1957

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

Life was moving so fast at the end of last week that I don't think I got a chance to report back to you on my meeting with Max Delson. He was extremely sympathetic and interested and helpful. As he may have told you, it happened -- I am not sure accidentally -- that the young Rabinowitz was with him when I arrived. They were discussing your own local problem in New Rochelle. Mr. Rabinowitz had to listen to my story and before he left agreed to give his father a nudge.

I will give you more details the next time I see you, but this is merely to say that I appreciated your steering me to Delson. I have a feeling that he is going to be helpful to us as time goes on. Anything you may find it convenient to do to keep his interest up will help that much more.

Thanks to you and to Arnold for your many courtesies and good company.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

September 27, 1957

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Alex:

No need for you to have been frightened at all. Your idea about law enforcement is as handsome as your smiling countenance.

I agree with you wholeheartedly that the kind of measures you suggest to prevent crowds from collecting are crucial to the maintenance of order in transition communities. As a matter of fact, we have been pushing this angle hard in Little Rock - which must, after all reassume local control eventually. We are using for this purpose the material on mob prevention and control that Joe Lohman worked up for the Southern Police Institute.

For the long run, we are negotiating with David McCandless, the director of the Institute to set up a seminar of Southern police chiefs under expert direction to get these principles out on the table. If this comes off, some printed material for wider distribution in the South would no doubt emerge. I will let you know what develops.

I am sorry you felt that your views expressed in Washington fell on such stony ground. They really didn't. I was fairly vibrating with agreement.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 25 1957

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Executive Assistant

September 24, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I frightened myself twice this morning; once when I looked in the mirror while shaving and again when I read the black headlines about the violence in Little Rock, which made me feel like Nostradamus. You will recall the melancholy predictions and forebodings which I expressed at the Consultative Conference on Desegregation in Washington last week.

Harold, even though I did not get too much take on my suggestion, I am more convinced than ever that police action is the key at the moment when there is a sharp change in the encrusted community pattern and strong resistance is being encountered.

It seems to me that local authorities have repeated the same mistakes in Washington, in Baltimore, in Levittown, in Nashville and in fifty other cities and now again in Little Rock. The mistake is a simple one, they allow crowds to gather at the scene where the change is taking place and they treat the crowds with a certain tolerant passivity which permits it to change rapidly into a violent mob.

I think the only cure is for the police to crack down at a time when a crisis approaches and enforce two simple rules:

a. Not permit any more than three individuals to gather within a mile of the place where the change is taking place.

b. To strictly enforce the ordinances which are usually on the books in most municipalities that people keep moving and not obstruct sidewalk traffic in any section of the city.

I do hope you will sincerely consider this proposal and, if you believe that it has positive value, that you will send it on to your field staff for possible relaying to law enforcement officials and city administrators, especially in those communities which seem to be next on the list to desegregate.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp

Rec'd 3/20/58

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

March 18, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just read your Annual Report for 1957; an excellent, thoughtful document which should be very worthwhile for Institutional Purposes.

Best regards.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp

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of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

March 27, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia:

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This will acknowledge your letter of March 24th. Mr. Miller is presently out of the city on an extended trip. He will not return to the office until the week of April 7th, at which time I shall call your letter to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Diane

Diane Partnoy,
Secretary to Alex Miller

dp

Rcd 4/16/58

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Executive Assistant

ans 4/17/58

April 15, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I found your letter of March 24th on my desk yesterday following my return from a lengthy trip. Since that time I have been trying, without too much success to date, to promote your appearance. Unfortunately, our B'nai B'rith Lodges and Chapters install their new officers during April and then, instead of a May meeting, attend their various District conventions so that there are precious few meetings at the time you are coming.

However, there is one important engagement which I do hope you can fill during the week of April 26th, and that is an appearance before our ADL national staff in which I would ask you to give your own analysis of the Southern situation and what you think we can expect in the next couple of years; following which they would have an opportunity to ask questions. We can probably hold the meeting at 11:00 a.m. on any day you would suggest during that week, following which I'd ask you to have lunch with Ben Epstein and a few others in the office. There, of course, will be a modest (very modest) stipend involved. Please let me hear from you by return mail as to any preference you may have as to dates.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp

Dear Harold: ADL file

Please send us 100 copies of the March, 1958 issue of the New South, ~~and~~ [redacted]

Thanx.

Alex

Sent 4/17/58

Alex Miller
ADL
515 Madison Ave
NY 22

May 23, 1958

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

Many, many thanks, old friend. It was a very warm and stimulating experience that you arranged for me.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

May 19, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Attached is a very modest honorarium for a modest guy. Thanks a great deal for the presentation which was far from modest and really deserves a far greater measure of appreciation than the attached represents.

However, from one eleemosynary to another, you know what the fund raising picture is.

Come back and see us soon.

Love and Kisses,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:dp
Att.

Rcd 8/28/58

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Executive Assistant

August 26, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just returned to my desk from a rather hectic two-week trip to the West Coast and I am still digging my way out of a mass of accumulated mail. I did, however, come across the attached memoranda which I am sending on to you in toto. I would be obliged if you would return it to me after it has served your purpose.

Apparently the memorandum from Iz Zack was written before he had seen a copy of your letter to the Standard Times in New Bedford. I am assuming that the Standard Times printed the letter and I am delighted if they did so. I assume that you have sent copies of this letter to all the other papers which reprinted the series.

If I may make a suggestion, Harold, I think that in addition to defending the good name and integrity of the Southern Regional Council, another letter ought to be written in which the fallacious philosophy expressed by Simmons is exposed. Maybe I'm attaching too much importance to what Simmons has said but I think he needs answering because he is a Northerner writing for a New England paper. His writings may well influence others in this area, who have hitherto been silent or confused, to voice their opinions on behalf of segregation. Certainly, the cockeyed Communist theme Simmons introduces can influence a great many of the uninitiated. I know already from having seen his articles reprinted in many Southern newspapers that he has given a great deal of solace and comfort to the brethren in Dixie.

I also think, Harold, that the Simmons attack can be used by SRC as a good spring-board for telling ~~the~~ ITS story ~~in~~ OF the South.

I'd appreciate hearing from you as to what you decide.

With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/jls
Att.

Southcentral Office
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

606 Common St., Room 401
New Orleans 12, La.

For
H. Schulman

Isadore Zack

Irwin Schulman

August 13th, 1958

Thank you for sending me the five articles on Little Rock written by Edward B. Simmons, staff writer of The Standard Times, New Bedford, Mass. It should interest you to know that the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News is reprinting these on the front page.

I note in the second article that Simmons quotes from the Israel Cohen Hoax without identifying Israel Cohen as the author. In Herman Edelsberg's Congress Report dated August 1, 1958, he includes Congressman Multer's expose of the Israel Cohen forgery. You mightwant to use this in refuting Simmons' article.

Kindest regards.

IS:mlh

cc: Alex Miller
Milton Ellerin
Sol Kolack
Herman Edelsberg

August 29, 1958

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

I am sorry I missed you yesterday in New York and that our letters evidently crossed in the mail.

As I wrote you the other day, I think that through our dealings with the Richmond Times-Dispatch and the other Southern papers carrying the New Bedford series, we have accomplished something in the direction of discrediting the series. We are sending the Times-Dispatch to each of the Southern papers that has been reported to us as reprinting the series. Also, on the basis of the editorial, I will press once again for some correction in the Standard-Times.

I cannot agree, however, that the Southern Regional Council should undertake an effort to refute the other charges in this series against other organizations, individuals, and institutions in American life. It seems to me that this can most properly and most effectively be done by all of the organizations attacked making the same effort we have to set the record straight as to their own integrity. Since the offending

newspaper is in Massachusetts, I should think that national organizations which operate in Massachusetts should take on the broad job of protesting the false picture that Simmons has drawn. As a Southern organization, we can hope to have little influence on a Massachusetts newspaper, and our hands are full trying to fight the battle down here.

My admiration for the operative skill of ADL is so great that I have no doubt of your ability to get this job done with a skill that we could never equal.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Sol Kolack

P. S. We have now reprinted the Times-Dispatch editorial and can supply additional copies if you would find them useful.

H.C.F.

September 12, 1958

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
of B'Nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

What is friendship without chutzpeh? I was also presuming on our friendship by being candid. ("candid" has no Yiddish equivalent.)

I saw that Russell had put the abominable series in the Record and sent him the Dabney editorial, respectfully asking him to put that into the record. How about doing likewise with the expose of the Israel Cohen myth and other rebuttal materials? I doubt that he'll insert them, but it might give him food for thought.

Let me know what comes of the visit with the editor. Again, even though it should have no direct result, I think it will have a salutary effect. It's something to demonstrate that they can't do these things with complete impunity.

I share your concern wholeheartedly and will look forward to a chance to discuss this entire question with you. I plan to be at the CCD executive committee meeting next Wednesday (with misgivings). If you're there, maybe we can get together afterward.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls

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LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

September 5, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I'm sorry I missed you during your recent trip to New York. Perhaps you will be heading this way again soon and we will have a chance to get together.

As I feared, Southerners are using the Simmons articles extensively for propaganda purposes. I have just learned that Senator Russell placed these articles in the Congressional Record (A7204 and A7213). In addition, in yesterday's Herald Tribune David Lawrence promulgated the same thesis as Simmons. Following is the opening sentence of his column and he takes off from there:

> "Just as the Communists have had a hand in fomenting riots and bombings in the Southern states of this country, they now have managed to accentuate racial friction in Great Britain."

I really had a lot of chutzpeh in presuming on our friendship by advising you and the Southern Regional Council what action to take with regard to the Simmons articles. Chutzpeh is a Yiddishism which defies translation into English. The meaning of the word can best be described in the following way: When a young man kills his father and mother and then pleads for mercy to the sentencing judge because he is an orphan, that's chutzpeh.

I'm delighted to know that some of our people are visiting the editor in New Bedford. Perhaps they can do some good, although our

Boston office is pretty doubtful. In any event, I am considerably concerned by the equation being made in certain influential quarters of desegregation and Communism and I am puzzled as to how best and through what medium the facts can be brought to the public. Perhaps when we next get together we can discuss this.

With all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

AFM/jls

Alexander F. Miller

March 20, 1959

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

In the confusion of the last few weeks -- my confusion, that is -- I have failed to thank you for your thoughtful offer to distribute our annual report to the regional offices. Ordinarily I would jump at the chance. But this year we mimeographed only enough for a very limited and selective distribution -- the reason being that we were less discreet than usual about some of the sensitive situations we dealt with. (For example, the Terrell County case.)

Although I can't take you up this time, I hope you will let me revive the idea when we next have something worthwhile for more general circulation.

I was glad to see that you and I are to be co-consultants on the Civil Liberties Clearing House panel next month. With so much talent, how can they miss?

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Executive Assistant

March 4, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georiga

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the Annual Report of Program Activities of the Southern Regional Council. Do you mail these reports out to our regional offices? If not, if you could send me 35 copies, I would be glad to distribute them from here.

I'm certain that a number of our regional directors will share this report with some of their key leaders who might then, if properly approached, desire to help to swell the overflowing coffers of the SRC.

Cordially yours,

Alex

AFM/jls

Alexander F. Miller

MF FOR FILES

Jc for your reaction

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Executive Assistant

RECEIVED SEP 1 1959

August 28, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A letter written by a Mrs. Doris Bodenheimer of Houston, Texas crossed my desk and I thought it was such a wonderful quotable document that I used it as the basis of a letter to the Christian Science Monitor. I am attaching a copy for you. It seems to me that Mrs. Bodenheimer's letter is worthy of a place in your own 'Quote...Unquote' department.

Incidentally, I have noted the flow of materials emanating from your organization. I think they are most excellent, useful and timely. I use them frequently not only in my speeches, but even more important in the meetings we have with our volunteers through the country in training sessions.

I do hope that before not too long you will be up this way again. In the meantime, with all best regards,

Cordially yours,

AFM

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/jls
Att.

MF

Lwd & Fyi

March 16, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

Thanks for your kind words about our Special Report -- imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

I am in substantial agreement with the points you make, except that I'm not so sure that these new developments will move as swiftly as you seem to indicate. But, however, swiftly, they are moving, and a certain amount of violence seems unavoidable.

We will know more when we see how events unfold here in Atlanta -- the stronghold of Deep South moderation.

My best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 8, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is in the nature of a fan letter. I just read the report prepared by SRC on the student protest and I thought it was one of the best and most comprehensive reports I have ever read. As a matter of fact, I have been called upon several times within the last few days to interpret the sit-down strikes and I have borrowed very liberally -- and I mean liberally -- from your report.

Sitting up here in the rarefied atmosphere of my ivory tower, it seems to me that what's happened in the last six weeks has in it the potentiality of a most dynamic social revolution. The slumbering giant which is the Negro community of the South for the first time seems to be raising his head and flexing his muscles. Once he begins to realize how much strength there is in these muscles -- and I think he is on the verge of making this discovery -- progress will be swift and violent. This at least is what I have been telling my captive audience up here. I hope you agree.

I am also wondering whether you agree with the following statement which I have been making. As your excellent report points out, there have been several attempts during recent years to start the same kind of action. These individual events did not result in the imitative action which we now note. Could it be that the current generation of Negro college students are far different than their predecessors? These kids today achieved their maturity since the U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1954. This must have exerted a profound influence on their thinking and also on their basic approach. Therefore, for the first time we see Negroes departing from the type of behavior which has been their norm for many decades and resorting to overt mass activity in order to seek their rights.

Again, speaking from this ivory tower, it seems to me that Southern whites recognize the potentialities of this situation better than anyone, including perhaps some Negro leaders. I think that what happened in Chattanooga, Montgomery and some other cities where the whites mobilized overnight, illustrates the point I am trying to make. Unless the current drive loses its momentum, it seems to me that there is a possibility for a good deal of violence. But then, to invent a phrase, you can't make an omelet without cracking some eggs.

Bon appetite!

Cordially yours,

alex

AFM:CF

Alexander F. Miller

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Organization Planning
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 21, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I liked your letter of March 10th to your board members keeping them advised of the many things which the Southern Regional Council is doing in the current crisis. I thought it was an excellent promotional piece.

The only change I would have liked to have seen in the letter was the addition of three little words - "Please send money".

Are you planning to come up this way in the near future? I wish you would let me know as I am most anxious to sit down and talk with you about what is happening in the South. I am also not at all sure as to the role ADL should or should not be playing in this situation and I know that your clear vision will help me sort out my muddled thinking.

With all that's best,

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/jls

April 1, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

You can't write too often, as far as I'm concerned. I would have replied sooner, but have been out of action with a case of Spring pip.

Your letter to the Herald Tribune was well done, and I share most of your sentiments. "Moderate" is an almost useless, and often harmfully applied, word. We felt, however, that Secrest had something important and valid to say. At least his use of the term "moderate" is sincere and has some real content, especially considering the extreme climate in which he functions.

You are right up to a point in saying that, as the lines sharpen, there is no viability to a "middle way." But there comes a turn when the middle way is once again meaningful. Consider Atlanta, where the "moderates" are fighting an aggressive battle -- bound to be ultimately successful -- to preserve the schools. So I would dissent from your dissent by saying that the question is one of timing, and that the people who call themselves "moderates" do have their moments in this tortured process we are going through down here.

I hope to be in Yew York again in late April. If so, I will try for a get-together with you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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Organization Planning
ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

March 23, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I find myself writing to you with startling frequency these days. I promise you, however, that shortly, when my attention gets diverted by Boston or Seattle, you will again be in for a pleasant drought of letters from Miller.

This letter is motivated by the February issue of New South which has just reached my desk. I apparently am behind the times. Anyway, I note the article in it called "Moderation is the Key", by A. M. Secrest. The basic point of view expressed by this article is in direct contrast to a position which I have taken and which coincidentally appeared only yesterday in the New York Herald Tribune. I thought you might be interested in seeing my "minority" point of view.

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/jls
Att.
cc: Arthur J. Levin

HERALD - TRIBUNE
3-22-60

Letters To the Editor

"Moderate" Is a Nice Word

To the N. Y. Herald Tribune:

Mr. David Lawrence, in a recent column, described Governor LeRoy Collins of Florida as representative of the "moderates" in the South who are being made pro-segregationist by the current wave of "sit-in" demonstrations by Negroes.

Actually, in indicating that there is a body of moderates in the South, Mr. Lawrence exhibits the same misconceptions about the Southern scene that have been evidenced by many observers.

Ever since the Supreme Court decision on May 17, 1954, that segregation in public schools is incompatible with the Constitution of the United States, there has been much wishful thinking that the vast body of moderates supposed to exist in the South would forge to the fore and see to it that the desegregation process would proceed with "all deliberate speed." It has not mattered too much that no one tried to define what a moderate is or the role he is expected to play.

"Moderate" is such an attractive word. It expresses such a nice, respectable way of doing things that those charged with working through the tension-packed social revolution embraced it, frequently as a substitute for meaningful action.

Actually, action is as out of focus as a companion word for moderate as deliberate is for speed. To act moderately is usually not to act at all. One must proceed either with deliberation or with speed.

As the lines sharpen and the emotions mount between those who desire to proceed with speed, which means those who favor desegregation, and those who wish to proceed deliberately, which really means not to proceed at all, there is little ground for compromise. And I presume that compromise, seeking the middle way, is the essence of the definition of a moderate.

There really is no room for a moderate to function in most of the South today. More important, there is practically no place even to be a moderate in the South. You can call yourself a moderate but, actually, the issue is so sharp that you have to decide whether you are a moderate for desegregation or a moderate against it. And like the young lady who claimed that she was just a little bit pregnant, you can't be a wee bit on one side or the other of the desegregation issue. You must commit yourself. And once you do, you are no longer a moderate.

ALEXANDER F. MILLER.
New Rochelle, N. Y.

June 16, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

It was a real treat sharing the boardwalk and the podium with you last week. I particularly enjoyed the dinner with you and Ellie.

I am glad to see my worth appraised at last, and rated as something more than gratis. But I can't help thinking of the old saw, "You pay your nickel and you take your chances."

My best, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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Of B'nai B'rith

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

June 13, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was wonderful being with you in Atlantic City. I do hope that before not too long you will be up this way again.

I thought you would get a kick out of the attached. It indicates that while Mozell Hill and myself together are gratis (worth nothing), you, at least, are in the nickel class.

With all that's best,

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM/jls
Att.

Alex Miller

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

Pacific Northwest Regional Office - 2303 Smith Tower - Seattle 4, Wash. - MAin 4-5750

TO: SUBSCRIBERS, ADL Materials June 8, 1960

FROM: Seymour H. Kaplan, Regional Director

Enclosed is the first group of materials selected for you:

1.	The Agony of the Southern Minister (reprint) McGill	.05
2.	Anti-Semitism, the Swastika Epidemic and Communism (reprint) Dodd	.10
3.	Danger in Discord (revised ADL Freedom Pamphlet) Handlin and Handlin	.35
4.	Human Background of the Civil Rights Issue (reprint) Lewis	.05
5.	Israel 1960 (brochure)	Gratis
6.	Ledger of Death (reprint) Keller	Gratis
7.	The Middle East and the Refugees (Public Affairs Pamphlet)	.25
8.	The Problems of Progress (reprint) Hill and Miller	Gratis ✓
9.	The Responsibility Is Ours (revised ADL Freedom Pamphlet) Overstreet	.35
10.	A Southern View of the South (reprint) Fleming	.05 ✓
11.	Strange Travesty of Anti-Semitism (reprint) Cornell	Gratis
12.	ADL Memorandum and Date Book	.25

#1, by the editor of the Atlanta Constitution for almost twenty years who becomes its publisher this month; #4, by a Pulitzer Prize winner (like #1) who is attached to the N. Y. Times staff; #8, by a Professor at Columbia University's Teachers College and a leading ADL staff member; and #10, by a truly qualified southerner, all relate to desegregation with an accent on civil rights appreciation. They bring to you a concentrated measure of opinion in the history-molding developments of a changing South.

We witnessed a painful phenomenon, at the beginning of the year, with a wave of swastika desecrations. Even yet, there is an occasional report! Of the materials which have been produced, as a result, we have chosen #2, by a Congressman from Connecticut because he points to one of the vaguer areas of factual knowledge, the USSR, and offers some suggestions; #3, by a Professor and wife, who trace the history of American anti-Semitism in a revised edition of a valuable Freedom Pamphlet; #6, by a Catholic author who presents the awful statistic of what the swastika meant; and #11, by the religious writer for the Associated Press because of its frank appraisal of a long-term malady.

Of course, #5, and #7, relate and both give needed facts in an area of consideration overly filled with propaganda. These facts will help you keep the record straight.

Then, #9, another revised Freedom Pamphlet, is included because it is so basic. Everyone should have the opportunity of reading it!

Finally, our famous Memorandum and Date Book is included and we are sure you have been waiting for it. If you want more copies - they make thoughtful little gifts - you had better order now as they go fast!

December 28, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Alex:

Your welcome letter of December 15 came in while I was laid up at home with a cold; hence, the coldly bureaucratic reply, for which I apologize.

I am pleased, of course, that you felt our printing of the Fowler Commission's report merited your distribution. It's a pity that, with Collins stepping down, the Commission will cease to function as an official state agency.

I will be visiting New York again sometime soon and will then make a deferred claim on that cup of whatever-it-is. I see no reason why Wassail should be limited to the Christmas season -- especially if it's free.

My very best wishes to you and yours in the New Year.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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ARNOLD FORSTER
General Counsel

December 15, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Just a note to say hello and best wishes for a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. I had sort of hoped that the holiday season would find you visiting New York so that I could buy you a cup of Wassail (whatever that is).

Incidentally, while I have your attention, I would like to remark that your publications continue to be outstanding. I was particularly taken by your recent report dated December 9, 1960 which encloses the report of the Fowler Commission. Do you have 150 copies available? If so, I would appreciate your sending them on to me and also billing me for whatever the cost would be. I would like to share this report with the ADL regional offices and some of our prominent lay people throughout the country and especially in the South.

I could, of course, have gotten copies from the Florida Commission on Race Relations, but I would rather send it with the Southern Regional Council imprint as I always like to publicize your organization where and when I can.

With all that's best.

Cordially yours,

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:DEW

Sent 12-19-60
MA

December 21, 1960

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Miller:

We mailed you yesterday the 150 copies of our L-22 report, as requested in your letter to Harold Fleming. The cost on these was .05 each, so you will owe us $7.50.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Ed. A. Albright
Administrative secretary
Research

Anti-Negro

John R. Irwin
Sandersville, Georgia

Oct 10th.

Mr G.B.Johnson
95 Wesley Road,
Atlanta Ga.-

Dear Sir.

I am pleased to mail you my little booklet, under separate cover.I have prepared a 2nd edition whic will be off the press by Nov. 1st. Larger,and more readable,and I hope will stir up our indifferent or lukewarm,appeasing people to the danger tat confronts the White People South.

In the New Amsterdam Negro Paper New York, Issue Sept. 1st. appeared the most insinuating,insulting piscture of 4,white Englis girs, being embraced by 4 Negro soldiers,as the depart fo the U.S .under neath the words in large capitals.-

" ENGLISH GIRLS WEEP, WHEN THE NEGRO GI,s DEPART."

And the names of the negro given,shows TWO1 of them as living in Atlanta , 1 in Ala. I,in Lousianna.all southern negroes, as slambard of the southern whites.

If you desire a copy of the 2nd edition it will have a copy or cut of the indecent picture,and the editorial of the Negro editor explaining the picture.

Maybe you might find an old copy at the News stands in Atlanta. Of Sept 1st.45.

Truly, Yours

Jno R Irwin

Jno. R Irwin.

Take A Good Look, Brother Bilbo!

English Girls Weep When Negro Troops Head Home

Hysterical "Goodbyes" To Sweethearts Mark Removal of Four Companies of Colored GI's

New York Amsterdam News

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1945

(SEE INSIDE)

We quote part of the insinuating and insulting editorial commenting on the photo on the first page.

"London reports a situation in Bristol, England, in which mobs of white girls stood in the mud and rain—weeping bitter tears at the departure of negro troops stationed here—They broke through police lines to hug and kiss their negro sweethearts and to tearfully bid them goodbye.

"Incidentally, all the negro soldiers are from the deep, deep South. These girls are not low bred 'romance for finance' women, but good old English stock, which SOUTHERN RED NECKS like Bilbo and Eastland claim to be."

* * * *

Such is the propaganda and dope that is being broadcast in the country by cartoons, editorials and systematic radio, with intent to degrade and destroy the moral dignity and standard of decent citizenship among respectable negroes as well as whites. The moving picture industry has seized the popular craze of "race issues" to "cash in" on all kinds of low, vulgar, indecent, immoral degenerate pictures, which appeal to the imagination and fires youthful minds with impossible ambitions.

It now appears that in certain sections, Christian Churches have become an ally to this propaganda, teaching the youth, white and black, that the road to Heaven is to be found only through the WHITE CHURCHES and through mixed congregations; that all education, both elementary and collegiate, is not attainable, except by and through white schools and colleges.

Negro doctors and professional men cannot become proficient except through white institutions and as for MUSICAL ARTISTS, who seek notoriety and hope to become financial "box-office" drawing cards cannot do so except by profaning and crushing the gates of CONSTITUTIONAL HALL, and when denied that right of trespassing on private property, this notoriety is a passport to financial success.

There is joy and glee in Harlem and other negro communities when they are told by Dr. Ralph S. Linton, Professor of Columbia University, that in a few more generations, the negroes of America

would be absorbed into the general population of these United States; and that thus he will become a tradition—a lost TRIBE—in the world's history.

They will pass into oblivion—a population of thirteen million black people, leaving no track or trace, or monument of achievement, as a testimony of their existence upon the sands of time, by which future generations shall know that such a race ever existed upon the American Continent. Swallowed up and eliminated by absorption into the great ocean of WHITE SUPREMACY.

And thus will perish a foolish race, who have never had pride of ancestry and no hope of future posterity, as has been in the case of negroes in all other countries where they have existed, except in dark and benighted African swamps.

GET A COPY OF NEW BOOKLET

THE CRISIS,

—Or—

SHALL THE SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF SHEM

Consort

WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF HAM?

30 Cents each. Coin or stamps.

JNO. R. IRWIN **Sandersville, Ga.**

Anti-Negro Group Incorporates To Fight FEPC Bill

Chicago Defender
Oct. 20 '45

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Dixie race hate became a corporation this week, the business of which will be the blocking of any legislation which might better the conditions of dark Americans.

Incorporation papers were filed in Kentucky for the Mason-Dixon Society, Inc., subtitled the National Association for the Advancement of White People.

Will Fight FEPC

The initial objective of the organization is to fight against the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission with authority to forbid discrimination against Negroes in private employment.

In a broad, general campaign, however, its purpose is to squelch all movements designed to improve, by legislation, the lot of the Negro.

Its members contend it cannot be compared to the Ku Klux Klan because it has no animosity towards Jews and Catholics. They say that, while they have no immediate goal beyond halting FEPC, they are, in general, against everything that Representative Vito Marcantonio, of New York, espouses.

Ohioan Is "Front Man."

The front man for the organization is its president, Beecher Hess, of Norwood, Ohio, Cincinnati suburb.

He has established Washington offices at his hotel near the Union Station here, and, on the basis of a few hundred circulars, has already received several good-sized contributions.

The originator of the organization is its vice president, J. Larry Dooley, Covington, Ky., who has been for 19 years a representative here for northern Kentucky industrial concerns.

The organization had its inception largely in indignation meetings held among secretaries of Southern members of Congress who expressed their ire at the pressure put on representatives and senators to vote for legislation favored by Negro groups.

Local Chapters Planned

Dooley said the group intends to meet the "agitators" with their own tactics. If Negroes stage a parade with placards in advocacy of FEPC, the Mason-Dixon Society will stage a similar demonstration.

Hes said the group does not intend to concern itself with the fight over poll-tax repeal unless the membership decides it wants to branch out beyond FEPC.

His goal is to establish local chapters in communities throughout the country, with a membership fee of $1 a year. Virginia Bayard, secretary, will be in charge of the group's "national" headquarters, with an office at 625 Scott street, Covington.

Mason-Dixon Society, Inc.

A National Association for the
advancement of white people

NON-PARTISAN
NON-SECTARIAN
NON-PROFIT

Founded and Supported
by Patriotic Americans

Address All Communications to

P. O. BOX 53 **625 SCOTT STREET**

COVINGTON, KENTUCKY

We are for Freedom of Religion—completely—unqualifiedly.

★

We are opposed to Communism in the United States. We believe Russia is entitled to any kind of Government it wishes. We are opposed to additional loans to either Russia or England. We are opposed to the United States taking part in the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. We are not opposed to a Jewish State in Palestine, but we are opposed to going to war with the Arabs, or anyone else in connection with this movement.

★

We are opposed to any law that says that a man must take anyone he doesn't want in his home, his factory, or his place of amusement.

FEPC

★

We are opposed to the modern "carpet-baggers" who are attempting to obtain by law something that others earn through merit. The worst enemy of minority groups of a certain character is that group of intellectual no-bodies who put themselves up as modern "Moses," who for a profit will lead their paid members out of the wilderness.

★

Our broad purpose is to form a strong, white voting group to protect the majority of our citizens against un-American legislation.

★

We are not opposed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or any other Association as an organization, but we will undoubtedly oppose some of the "screwy" legislation sponsored by these groups, including the infamous FEPC.

★

We are neither Republican or Democrat—we will oppose or favor certain legislation by working in our wards or precincts to defeat those candidates who have heretofore, been blackmailed into supporting un-American legislation.

1-Anti-Semitism

October 14, 1948

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Algene Acres
Newberry, South Carolina

Dear Mrs. Spearman:

Friends here have called my attention to an editorial article in the Anderson Independent for October 10, 1948, done by Franklin Acker.

The last paragraph is outrageous. The whole thing is easy to argue with, but the loose language about "mass extermination" of the Jews exceeds all bounds.

You must know about this fellow. If you can contrive a way to get him talked to, please do it. If you have advice for me on what could be done, I would appreciate it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

cc: Alexander Miller

October 14, 1948

Mr. Alexander Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

That is the worst I have ever seen. Newberry is tolerably close to Anderson, and Mrs. Spearman would know about this guy. I will see what she can turn up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t
Enclosure

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

OF B'NAI B'RITH

11 PRYOR STREET, S. W.—SUITE 305 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

SIGMUND LIVINGSTON
Founder

HON. MEIER E. STEINBRINK
National Chairman

RICHARD E. GUTSTADT
National Director

FRANK GARSON
Commissioner Southeastern Region

ALEXANDER F. MILLER
Director Southeastern Regional Office

October 12, 1948

RECEIVED
OCT 13 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I believe that you are familiar with the anti-Semitic fulminations of Franklin Acker, columnist for the Anderson, South Carolina Independent.

Attached please find his column of October 10th, 1948. I am sure that you will be as shocked as I was to note the callous immorality of the author as indicated in the concluding paragraphs, where he advocates the mass extermination of Jews in this country. I do not remember this having been published before in a so-called respectable newpaper. Even most of those who are so-called "lunatic fringers" have hesitated to go so far.

Certainly, if Acker continues to spread this ideology through a family newspaper without protest from our moral leaders, than I think that a serious crack will have been made in the entire structure of our democracy.

I hope that you have some contacts in South Carolina who would be of help in this potentially serious situation. I would appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:bw

TO ELIMINATE DEFAMATION OF THE JEWS AND TO COUNTERACT UN-AMERICAN AND ANTI-DEMOCRATIC PROPAGANDA THROUGH A BROAD EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM; TO ADVANCE GOOD-WILL AND PROPER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN AMERICAN GROUPS; TO RESERVE AND TO TRANSLATE INTO GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY

FREE AMERICA FROM THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY is a political Party whose main purpose is to serve CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA by obtaining enactment of proper laws or Constitutional Amendments making it unlawful and impossible for Jews to live in North America. The Jews hate CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA and are nefariously working to destroy both. The Jews are too evil to be allowed to live. A law or a Constitutional Amentment must be enacted making it a criminal offense to be a Jew, punishable by death. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY proposes to obtain its objectives by spreading the TRUTH, and by electing the proper Anti-Jewish men to public office, and, thereby, obtaining enactment of the proper laws. When you go to the polls, always vote for the candidates of this Party. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY insists that its entire program be accomplished in a strictly legal way. The Satanic Jews must be put to death in accordance with irresistible laws that command such.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY believes in ANTI-JEWISM. ANTI-JEWISM is a leading Christian virtue and a leading American virtue. All Jewish influence in North America must be eliminated. The Jews are the worst enemies of CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA. The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY demands an end to everything Jewish, so as to clear the way for CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA. ANTI-JEWISM is irresistible!

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews, those vipers of hell, control and oppress our beloved AMERICA. The Jew-devils control the Public Press, with few exceptions, as well as the radio and the motion picture industries. The Jews even control newspapers that are allegedly owned by non-Jews because, due to Jew methods, Jew control does not depend upon actual ownership. As a result of such, we Americans are continually subjected to lying Jew propaganda.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews have such a strong control over our Government that they are able to persecute and imprison Americans for being true and loyal to our AMERICA, and to persecute and imprison Christians for being true and faithful to our Lord, Master, and Saviour, Jesus Christ, the Son of God. AMERICA must be freed from the Jewish yoke. AMERICA rightfully belongs to us Americans, not to the Jew-devils.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The Jews constitute a foreign invader within our midst. They intend to completely enslave us Americans. One of their main weapons against us is Communism. Communism is a Jew idea; it was started by Jews; and, it has always been promoted by Jews. Communism is Jewish. Without the Jews, Communism would cease to be a threat. Communism is one of the principal means by which the Jews intend to destroy CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA, and set up a Jew-communist world dictatorship over us. The Jew-devils must be destroyed. If our great and beloved AMERICA is to live, Jewry must die. The Jewish race must cease to exist.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

The STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY believes in CHRISTIANITY - AMERICA First - upholding the Constitution of the U. S. A. - freedom of Speech and Press - separation of Church and State - large Old Age pensions - High Wages, Mass Production, and Fair Profits - a much Higher Standard of Living for the American Farmer - White Supremacy - North America for White Gentiles only - resettlement of all niggers in North America back in Africa with better living conditions for them in Africa than here - resettlement of all Orientals in the Orient - an end to the Jewish Institution of divorce - and an end to Jewish Internationalism.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

Men and women, Protestants and Catholics, native-born and foreign-born Americans, young and old are all invited to apply for membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, insofar as they are eligible. All of us real Americans must join together to free our glorious and dearly beloved AMERICA from the evil Jews. May the Jew-devils soon perish. If you are a White, Gentile, Anti-Jewish, Christian American, and honestly desire to do your part for CHRISTIANITY and AMERICA by joining the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, sign your name below, enclose this in an envelope, and mail it to the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY—Route 3—Chattanooga, Tennessee. Information will then be sent to you explaining how to apply for membership. Tomorrow may be too late. ACT TODAY!

NAME_____ CITY_____

ADDRESS_____ STATE_____

‡ Regardless of whether or not you join the Party, you should read THE GOSPEL OF JESUS CHRIST Versus THE JEWS, Christianity's Attitude Toward The Jews As Explained From The Holy Bible, a book published by the Party. It is a book that proves from the Holy Bible that the Jews are not God's chosen people; but, that instead, we Christians are God's chosen people. The Jews are the children of the devil, vipers, poisonous snakes, serpents, world's chief liars, and the leading murderers. The Jews comprise the synagogue of Satan. Those people that are persuaded to agree with the Jews and to side with them are two-fold more the children of hell than the Jews themselves. The wrath of God is come upon the Jews to the uttermost! The Jew-devils are due to perish. It is the duty of the rulers and governments of the world to destroy the Jews. Read this book that tells the truth about what the Holy Bible actually says about the Jews. Price $2.00 per copy.

DOWN WITH THE JEWS!

An Application For Membership

—IN THE—

STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY

J. B. STONER, Archleader (*in full, unlimited Authority*)

To the Archleader of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY:

I, the undersigned, being a true and loyal White, Gentile, Anti-Jewish Resident of North America, do most respectfully and honestly request you to grant me membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I am of good character, temperate habits, honest, sound of mind, and recognize the fact that the Lord Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God. I shall always respect your right to expel me from membership at any time you choose. I shall always recognize your Authority over and within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY as being full and unlimited.

I gladly agree to support fully, and without any reserve whatsoever, your full and unlimited Authority over and within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, because I know that there must be unity, and peace and harmony within ANTI-JEWISH ranks, if North America is to be freed from Jewish control. I recognize and agree to the fact that all Authority within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY emanates from you; and, that you can always withdraw Authority, where given, at any time you choose. Insofar as affairs of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY are concerned, you have the full and unrestricted right to do and to un-do, to give orders and to rescind orders. So long as I remain a member of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I shall comply with your Authority and orders.

I, hereby, renounce any and all political allegiance to any and all other political parties and persons, and henceforth, give my full political support to you, so long as I remain a member of this Party. After your death, or if you ever resign from your position as Archleader, the same political support that I owe you shall be freely and automatically given to your legitimate Successor, and after his death or resignation, to his legitimate Successor, and on down the line, however you provide, so long as I maintain my membership in this Party. If ever, at any time, I become unwilling to support you, I shall promptly and unhesitatingly resign from the Party by sending you a written resignation which will become effective at the very moment it reaches you, unless it specifies a later date, so that unity and peace and harmony may continue to prevail within the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I know that the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY does not want any members that are not in accord with it. If ever I resign from the Party, as provided above, I shall no longer owe you any political support whatsoever. So long as I remain a member of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I shall fully and fanatically support and follow you.

If ever I am entrusted with, or happen to learn, any secret or secrets of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, I will never betray such, even if I leave the Party. If ever I resign from the Party, I shall honestly return any and all of its property and/or funds that may have been entrusted to me. I shall always be honest with the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY.

I agree to vote for and support any and all candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY that run for or seek public office. I agree to make it a policy to vote in every general election—insofar as I am able—and to vote for the candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, so long as I remain a member of the Party. I will also encourage my Anti-Jewish friends and neighbors to vote for the Party's candidates; in fact, I will even assist them to the polls. At every election in which candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY are involved, I will fanatically strive to see to it that at least 50 non-members go to the polls and vote for the candidates of the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. I will do more than my part.

I assure you that I shall never believe Jewish or Jewish-inspired lies that are directed against you and/or the Party. Lying Jew-controlled newspapers will never deceive me; I will always believe you in preference to them or anybody like them.

I recognize the fact that Christianity is the one and only true religion, and that all other so-called religions are false. I believe in always putting America First. I believe in upholding the Constitution of the U. S. A. I believe in ANTI-JEWISM and my viewpoint is always ANTI-JEWISH. I believe that no Jews whatever should be allowed to live in North America. I believe that North America is rightfully for White Gentiles only, and for White Gentiles that are Christians in particular. I shall gladly support your policy to end the Jew menace in a strictly legal way. I believe that ANTI-JEWISM is a leading Christian virtue and an essential American virtue. The Jews must be destroyed—legally, of course—for the good of Christianity and America; but, I do hope that God will have mercy upon their souls. I know that ANTI-JEWISM is invincible, irreproachable, irrepressible, and positively irresistible. ANTI-JEWISM cannot be stopped. ANTI-JEWISM is Christian and American. ANTI-JEWISM serves God and Country.

I shall follow and support you in the fight against the Jews with a fanatical Christian zeal that will make men marvel, and with a patriotic American fanaticism that, with the blessings of God, shall free North America from Jewism. Henceforth, I shall use the Christian battle-cry and greeting of "Down with the Jews!"

Upon my honor, I assure you that I speak the truth in this Application. I sincerely hope that it will please you to grant me membership in the STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY. May the Jew-devils soon perish. Down with the Jews!

Signed _____

Residence Address _____

Business Address _____ City & State _____

Occupation _____ Date _____ Phone _____

+ NOTE—IT TAKES MONEY TO FIGHT JEWS. DONATIONS TO THE PARTY ARE NEEDED AND APPRECIATED.

ADDRESS STONER ANTI-JEWISH PARTY, ROUTE 3, CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE

The Fiction Shelf

HARRY HANSEN

JOURNALISM, WHICH STRESSES TIMELINESS, is still the dominant method in American writing. It came in gloriously with the twentieth century, when the crusading spirit expressed itself in the Muckrakers. It affected literature by way of the naturalistic movement, which deals with men and things as they are, rather than as the romantic hopes they might be. Social improvement is one of the major aims of journalism, a step above the recording of events. It is evident not only in serious studies, but in imaginative works.

During the first half of 1947, the major theme in the new novels has been the fight against intolerance. Two recurring subjects interest authors: anti-Semitism and discrimination against the Negro. Although anti-Semitism has been the subject of numerous novels in the last ten years, it has gained once more a wide reading public through the popularity of "Gentleman's Agreement," by Laura Z. Hobson. (Simon and Schuster. $2.75.) As I write this, in July, it has stood at the head of the best seller list for weeks. Even though some credit must be given to the astute sales methods of its publishers, its popularity proves a sympathetic interest in the theme.

It is not a novel that I should have expected to reach such large sales. As writing it is magazine fiction, tailor-made. The story has a synthetic character. The hero, a non-Jew, determines to test anti-Semitism by passing himself off as a Jew, in order to record his experiences. It follows that, in order to make his point, practically all the insults and abuses collectively suffered by the Jews must happen to him. This, then, is a crusading novel, which endeavors, by example, to show how mean and senseless such discrimination is. The story might have been more effective, I think, if the hero had been a Jew who had passed himself off as a Christian, or had grown up in non-Jewish surroundings and then had experienced a change of heart and embraced the lot of his people.

The second subject, discrimination against the Negro, is actually more to the fore than anti-Semitism. For several years it has appeared in novels and books of experiences, especially in the writings of ex-servicemen. Its leading representative at present is Sinclair Lewis' "Kingsblood Royal," which was distributed by the Literary Guild and hence reached a circulation of 500,000 without great effort. (Random House. $3.) Yet the bookstore comment is that it has not "caught on" as well as the Hobson book, and the verdict of reviewers is that it is Class B Lewis.

Both this novel and "Gentleman's Agreement" have been reviewed in previous issues of SURVEY GRAPHIC, but their place is immovable in any comprehensive view of the season's fiction. "Kingsblood Royal," like Miss Hobson's book, rests on a synthetic plot, now too well known for retelling, in which the hero is let off from nothing in his demonstration of what it is like to assume a Negro's disabilities. Always good at sketching little people, Mr. Lewis manages to draw some excellent minor bigots. But in the long run, his hero does not convince. He is made to carry too heavy a load. He is what might be termed a white-baiter. His tragedy is drawn out of the card files.

NEITHER OF THESE BOOKS IS A GREAT novel because the journalistic influence is uppermost. The experience is seen from the outside and not deeply felt.

"The Other Room," by Worth Tuttle Hedden (Crown. $2.75), is a better novel, for this is a record of the human heart. So far as my reading goes, this is the first time the first-person-singular has been used to disclose the feelings of a white woman projected into a Negro community and eventually falling in love with a Negro teacher.

Nina Latham is surrounded by the conventional beliefs and social attitudes of FFV. In rebellion against her stuffy life, she takes a position as teacher in a New Orleans college, and on arrival learns that it is a Negro school. Here she meets "the other room in the house of the South," where everything is upside down.

She adjusts herself in a series of subjective experiences that show how much psychology enters into race relations. She has difficulties to overcome, but she is determined to keep an open mind, and her struggle is more convincing than that of Sinclair Lewis' "Kingsblood." The man she loves, Professor Warwick, is a young intellectual who could "pass for white," but prefers to work with-and for the Negro. He is opposed to the Marcus Garvey agitation for "one solid political body," in Africa, for all Negroes.

Nina's father is sympathetic and understanding. "You've had a rare experience for a southerner," he tells her, "an' no outsider is ever going to make a dent in our problems." But the other members of her family and her Virginia associates are outraged because she has taught in a Negro school. The story closes with the love affair carried forward into the future.

This excellent novel profits by the author's knowledge of the situation. A native of Raleigh, N. C., a graduate of Trinity (now Duke), and a former graduate student in journalism at Columbia, she taught for a year in a Negro college in Louisiana in order to understand the Negro better. She now lives in Norwalk, Conn. It seems unfortunate that this deeply felt story was not the choice of a book club, in place of the melodramatic and unreal "Kingsblood Royal."

Letters and Life

Two months before the Literary Guild distributed the Lewis book, it sent its members Nevil Shute's new story, "The Chequer Board." (Morrow. $2.75.) Mr. Shute is an English author with a gift of direct narrative, but the story remains on the surface, yet the tale seems more involved than any other he has written. Its major episode deals with the experiences of an American Negro soldier in an English village.

The English, free from American prejudices, treat the Negro regiment royally, but white Americans interpose objections, and at one time the Negro hero is called up for trial because he tried to kiss an English girl, who was not herself seriously offended. His marriage to an Englishwoman and his idyllic home there after the war are commentary on the lack of racial bias.

It should be of interest, in passing, that the Literary Guild has had from its readers some intelligent and sympathetic reactions on these two novels. While bias has been expressed in some letters from the South, the guild has not suffered any loss of memberships. It ascribes much of this to the youthfulness of its subscribers, most of them people of high school and college age, who are less likely to be prejudiced than their elders.

Among the novels of 1947 that have made an impression for their literary qualities are "The Big Sky" by A. B. Guthrie, Jr., (William Sloane Associates. $3.50), and "Christ Stopped at Eboli," by Carlo Levi, from abroad. (Farrar, Straus. $3.) Mr. Guthrie is a newspaperman and his story deals with antisocial frontiersmen who go up the Missouri river in the early part of the nineteenth century, hunting and trading, eager to get away from orderly communities, picking up a squaw and encountering adventures such as one reads about in the records of Audubon's travels. A fine sense of proportion and a refusal to compromise with traditional cliches mark the novel, which has no romantic love interest and little for the traditional "woman reader"—if she still exists.

The Levi novel has been mistitled, for there is only a brief reference to the legend that Christ stopped at Eboli, but the picture of an Italian peasant village, where life lacks opportunity and the people are resentful of the remote tax gatherers in Rome, is excellent. The author, a physician and painter, who was an uncompromising anti-Fascist, was banished to a primitive village in Lucania in 1935. This book is based on his experiences there.

EVERY SEASON BRINGS A NUMBER OF novels of the hard-boiled school. Here the experiences of youth are recounted along familiar lines—rebellion against home or school, irresponsible associates, drinking and ruthless acts toward girls, a stick-up or a fatal quarrel, and a tragic ending.

The best of the 1947 crop of them is Willard Motley's "Knock On Any Door," the tale of how a young Italian, Romano, in the Halsted Street district of Chicago goes downhill to his doom on the gallows. (Appleton, Century. $3.) After many novels of this *genre,* the reader has a right to expect a tightly knit narrative. Mr. Motley devotes a large part of his story to an impressionistic account of Romano's trial, in which the whole proceeding is treated satirically. While this is well done, the hero is practically lost amid the antics of the attorneys.

The literary qualities of "The Mountain Lion," by Jean Stafford (Harcourt, Brace. $2.75), have been highly extolled. The story is concerned with the changing relationships of two children, brother and sister, and is written with economy of language and with insight, but it remains a psychological study.

"The Story of Mrs. Murphy," by Natalie Anderson Scott (Dutton. $3), is the latest example of a novel about an alcoholic. The young Irishman who shoulders this and other disabilities is one of the most uninviting characters in recent fiction.

The familiar theme of sex frustration cropped up this year in John Steinbeck's "The Wayward Bus," another load of sleazy characters who deserved oblivion rather than the accolade of a book club. (Viking. $2.75.)

There has been the usual crop of novels by those who entertain the vast reading public with western adventure, historical characters, and romantic experiences. In "There Was a Time" (Scribners. $3) Taylor Caldwell, who has been more than ordinarily successful with the conventional novel of family conflict, examines a young, ambitious man in relation to money, and concludes that it is no disgrace to try to avoid poverty.

It is worth noting that, while no novel of merit on a religious theme is available at the moment, the public continues to hunger for such material, turning in large numbers to such an obviously plotted tale as "The Miracle of the Bells," by Russell Janney. (Prentice-Hall. $3.) "East River" by Sholem Asch (Putnam. $3), dealing with the life of Irish and Jews on New York's East Side, has better claims to public attention and is definitely an agent of good will among men.

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SG Reviews Books On Foreign Affairs

PERSISTENT INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, edited by George B. De Huszar, Harper. $3.

Walter R. Sharp

POPULAR OFFERINGS FROM AMERICAN publishers on the international scene tend these days to fall into two sharply opposing categories—the panaceas on the imperative and immediate possibility of "world government," and the cataclysmic pronouncements on the necessity of preparing for an inevitable atomic war. "Persistent International Issues," avoiding this disturbing bipolarism, is a sensible, sober survey of the potentialities of United Nations action for the gradual adjustment of economic, financial, social, and cultural problems which transcend national frontiers.

Mr. de Huszar and nine other contributors, each an acknowledged specialist in his field of discussion, endeavor to evaluate for the general reader the beginnings of world collaboration for relief and rehabilitation, the resettlement of displaced persons, the stabilization of food supplies, the improvement of agricultural production, the regulation of international trade, investment, currency, and finance, and the promotion of better labor standards, social security, and human understanding. The authors are rightly more concerned with practical methods of implementing cooperative policies than with the elaboration of abstract principles.

The thesis of the volume, in short, is that peace will not be found "in

Paul:
What do you think?
Is this worth a try?
C —

Calvin Kytle

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Community Relations Service
WASHINGTON, D.C.

TEXT OF REMARKS BY CALVIN KYTLE, ACTING DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE, BEFORE SIXTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS, STATLER HILTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D.C., October 5, 1965, 10:15 A.M.

CRISIS, THE PRESS, AND COMMUNITY AWARENESS

Ever since Rhea Eskew invited me to be with you, -- every time I've sat down to consider what I might say that would be worth your hearing -- my subconscious has been tossing up the same aging and seemingly irrelevant anecdote. This morning I stopped fighting it. I offer it to you now with the profound relief of a tired rewrite man who's finally found his lead.

The story -- which I first heard from a former boss of mine, Murray Lincoln -- goes like this: A young and dedicated county agent couldn't understand why farmers were so slow to adopt the scientifically proven techniques he was trying to teach them. The advantages of his new methods seemed obvious. Any farmer adopting them stood to gain enormously, both in crop yield and dollar income. Still, most farmers in his county acted as if they couldn't care less. One day, after trudging from farm to farm in a vain effort to round up an audience for a new demonstration, he found out why. "Young man," a not-so-old farmer told him, "Right now I'm only farming half as good as I know how."

This audience, I'm sure, will find nothing more instructive in my remarks today than that farmer found in the advice of his county agent. I suspect, too, that most of you would be the first to admit that you're doing only half as good a job as you know how to do.

But I tell you this story not by way of introducing a recital of self-evident truths about the newspaper business. I tell it rather to point out, in a larger and vastly more urgent sense, that the problem of the American society today is essentially the same problem that worried that county agent.

The problem is three-fold: (1) how to get our people to use constructively the knowledge already available; (2) how to get them to absorb and apply the vast amount of new knowledge that keeps pouring out of our laboratories; and (3) how to get them to understand more readily the lessons of our common human experience.

In the context of everyday crisis in which we all live and work, I suggest that the proper role for today's newspaperman, as it now must be for every educator and communicator, is to play county agent for the total society.

I say this out of several commanding convictions.

The reality we live with -- the big story under every page-one headline -- is not merely that things are changing very fast but that there has come about an acceleration in the rate of change. Inevitably, whenever there is change there is tension; whenever there is tension there is likely to be crisis; whenever there is crisis there is likely to be violence.

Now, tension and crisis constitute no threats to democracy. To borrow Charles Atlas's old phrase, democracy grows by dynamic tension. Its enduring strength is in its built-in systems for the constructive resolution of conflict.

But violence, most assuredly, can be a threat. Violence is anarchy and, by definition, anarchy is incompatible with democracy. When violence erupts, you can be sure that something has taken sick in the system, or that an old sickness, long hidden, is showing up in advanced stages. You can be equally sure that, in the long run, the sickness can be cured only by introducing more democracy.

To extend democracy and thus minimize violence is, I believe, the categorical imperative of the twentieth century. But to do this in a time of accelerating change requires that there be an accompanying acceleration in the democratic decision-making process. And here, I submit, lies our challenge.

Let me put this in my own frame of reference, in the perspective of our concern at the Community Relations Service.

The question, as we see it, is no longer whether the Negro is to have his rights. The Johnson Administration has done more to guarantee constitutional rights and to legislate against discriminatory practices than any administration since Emancipation. In the President's words, the tough -- the real tough -- job ahead is "to fulfill these rights." The need now is for every institution in this society to open its doors, no less than it is for every white man to open his heart, and give the Negro a free and fair chance to exercise his rights.

The need is to get the Negro out of the ghetto; the bigger need is to get rid of the ghetto. In this sense, what Walter Lippman has called the two historic failures of the American system -- the failure to free the Negro and the failure to make our cities civilized -- now converge as our one overriding domestic problem.

I do not think we should kid ourselves about the dimensions of this problem. For what is required, if we are to solve it, may be nothing less than a vast re-ordering of our concept of the community.

To the question, "Who gets let in?", the legal and ethical answer may be, "Everybody." But to actually let everybody in -- more importantly, to equip for full participation the newcomers, heretofore deprived, so that they might enjoy the rewards as well as exercise the responsibilities -- demands a public commitment of a size yet to be tested.

Are we ready to make it? Do we know what changes are demanded of us? Are we ready to pay the price -- in taxes, in manpower, in emotional investment?

My own answer to these questions is likely to depend on where I'm looking. If I look back over the progress we've made during the past twenty years; if I look at the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the new Voting Rights Act and consider the impressive figures on compliance; if I look only at the successes we've had at the Community Relations Service, in the North and in the South, I am easily disposed to confidence and optimism.

This morning, for instance, I cannot help remembering that less than 20 years ago I would not allow my name to be put to a pamphlet I wrote for the Southern Regional Council -- a pamphlet, incidentally, called "Race in the News" which, even if I do say so myself, is still worth reading. I wouldn't let the Council put my name on it for fear I'd lose my job if the wrong people found out. As recently as 1950, I would remind you, the prevailing idea among editors in the South, as it was among the elected white leadership, was that the less said about race the better.

Undeniably, the American people have lately demonstrated a remarkable, almost unbelievable ability to change.

And yet, if I look at the future; if I take a good, hard look in particular at white suburbanites, especially at those in the North, and contemplate their reactions as the race problem closes in on them personally; if I consider the nature and urgency of the changes we are yet to make -- looking ahead, I can become gravely concerned about our ability to change fast enough.

It is not for the lack of facts and knowledge that we are failing to meet the needs of an urban, industrialized society. LOOK Magazine, for one, says flatly that our planners and experts have solutions at hand; the solutions can be computer programmed. No, the real problem is what it has always been in a democracy -- the need first to build a political consensus. The process is old, it is familiar, and, importantly, it starts with awareness.

The right question, therefore, is, "How close are we to achieving this basic awareness?" With respect to Negro-white relations, I fear the answer has to be, "Not close enough." By and large we seem to have done a very good job of reporting the course of the civil rights movement but a regrettably poor job in communicating its meaning.

Let me give you one example -- again, drawn from my own area of concern.

Surely one of the most obvious facts about race relations in the United States, verifiable by simple observation, is that Negroes do not get an even break. As the social scientists view it, the key word is "disparities." There are disparities in employment, in health, in education, in access to cultural and recreational facilities, in the distribution of public services, in the ratio of police officers -- in virtually every area of community life. These disparities are the stark, statistical expression of a history of deprivation and segregation. They are measurable and, at least on a national basis, they have been measured.

For instance: a Negro boy has had about half the chance to complete high school as a white boy; one-third as much to complete college or become a professional man; one-seventh as much to earn $10,000 a year. The average Negro with four years of college will earn less in his lifetime than the average white who never went beyond the eighth grade. The median number of years of schooling for whites has now passed the high-school level, while the median years for Negroes is just barely beyond the ninth-grade level. The median income of Negro families is about half of what it is for white families; the unemployment rate among Negroes is twice as high as it is for whites.

These are the latest figures we have, and they differ little from North and South.

Significantly -- if you look for the single common denominator behind all the big-city riots of the past several years, you'll find it in the human, visible, emotional reaction to disparities of this dimension.

In the light of this, it seems strange indeed to read in a recent Gallup Poll that 65 percent of our adult population believes that Negroes are as well treated as whites. According to this same poll, which was conducted in 160 communities across the country, seven out of ten white persons say Negroes are treated the same as whites in their home towns; only about one Negro in four agrees.

Obviously, there is also a disparity in perception.

Our own experience at CRS would seem to confirm these findings. To date we have been in 164 communities, North and South, almost always on request and usually under crisis conditions, trying to resolve disputes between the races. Almost without exception, we have found that the white leadership has no true perception of how the Negroes themselves view their needs, nor of how the Negro population views the needs of the community. Sadly, even among the best intentioned white leaders, there is a failure to assess realistically the potential explosiveness in the discontent and frustration that lie under their surface relationships with those Negroes whom they customarily, and sometimes with pride, describe as "our own." To our ears, the cry of shock after the fact of Los Angeles -- the startled protest, "I don't understand," "Who could have foreseen it?" "We've always had such good relations between the races here;" -- the cry after the fact of Los Angeles and the cry after the fact of Selma have an all too familiar, all too similar ring.

It seems to me that as a measure of public awareness, the figures I've cited suggest the size of the job ahead for us in the communications business. I do not believe that any concerned, comprehensive attack on the problems of our society can be effectively mounted until there is a general public acknowledgment of the fact that disparities exist and a common understanding of <u>why</u> they exist.

Moreover, we need to have this acknowledgment, this understanding, <u>now</u>. Our role can indeed be likened to that of a county agent. Our objective, like his, must be to win, through persuasion, acceptance of a demonstrable idea. Like his, our job has to be done at the local community level. There are some substantial differences, however, the most important one being the matter of time. I understand it took 44 years for county agents to sell farmers generally on the superior

virtues of hybrid corn once it had been successfully developed. As the understatement of 1965, I venture that to do our job history will hardly permit us 44 years. In fact, I hear a chorus of angry prompters in the wings, reminding us rightly that we have already had more than a hundred years.

All of which brings me around to the coverage of crisis on the civil-rights beat and how it can help increase awareness and hasten the day of understanding. I do not, at this point, mean to pre-empt Mr. Hauser, who follows me on this program and whose personal experiences in the field will surely be more illuminating than any comments of my own. I would, however, like to make a couple of general observations and follow them with some specific do's and don'ts, all provoked, I assure you, from a careful if unsystematic reading of the clippings that spill across my desk every morning.

First -- it is my judgment that, with few exceptions, the wire services and our national media are doing a consistently fine and frequently superb job. Not only are they reporting the currents and cross-currents of the movement; they are interpreting them with sensitivity and compassion.

I cannot say as much for the local media. I pay tribute to the Oliver Emmerichs and the Hazel Smiths and the Emmet Peters and the Neal Davises of the South. Editors of their stripe are true heroes and they deserve all the medals we can heap upon them. I also have reason to be grateful every day for the New York Times, the Chicago Daily News, the three Washington papers, the Louisville Courier-Journel, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Atlanta Constitution, and a few other big-city dailies. But the fact remains, where the problems between the races need most to be understood, and where ultimately they must be solved, is also where they usually get the barest attention.

It is regrettably true, and I do not mean to confine this observation to the small-town South, that Afghanistanism is still the policy on race news in all too much of the local press. The troubles of other communities are reportable and fair game for comments; home-town race problems are discounted and preferably ignored. What is called for is a positive, calm, and continuing inquiry into the facts and forces that separate local whites and Negroes -- a community inventory

of the disparities that I spoke of earlier. Instead, what we usually find in both the news and editorial columns is but a reflection of the prevalent bias of the majority who, until the marchers are on the streets and crisis is upon them, are prone to insist stoutly that their community has no problems.

I know only too well why local publishers shy from unpopular controversies. I've been there myself.

And yet it has always been the peculiar obligation of the good newspaper to sound the alarm without sounding like an alarmist. Your skill, your leadership, has never been more needed than it is now -- today -- on the issue of racial discrimination at the level where we live.

In this regard, for those of you who run local newspapers, I have a modest suggestion. From our experience at CRS, we believe that the best way to get race problems off the street and onto the conference table is through an official, representative bi-racial human relations commission. If your town has none, I urge you earnestly to consider an editorial campaign favoring the creation of one. If your town has one, I urge you to support it, to see that it has the competence, the budget and authority necessary for it to operate affirmatively. I urge you in particular to use your influence to see that its minority-group members are truly representative. You'll be doing your town, your readers, a favor.

Second, about the matter of riots. Every big city, in our opinion, could use a Chicago Plan. This, as you may know, is simply a voluntary agreement on the part of all media in Chicago to follow caution in reporting the early stages of disorder.

That Chicago has such a plan is the result of two tragedies. About ten years ago a commercial airliner went down as it approached the old Midway airport. Shortly after radio and television stations flashed the news, streets around the airport became so clogged with the cars of morbid sightseers that ambulances were unable to get to the crash scene fast enough to save the lives of several passengers. Not long thereafter, a racial disturbance at Trumbull Park housing project got out of hand when aggressive partisans on both sides were rallied by news bulletins.

These two incidents were enough to convince Isaac Gershman, then managing editor of the Chicago City News Bureau, that something had to be done. The upshot was that the Chicago newspapers, along with the radio and TV stations, agreed that in the future they would hold news of any mob disorder until a member of the police department and a professional staff member of the city human relations commission could decide on its seriousness.

Since adoption of this plan, there have been innumerable -- indeed, during some periods, almost daily -- minor incidents surrounding move-ins, teenage fights, beach, park, and school disorders, any one of which could have exploded into serious trouble. What frequently spelled the difference between an incident and a riot, we're convinced, has been this simple, common-sense procedure of the Chicago press.

One other note on riots: It's most important, I think, that riots not be confused with demonstrations. One of the unfortunate aspects of the recent Los Angeles riots was the inclination in early reports to link them with civil-rights activities. One wire dispatch, I recall, referred to them as "the biggest riots growing out the civil rights movement in twenty years." The Negroes in the Watts district may have been made all the more unhappy with their lot because they did not think they were sharing fast enough in the civil-rights gains they had heard so much about, but the tragic events there certainly bore no relation to a civil-rights demonstration.

Over the past several months I've made notes as they occurred to me of "What I wish the press would do or wouldn't do." From these, I've distilled ten reminders that I'd like to pass along to you now:

1. Do check civil-rights leaders for their versions of civil-rights disputes. Many papers still have a tendency to quote only the Establishment.

2. Do identify the demands or grievances of civil-rights groups. News stories routinely refer to a "list of grievances" that Negroes have submitted but I often find it impossible to learn from these stories precisely what the grievances are.

3. Do make an effort to assess the validity of grievances. They often make fine backgrounders. If grievances are valid, a simple recitation of facts, be they ever so accurate, is not enough to make for genuine communication.

4. Do not ignore militant civil-rights groups because they seem too extreme. Although their format or procedure may seem inflammatory, their grievances may be quite legitimate. Weigh them.

5. Do not overplay self-styled civil-rights spokesmen who have little or no genuine following.

6. Do not relegate civil-rights news to reporters specialized in police coverage. Any daily of any size should have at least one expert in civil-rights coverage, preferably a man or woman grounded in the social sciences.

7. Do not play as racially motivated incidents involving persons of different races unless you're certain that race was the precipitating factor.

8. Avoid publishing unverified reports during tense situations. If you have to publish them, be sure to label them unverified.

9. Do not limit picture coverage of civil-rights demonstrators to those in "beatnik" dress. To do so is to misrepresent the composition of most demonstrations and to contribute to the perpetuation of another stereotype.

10. Do hire more Negroes on your staff. If you can't find a Negro who qualifies as a good reporter, then find a Negro with aptitude and train him. He will add to your staff a brand new constellation of insights, the value of which will more than compensate for the extra effort.

Finally, while I have the privilege of casting gratuitous suggestions with relative immunity, may I be so bold as to urge upon you a new look at what we have calling the civil-rights movement or, as if it were synonymous, the Negro Revolution.

However disposed some of us may have been heretofore to think so, surely we must all know by now that racial discrimination is not a regional problem. It is, as in truth it has always been, a national problem.

From here on, we can expect the focus to shift increasingly from South to North. As this happens, I believe all of us will come to recognize that our root problem is no longer one of civil rights but of human relations -- perhaps more accurately, community relations. I say this because in the big cities, among the people of Watts and Harlem, say, there has been no legal question of rights. People in the northern ghettos have had their rights written into law for a long time now; the problem there is that these rights have not yet been fulfilled. Furthermore, any effort in this direction necessarily has to focus on such things as education, housing, employment, schools, health and welfare facilities -- the whole range of public policy and community services, plus -- and this is terribly important, I think -- the opportunity for meaningful participation at all levels in the local decision-making process. At this point, it seems to me, it becomes quite clear that "the Negro Revolution" is a misnomer. What has really been going on in this country, and will continue to go on -- a process in which the Negro, to his pain and our collective shame, has been the central and most visible figure -- is simply an acceleration of the continuing American Revolution. We are, in truth, merely fulfilling the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States -- opening the doors, finally, to a group of citizens who heretofore our dominantly white society has kept out. This, it seems to me, is the real meaning of the so-called civil-rights movement; the meaning that, if I am to judge by the opinion polls, is yet to be generally appreciated.

The burden of my message this morning has been this: The first order of business for our mass communications industry, most particularly for you gentlemen of the press, is to communicate the meaning behind the Negro protest; to abstract from the passion and hostility and, yes, the reconciliation that are its dramatic and news-making elements -- to abstract from these the question that all Americans, white and black, must answer if the idea of America is to survive.

I am not, like some who may have come before you, suggesting that you "play down" the demonstrations, or that you go easy on the controversial stories, or that you print less news of people at odds with one another and more news of people getting along together. I am suggesting not less coverage of racial crises, but more.

I am, in particular, suggesting more coverage, and of a higher quality, at the place where communications between the races is most important and, to judge from our experience at CRS, most likely to break down -- that is, in the local community. I am, you see, agreeing with Dr. Norton Long, acting director of the Institute of Violence at Brandeis University, who argues that the first task of a newspaper is to determine "a civic agenda."

But I am proposing no new role for the press. The leading role of the press is what it has always been -- to inform and enlighten. Nor am I proposing that the standards for good reporting be anything other than what you professionals have always held them to be -- objectivity, accuracy, fairplay, and the rest. I merely urge you to do your job not half as well as you know how, like the old farmer in Mr. Lincoln's story, but 60 percent as well, maybe 75 percent as well. The crisis of our times demands this of us all.

And, finally, as an explanation of this crisis, I go back to the chemistry of change. But for an explanation of change, I go not to a chemist, but a poet.

"Most of the change we think we see in life," wrote Robert Frost, "is due to truths being in and out of favor."

Plainly, the truths of democracy are currently in favor. Very much in favor.

* * * *

File
~~Development~~
~~Econ~~
1966
David Apter

December 16, 1966

Dear Dave Apter:

It was good of you to come over on such short notice to Calvin's Sunday evening, especially with a noon deadline confronting you next day, and I want to thank you.

We shall want to explore further the discussion begun then. Meanwhile, in talking with Paul Anthony, SRC's executive secretary, it would be helpful if you would stick in the mail to me a copy of your vita. I believe Calvin spoke to you of this.

The best of good wishes for the coming holidays.

Cordially,

Josephine Wilkins

JW/mmj

Mr. David Apter
David Apter and Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Same ltr. sent to all members of the Executive Committee - with carbon of this letter being sent to Dr. Dent together with a separate letter.

Lice
Got in David
after Lice
Cr. ref: Devel. Ctte
re: Prog. Data on
1967
After sent to
all members of
Ex. Ctte prior to its
Feb. 13 meeting

January 7, 1967

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina 27702

Dear John:

In the report on Development to the Executive Committee next Monday two names will figure prominantly, Calvin Kytle and David Apter. And since one of these, Mr. Apter, may not be a familiar one to members, both Paul and I felt that the accompanying information regarding him should be mailed prior to the meeting.

To it should be added these additional points because of their relevance to the Council's work, and I quote from a recent letter from Mr. Apter:

> "During the war, I was used as a double shooter by Bill Hastie, who was then civilian aide to the Secretary of War. The job was advising post command officers on handling tensions between Negro and white troops and between communities and bases having large Negro contingents.

"While in the Mayor's office in Los Angeles, I handled the planning for the peaceful post-war return of Japanese-Americans to the community, and also organized and served as Executive Secretary of a Mayor's Committee on Human Relations."

We believe that most of you either know or know of Calvin Kytle, a former Georgian and alumnus of Emory, who as vice president of Nationwide Insurance was long associated with the late Murray Lincoln in the cooperative movement; and who more recently was deputy director of the U. S. Community Relations Service following Governor Collins's resignation, a consultant to the Ford Foundation, etc.

I send warm regards and looking forward to seeing you Monday.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins

JW/mmj
Enclosure

January 7, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

I am attaching carbon of a letter going out to members of the Executive Committee today.

As I said over the phone, I ran unexpectedly at the hotel into Al Dent, President of Dillard University, who is a particularly vocal member of our Executive Committee. Paul and I had the good fortune of talking over with him the upcoming proposal over lunch in my place. We will happily have his support.

You and Dave will be hearing from me immediately following the Executive Committee meeting.

My love,

Cordially,

Josephine Wilkins

JW/mmj
Enclosure

January 7, 1967

Dr. Albert W. Dent
President
Dillard University
New Orleans, Louisiana 70122

Dear Al Dent:

How good to see you that day last week.

Here is a carbon of a letter going to the other members of the Executive Committee, together with the data on David Apter, which you have already seen.

We are counting on you heavily at the meeting.

Cordially,

Josephine Wilkins

JW/mmj
enclosures

FEderal 8 6878

file

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES Public Relations Counsel
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

file David Apter + Assocs

February 9, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

What Dave Apter and I propose is based on two assumptions:

1) That contributions from private business corporations constitute the most feasible, if not the only means for securing and expanding the base of financial support for the Council; and

2) That it is desirable and perhaps obligatory, that the Council extend its range of services to include the business community and thus move into a position where it can more directly influence the quality of business decisions affecting economic and community development in the South.

(Having cast our premises in the mood imperative, let me hurry to say that after our visit with you, Dave and I are convinced that the Council already has the nucleus of a program that many thoughtful corporation executives would find of value. Most of these executives, however, are hardly aware of the Council's existence, and almost none regard it as a resource to be called upon and used. We are equally confident that a careful solicitation, conducted at the right time, would yield a significant number of dollars from those enlightened managers, of which there are an increasing number, who see the realistic connection between their own corporate objectives in the South and the Council's goal "to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity.").

Our proposal, therefore, has a two-fold objective:

1. To define the dimensions and components of a program of services that the Council might appropriately offer business firms; and

2. To establish the appeal, strategy, and techniques for a continuing, effective fund-raising campaign addressed to U. S. corporations.

We would proceed as follows:

1. As soon as we get your approval, we would begin a series of face-to-face, open-ended interviews with 25 to 40 corporation executives, carefully chosen to represent a cross-section of business and industrial interests in the South. We would talk with manufacturers, retailers, and the heads of service industries - some of whom are government contractors, some not; some of whom are headquartered in the South and some of whom are interested in the South only as a market. Through such interviews, we would expect to:

   A. Determine the current level of business awareness of the Council's activities;

   B. Develop an inventory of problems in business-community relations to which present or future services of the Council might be directed;

   C. Explain the policies and operations of the Council in a way that businessmen would find relevant to their needs;

   D. Develop a roster of "receptive" businessmen whom we would later invite either to participate in some of the Council's activities or to help raise money for the Council, or both.

   We would write spot reports on each interview, copies of which would be given you as raw data for your own review and evaluation.

2. Concurrently, we would plan and help stage a day-long conference (to be held in the late spring or early summer) at which a select group of the business leaders would be invited. Purpose of the meeting would be to consider the formation of a Council-sponsored program in regional planning and economic development on an interracial basis.*

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* One important sign of growing Federal interest in promoting regional planning is embodied in the set of recommendations made by Senator Ribicoff, chairman of the Subcommittee on Executive Reorganization of the Committee on Government Operations. Among his proposals to "the private sector" released last week: "Establish a program of economic analysis and evaluation and an Advisory Council for Economic Growth within each of the 12 Federal Reserve Districts, in order to encourage regional economic development programs."

Subject to your approval, we would handle all conference arrangements, including:

A. Establishing the conference theme (Should it, for instance focus on race relations or an issue of broader concern - for example, the need for an urbanization policy for the South?)

B. Developing the conference agenda.

C. Selecting and working with a select number of experts in the socio-economics of the South who would be invited to write background papers and to participate in the conference.

D. Editing and producing all information materials.

E. Working up the invitation list; determining the format of the invitations; following through to see that conference attendees were decision-makers of stature and also representative of enlightened business interests in the South.

3. After the conference we would produce two publications:

A. A conference report - not a literal transcript of the proceedings but a distillation of the ideas presented and conclusions drawn, backed up by data and views excerpted from the background papers. Our intent would be to produce a piece so fresh and of such utility that it would serve not only as a conceptual frame for the contemplated Regional Planning and Economic Development Group but as an attractive example of the kinds of services the Council is equipped to offer concerned business leadership.

B. A leaflet especially beamed to businessmen. The leaflet would describe each activity and project of SRC - information and research services, voter education, community organization, urban planning, and so on - in such a way as to answer questions like "What does this mean to me, a businessman? Is it something that will help me make a profit? Earn more recognition? Improve the company image? Reduce my extraneous worries so I can concentrate more on my job?"

4. The two publications would then be used as basic pass-out pieces in support of a planned, systematic approach to the business community. While the specifics would be shaped by what we'd learned from our interviews and from the conference, our approach could be expected to include:

   A. Aid to the SRC staff in finding new ways for servicing business corporations. (For one example, providing information to Northern firms contemplating expansion into the South; for another, participating in company-sponsored, management-development seminars on such topics as "race, civil rights, and social change as factors in executive decision-making."

   B. Counseling the SRC staff in all aspects of structure, policy determination, program development, and funding of the Regional Planning and Economic Development Group.

   C. A recommended plan for corporate fund-raising. The plan would:

      1. Be based on a modest test campaign - modest in the sense that it could be expected to yield enough dollars to form a basis for reasonable prediction of what might be brought in through a full-dress campaign.

      2. Set dollar targets and spell out the most productive fund-raising techniques - including the use of direct-mail as well as selective, in-person appeals from business leaders to their peers.

For the duration of our contract, Dave and I would also be available as ad hoc consultants to you and your staff on all public relations aspects of Council activities.

Finally, Paul, please understand that while all of the foregoing reflects our reasoned judgment at this moment, the specifics (the idea of two post-conference publications, for instance) are offered only as examples of the sort of thing that might derive from our assessment of Phase One, that is the lessons we learn from our interviews with businessmen. The content of our recommendations and the direction of any subsequent activities on your behalf will be based onthis initial inquiry; there is very little in the above, therefore, that won't likely be modified through our experience.

As for terms:

1. For such services, the Southern Regional Council would employ David Apter & Associates for the period of one year, beginning February 1, 1967, at the rate of $2,000 a month, payable at the beginning of each month.

2. The first payment will be made on March 1, 1967, and will be in the amount of $4,000, covering fees for February and March.

3. In addition, SRC will reimburse David Apter & Associates for all out-of-pocket expenses incurred in your behalf. These include telephone and telegraph charges, mimeographing, photo reproduction, printing, messenger, postage, travel and transportation, meeting expenses, extra clerical personnel costs, and so on. We will be authorized to spend up to $6,000 a year, averaging $500 a month, for such expenses. Any expenses over this figure will require your advance approval. Itemized expenses will be submitted at the end of each month.

4. As with all our clients, this relationship is based on mutual confidence and is cancellable on 60 days written notice by either party.

If the above coincides with your understanding/of our discussion and if it meets with the approval of your Executive Committee, I would appreciate your signing and returning the attached carbon copy for our files.

Dave and I look forward, with enthusiasm, to working with you.

Every good wish.

Sincerely

Calvin Kytle

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

APPROVED:

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

BY_____

_____
date

Manes to D A & C/R
selected articles
letters on agreements.

File
David Apter & Associates

February 20, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

This will confirm the agreements reached in our telephone conversation on Saturday. The Executive Committee has established a sub-committee of four persons to work with you and David Apter in developing our program with business leadership. We are to proceed as outlined in your letter with the understanding we will report back to the Executive Committee at their meeting in early May to determine what future course of action shall be taken. We are, however, to proceed as planned during the next several months.

Enclosed is our check for $4,000 representing the payment of the services of the firm for the months of February and March 1967.

Again we are grateful to you for this cooperation and I look forward to seeing you in Washington in the near future.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km
Enclosure - 1

STAFF REACTIONS TO BUSINESS

(A direct result of discussion of negotiating with David Apter and Associates to investigate SRC's possibilities with heavy business.)

Dear Paul:

I can conceive of a situation where business plans to move into one of our Southern states, and we do a bang-up profile for them which helps them in their decision to move in. Good, we get a pat on the back, and they are glad they are giving us monies. At a later date, when they are already there, we find through activist groups and reporting that we should do a publication on this very place, because of labor inequities expressed in race. Methinks this business will not be prone to continue their support, nor will their cronies. (Of course, it would be nice to think that they are being changed through their exposure to us?) Now, in the foregoing process, when our proposed publication is making the rounds for editing, is it not possible that someone genuinely concerned with meeting the payroll, etc., here, would be tempted to modify our position, so as not to incue the antagonism of this business organization?

Even though this would probably not happen in this regime, the suggestion is that the structure has this built-in probability.

Be assured of my sympathy and understanding of the complexity of this situation, for whatever it is worth.

BSM

Bernie Morrison

March 2, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Al Ulmer AU

Somehow the staff meeting about SRC's involvement with big business didn't clarify the positions of those of us that oppose such a move. This letter is an attempt to explain the basis of my opposition to the SRC receiving financial assistance from big business and to the use of a public relations agency to make the exploration for such assistance.

Before I give a couple specific examples, let me offer a generalty that I consider to be important. My feeling is that SRC should be moving in the direction of the large group of people in the South that have been shut out of the economy and most everything else, and not in the direction of those who in many ways have done the shutting out. If we moved in the direction of the people we would have to do certain things, among them; try our hands at new and creative methods of urban organization; rural demonstrations to prove there is an alternative to the city for poor people; development of education and informational literature for the adult illiterate or semi-literate; and other experimental projects. Backed with the Council's reputation, resources, and research expertise such projects could be given the respectability and technical assistance they require to succeed. In summary, we need to lend our reputation and resources to what needs being done. It is evident that we are not moving in this direction at the present time. However, some of us on the staff feel that we can influence at least some of the resources of SRC in this direction. Because of this move toward big business I personally have begun to wonder what role there is with the Council for a person like me, other than sort of a "pet" in house radical, or whatever I am. But the question of funds from business has much larger implications than its effect on one staff member or half a dozen staff members. I was just using myself as an example (perhaps a poor one) of a group of people I feel will play an important part in the work of the next few years, the people between the ages of 20 and 30 who are thoroughly dissatisfied with the present system of a profit-motivated society. To them the acceptance of business funds will influence our loyalty away from the South's poor people and towards its institutions, whether in truth this happens or not. I wonder if we can afford to alienate the very people that I think we should be trying to get to be members of the Council both as Board members and staff? Also, they are likely to be an important part of what could be a most influential coalition of student and young radical type people and

the poor, especially the poor who are aware of why they are poor.

In terms of specifics, let me give an example of how an association with big business would very likely make it impossible for me to work successfully on something like the recent co-op federation meeting. The meeting was attended by a variety of groups and individuals including several SNCC people and others seemingly intent with destroying the meeting and the proposed federation. What amounted to the questioning of the integrity of the co-op representatives took place. Were the co-ops being used just for the representatives to get more money or to get rich, or were they used to try and solve problems of the entire community. In other words, were co-ops only businesses or were they businesses with souls. The people who tried to answer the questions didn't do very well and we soon had a meeting about ready to break up. What if at this point one of those hoping to split the meeting could have asked SRC, which sponsored the meeting, and which had to some degree the trust of most of the poor people present, "Could you tell us whether or not you are partially sponsored by the following big businesses, IBM, Humble Oil, US Steel, etc." The whole credibility of the Council and of myself would have been questioned and perhaps the meeting lost. The amount of money we might have taken would not have been of consequence. To a poor person you can buy one hell of a lot of allegiance for $5,000. What would have been of consequence was whether anyone would have believed me when I said we all saw coops as a tool, and a pretty radical one at that, with which to organize communities. I use this as an illustration of how I think we will compromise ourselves by taking business money whether in actuality we do or not.

The employment of a public relations agency to present SRC to business implies that a special package of SRC must be wrapped to give businessmen the "right" idea of what we do and that what we do is not quite right for their consumption. Also, and this is a very personal feeling of mine, to pay $3,000 a month for this packaging service is an affront to people all over the South who daily risk their lives trying to help the same situation and the people involved in it that we are trying to help, for the same amount or less per year. Here, it is both the amount and the symbolism of the amount that are important. What, for instance, might we be able to do with that kind of money spent creatively in program development for poor people, especially if we end up giving Apter and Associates $30,000 for their labors, and lastly, what kind of dis-crediting attacks do we open ourselves up for symbolically if we take any amount of money at all.

The SRC many years ago made an important decision in regard to the desegregation of schools. By doing so it lost some members and some staff. However, it gained other members and staff because of

its new stance. The movement over the past years has led, to what simplified seems to be, a confrontation with the economic system that has excluded a significant number of people in our country. Ironically, the SRC has chosen this time to begin to solicit funds from the chief beneficiaries of this economic system, rather than to make a choice that would call for some of the basic changes that are needed in the South and the rest of the nation. I do not want to be a part of this decision.

February 28, 1967

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Pat Watters

I think that my feeling about the business of SRC's seeking big business support is in brief summed up in the concern that we be fully aware of the symbolic meaning of the act. I think failures of communication that have baffled me about it come down to this same semantic situation: I have without fully being aware of it been talking about the symbolic meaning -- and this isn't altogether the same kind of meaning as the reality you and the executive committee must consider in your deliberations.

But I do think it is important that this symbolic reality be taken into account -- not necessarily to change or alter the decision, but as a factor, and as a part of a problem that will continue.

In the simplest way of putting it, to a large segment of the people who are most deeply interested in the content of our programs and the idealism of our goals, American business represents a force unalterably opposed to such programs and goals. This may not be objectively true. There, I think, is the problem we have had in communication. We keep bogging down into arguments about whether or not this belief is true. The important thing to me is that so many of our kind of people <u>think</u> it is true, and will think when we take big business money (no matter how benign and harmless in actuality the source) that we have compromised our program and goals. One of the most important things about this belief against business is that it is so widely held among the young people of the kind upon whom the future of our work is, inevitably, largely dependent. A recent <u>Look</u> article had to me a stunning statistic -- that in 1966, a Harris poll showed only 12 per cent of college seniors across the nation considering business as a career. This is a sudden thing. Even a year ago, the issue this memo attempts to raise was not nearly so

crystalized. Hence my concern that we are thinking perhaps of business as usual. The Look article points out that in 1960, 39% of Harvard's seniors were considering business as a career. In 1964, only 14% were. At least part of the reason for this is the experience of the educational elite (college kids) in the nation with the very thing which those who are against business support are talking about -- the insidious destructiveness of the effect of business money on the nation's colleges. This is to my mind one of the two or three more important issues of public debate in the nation today -- what might be done to salvage education.

The thrust of the Look piece (which was by John Popy, a caring and dependable reporter) was that the normal gulf between young people and adults is in the present generation greatly widened, indeed is so wide as to make communication almost impossible. I think this is true; the times they are a-changing all over the world so fast that the normal ways values are transmitted and transmuted from generation to generation have been for the time disrupted. (The same thing happened when our parents were children in regard to technological change; my mother still regards electrical apparatus with suspicion, fearful of leaking voltage, sudden bolts of lightning, or something.)

Anyhow, the symbolic meaning of the business support thing to many young people and some old codgers like myself who have private, irrational bias against business based on sad experience will, it seems to me in the jargon of public relations, affect two publics. One is the public of activists whose contributions have been so tremendous toward our goals in the past few years. I don't mean those who have given up on all institutions in American society and do nothing now but talk about their disgruntlements (black power) but those who are and have been doing the hard work of working in the reality of the South's varieties of social disintegration and who are even now laying the groundwork for whatever future upward thrusts the

South's bottom-heavy society is to know. Just as it's important to try to influence existing institutions of the status-quo like business, it is important to keep at least a relationship of mutual trust with these catalytic forces. The other public is the broader one of young people upon whom we must draw for staff strength and, sooner or later, council membership. If we take a step whose symbolic meaning is to cut ourselves off from the most imaginative and creative of the young people in the movement and in the ranks of potential employees, we ought to be aware of it, to do so with eyes open. And if we cut ourselves off from these people, it is not simply a negative thing. We thereby make it inevitable that we draw closer to the public that is left (a less aware, less creative one), and attract to the staff and membership as the years go by a more mediocre variety of humanity. (All of this is stated in absolutes; we won't alienate all the good folk; we won't fall into the doldrums with nothing but dullards. I am still trying to talk symbolism in concrete terms.)

That is really about all of the thing that has bothered me about this whole business -- that we be aware of all the implications of it. The one I have tried to set out above is of course not the only factor to be considered, and may not be as important as I think it is. But it is a consideration. And I've not been sure anybody has really been able to get it across.

PW:js

Paul:

As I understand the situation, we have retained a public relations firm, on a month-to-month basis, to conduct private, discreet, preliminary conversations with representatives of big business concerning SRC and its program in order to determine, not the desirability, but the feasability of making a concerted effort to obtain support from this segment of the "private sector." These preliminary discussions could lead to a decision that such an effort would not be fruitful. Since even those who support the exploratory study seem to have somewhat ambivalent feelings about where all of this could lead, a negative report would presumably be greeted with mixed feeling of disappointment and relief. On the other hand, a much more likely outcome, life being what it is, would be that the PR people would conclude that such an effort showed sufficient promise of success to be worth undertaking.

If we grant the latter result for the sake of argument, then to say that we are not committed to this course is a less than unequivocal statement of the situation. In my experience, feasability studies are rarely undertaken until basic policy decisions about the desirability of the goal have been made, verbally or tacitly. Thus, life again being what it is, I find it difficult to believe that, were the PR people to report "Yes, we can raise X amount of money annually from X number of corporations to support the operation of SRC," the board would refuse to accept the funds. If my reasoning thusfar is sound, then the question of whether or not we should accept funds from private industry is moot. The question really is: What comes next?

The end result is not readily apparent nor even easily predictable. However, it seems inevitable to me that the presence of business money will eventually lead to the presence of business representatives on the board; to assume otherwise would be naive; that these businessmen would increase the already sizeable group in the Council who hold conservative economic and social views (other than on race); that the influence of these members and of these sources of support would place SRC in an untenable position vis-a-vis a movement which is growing increasingly aware of the base economic questions underlying the struggle for racial equality.

Perhaps my reasoning is faulty and my opposition is merely another example of "Fell's Syndrome," but I cannot help but feel that it would be a serious error to accept money from sources that are bound to be increasingly under attack from all sections of the civil rights movement. Even the acceptance of government money, to which there are a number of fatal objections, would be preferable to that.

As for alternatives, it seems to me that the most sensible one would be for SRC to face the prospect of serious retrenchment both in terms of breadth of program and number of personnel in order to retain it flexibility and relevance in the everchanging social revolution in which it has thusfar played an important part.

Bill Farmer

Being the youngest member on the staff right now, I obviously have neither the experience of the understanding to fully judge what you are doing. But as an individual, knowing that which I am looking for in my education and in my relationship not only to the others that I meet, but to those aspects in the society that I want to contribute to and to incorporate into my life, I feel I can validly react to this question.

The question of incorporating those parts of this society into one's life, and still be able to create, to function in the way one demands for oneself is a question most thinking people constantly ask, but perhaps my generation as a whole is asking it in a broader, certainly a very different way than generations before us. I have very much enjoyed working at SRC for the few months that I have, to see a setting and a people who are able to follow that integrity that is theirs within a creative function. I don't believe that there are too many places outside the universities where this is possible in America - perhaps this is wrong, but a sufficient number of people my age, including some very close friends, have felt this, that the alternative that they are seeking has come by rejecting completely (some also ignore, some try to change, as SRC does, but with a far more complete rejection) that society and then building from there.

I am terribly disappointed. I had hoped, and seen in individual cases that those in SRC were able to change and work within the context of the society and through its own integrity - and no matter how much you think this word is overused, it is the important factor in this whole discussion. If the only way to build an organization that affirms certain values, is to ignore part or some of these values, then ~~this is this question is uppermost~~ has such an organization been built at all? You say that this question is uppermost in your mind, but you have already acted. And in such a way as to already affirm some of the things you say you are still questioning .

You might say that my ideals are too divorced from the issue at hand. I disagree. Unless every action is decided with those ideals as a basis, will the values have the validity in a "more important" decision? Perhaps by the time that more important decision comes, it will already have been decided. You will already have sold out, as Pat Watters felt, and explained. If SRC, an organization with the

ideals it has, has to resort to methods of those organizations that do not, as far as I am concerned, the organization no longer can assert its own ideals and its own methods. I am disappointed particularly because here was some place I felt was making a special effort to create a special atmosphere, and if, as appears the case to me to be happening, or at least opening itself WIDE for it to happen, this atmosphere will no longer be able to exist, then perhaps my friends are right, and perhaps I will never be able to find the type of community within this society, but I too will have to reject and build my own.

I also feel it is wrong of you to reject the "emotional" reactions of individuals. From where do you think the emotional reaction comes, and don't you think it can be as valid, in some cases, the same thing, as the "intellectual" reaction? If "reason" is separated from "emotion", is there honesty? And is there validity? Perhaps so much of the hypocritical white liberalism comes from this separation.

Penny Corbett

Paul:

I disagree with those on the staff who are opposed to the possibility of an approach to big business for funding.

If, as someone said, the nub of the question is ~~the~~ how corrupt big business is, I can agree that it is corrupt but I don't think it follows that an attempt would be made to subvert the nature of our program. ~~Because of it~~ It's more likely that we would be funded <u>because</u> of our liberality (and that this would be something <u>not</u> to be tampered with) because business would be buying us ~~to~~ in order to establish some public image of benevolence, and concern for progressivism. Why should it bother ~~to~~ with buying us to subvert us?

~~In order~~ Certain safeguards, I think, would be in order to preserve <u>our</u> public image: perhaps making sure that our board and executive committee ~~was~~ were comprised of many <u>anti</u>-business forces; limiting the amounts solicited from any one corporation so that we would not be dependent on one source, but could say no and go to another business.

(over)

There are certain advantages to our "public image" if we had moderate amounts of such funding. Perhaps it would make us more persuasive in some areas. Perhaps the idea of providing a meeting ground for all the diverse forces ~~with a common concern~~ to ~~cooperatio~~ cooperate would become an asset. (My concern with "public image" comes from what Al said about appearing to be compromised.)

This isn't very deep thinking and doesn't need to be shared with the executive committee.

Marge Manderson

MEMO:

TO: PAUL ANTHONY

FROM: GLENDA BARTLEY

The American Business establishment is, of course, too powerful to be ignored by any group seeking to reform society. But it seems to me that much of what's wrong with American society was caused and is being perpetuated by this same business establishment. This does not mean that SRC should not try to influence the business community. But, in my opinion, the chance of our having any influence would be completely destroyed should we take money from the folks we are trying to change. (Sort of like the Greeks' asking the Trojans to finance construction of that horse, or labor seeking contributions from the National Association of Manufacturers.). In any case the influence of reformers will be negligible, for we have allowed, through tax structure and government assistance generally, business to become the ancien regime in America--a well-organized ruling class which cannot change because it is not in its self-interest to do so. True, money has to come from somewhere, and, true, while foundations are not a perfect source, those which at present support the Council have at least on paper similar goals. It seems to me that in considering requesting funds from a source which has run counter to the most basic aims of the Southern Regional Council, SRC is running the risk of existing for self-perpetuation; and that in hiring a public relations firm it is admitting that program is not enough. If this is the case, then the agency's future effectiveness is certainly in doubt.

Should we hire such a firm, attract the small sums (why small ones? Why not go the whole route, if enough businesses are involved so that one will not constitute a threat?) from several "respectable" (in my opinion there are none) businesses, and then issue a report stating the need for a guaranteed adequate wage supported by corporate income tax. It is my guess, based on acquaintance with business performance in the past, that we will promptly lose our new-found support. So we will have spent a fairly sizeable sum for nothing --and lost all the integrity that we discussed. What really concerns me is that the Southern Regional Council might consider loss of that support before issuing the report.

FEderal 8 6878

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES Public Relations Counsel
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

file

March 10, 1967

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
1900 Brunswick Av.
Charlotte, N. C.

Dear Dr. Wheeler:

David Apter and I are scheduled to arrive in Charlotte via EAL Flight 545 at 6:24 p.m., Monday, March 20. I do hope this won't make the dinner hour awkward for you. Dave and I would prefer to go to the hotel and wash the dust off before joining you, because Monday will have already been a fairly busy day for us. In that event, would it be reasonable for us to get to your place by 7:00? If this turns out to be a bit later than would be convenient for you, Dave and I could go directly from the airport to your home. What's your pleasure?

Dave and I have high hopes for the Council project and we look forward to sharing views with you. Indeed, your guidance is going to be terribly important to us as we proceed. We are most obliged to you for giving us an evening of your time.

Every good wish.

Sincerely

C

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

CC: Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul Anthony

FEderal 8 6878

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES Public Relations Counsel
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

March 10, 1967

TO: Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. Paul Anthony

FROM: Calvin Kytle

David and I have been doing our home work.

We've talked with a number of newspaper men who cover the South. We have solicited from them a promising list of businessmen whom they feel might be interested in the Council's activities. We are meeting this afternoon with Ed Sylvester, head of the government's contracts compliance division, and have meetings scheduled next week with the heads of various minority-group programs at such places as the U. S. Department of Commerce, the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and the National Association of Manufacturers.

Over Monday and Tuesday, March 19 and 20, we will be in North Carolina. We have confirmed appointments with the two Wheelers (we'll be seeing John Monday morning), Watts Hill, Jr., and Prof. James Maddox at N. C. State. (Maddox, as one of you know, is just completing a 20th-Century Fund study on Southern economic development.) We will probably see one or two more people while in Charlotte as might be suggested in the course of our interviews.

We plan to send you an outline of our approach for Phase One by Wednesday of next week. This will include a list of representative businessmen whom we think it might be appropriate to interview, a list of questions we have in mind asking them, and a timetable. All, of course, for your review and comments.

Best ever.

March 13, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter and Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Belatedly, this will summarize for your records our agreements during the recent Washington visit.

We would appreciate having you and David proceed to interview business leaders and others whom you select and will anticipate periodic reports from you on these conversations.

Prior to the next SRC Executive Committee meeting (which will be on May 8), we would like to formulate some type of report for the Committee reflecting the tentative opinions of all of us, based on the work you have been able to do up to that time.

Although we have not entered into the proposed contract, we are prepared to pay the firm $2,000 per month, plus expenses, through the month of May. Further, should we all think it advisable we are prepared to recommend to the Executive

Committee that several additional months of work on your part be commissioned.

Enclosed are several items about the Council which may be of help. We probably have erred in sending you too much.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

cc: Miss Josephine Wilkins
Mr. John H. Wheeler
Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler

3/13/67

Ed:

On your March 17th trip to New York you're to call the following:

Leslie W. Dunbar
Field Foundation
250 Park Avenue
Phone: YU.6-6688

Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy
Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
Phone: PL. 7-5220 or PL. 7-6579

Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
Phone: RI. 9-4171

Mrs. Deborah M. Cole
Aaron E. Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
Phone: PL. 8-0059

File

FEderal 8 6878

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES Public Relations Counsel
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Recd 3/29/67 wj

File David Apter + Assocs.

March 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

In Washington, Dave and/or I have talked with:

Edward C. Sylvester, Jr., Director
Office of Federal Contract Compliance

Abraham Venable, Director
Office of Equal Opportunity
U. S. Dept. of Commerce

Sam Zagoria, Member
National Labor Relations Board

Last week, in Durham, Raleigh, and Charlotte, we saw:

John Wheeler

Watts Hill, Jr., President
Home Security Life Insurance Co.
Durham, N. C.

Dr. James Maddox
Professor of Economics
North Carolina State University

Dr. Raymond Wheeler
Charlotte, N. C.

Pete McKnight, Editor
The Charlotte Observer

Charles Crawford, Executive Director
Charlotte Area Chamber of Commerce

Charles Lowe, President
Major Appliances, Inc.
Charlotte, N. C.
(and a director of the Charlotte Fund (the local CAP)

I am seeing Andrew Brimmer, on the of the Governors of the Federal Reserve Board, tomorrow afternoon. Later in the week, Dave and I have interviews with Herman Edelsberg at EEOC and with the staff at Plans for Progress.

We expect to get reports on all these interviews off to you before Friday. We're finding much to be encouraged about but also some new areas of concern, one of them being the need for executive development among Negro businessmen in the South.

Jim Maddox gave us copies of the enclosed advance announcement of a conference on urbanization which he is helping stage. It occurs to me that you might want to have Moreland Smith attend as SRC's representative. Better still, would you like me to suggest to Maddox that Moreland be invited to speak? The agenda is not complete and it may be that Maddox would be delighted to know that someone of Moreland's experience might be available.

Dave and I expect to be devoting most of April almost exclusively to the SRC project. We'll send you a tentative itinerary when we send you the reports on interviews completed so far.

All good wishes.

Yours

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

Encl: Announcement of urbanization conference

P. S. So far I haven't been able to locate Francis Pickens Miller. His phone has been disconnected temporarily while he's in Kitty Hawk, a bit of intelligence that the phone company has apparently entrusted to a mynah bird. I'll try again next week in hopes of reaching a human being.

CC: Miss Josephine Wilkins

Impending Urbanization of the South

sponsored by

The University of Georgia
Institute of Community and
Area Development
Center for Continuing
Education

North Carolina State University
at Raleigh
Agricultural Policy Institute

Southern Regional Conference on URBANIZATION

May 28-31, 1967

presented by

The University of Georgia and North Carolina State University (Raleigh) at the

Marriott Motor Hotel Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Regional Conference on Urbanization

May 28-31 at the Marriott Motor Hotel / Atlanta, Georgia

sponsored by THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA / Institute of Community and Area Development — Center for Continuing Education and NORTH CAROLINA STATE UNIVERSITY (Raleigh) / Agriculture Policy Institute

A Workshop for . . .

. . . persons from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia who represent business, industry, government, agriculture, education, and other professions, as well as for persons who work with problems of urban growth and development.

Designed to . . .

. . . provide information for more complete understanding of the impact of ongoing and accelerated rates of urbanization of the South as related to the people and places they are leaving and the places to which many are going

. . . gain insights into special topical problem areas affecting Southern people

. . . provide opportunities for searching discussions into various subjects and problem areas.

Agenda Topics Include . . .

. . . The Urbanizing South—Characteristics and Measurements

. . . Selected Problem Areas in Southern Urbanism
- Kind of Economy the Urban South Can Expect
- Southern Economic Growth Centers
- Roles and Adjustments of Governments
- Educational Challenges
- The Family and the Individual
- The Creation of Livable Cities

. . . The Management of and Response to Urbanization in the South

. . . Luncheon and Dinner Topics
- Southern Tradition and Urbanization
- Pressure and Politics in an Urbanizing State
- Public Policy and Urbanization

General Information

Conference registration is Sunday afternoon, May 28, from 3 to 9 P.M. at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Atlanta. An additional registration will be held from 9 to 10:30 A.M. on Monday, May 29. The opening conference session will be at the Marriott Motor Hotel at 10:30 A.M. on Monday, and the workshop will conclude on Wednesday.

Registration fee is $25. This includes workshop fee and services, **luncheons Monday and Tuesday, dinner on Tuesday,** and a copy of Workshop Proceedings.

Housing and meals—accommodations for 200 persons are being held at the Marriott Motor Hotel, and rooms will be reserved in the order in which applications are received. If housing is desired elsewhere, it will be necessary for the participant to make his own reservation. Reservations for the Marriott should be requested as soon as possible with the attached application form. Rates are $14 to $18 single, and $9 to $11 per person, double.

return to: **Southern Regional Conference on Urbanization**
The University of Georgia
Center for Continuing Education
Athens, Georgia 30601

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....

(Street) .....

(city) ..... (state) ..... (zip) .....

(Affiliation) .....

Please complete the following for the Center statistical record:

Education: High School ☐ College ☐ Graduate Work ☐ Other ☐

Age Group: Under 22 ☐ 22-35 ☐ 36-55 ☐ Over 55 ☐

Registration Fee - $25 ☐ is enclosed. Make check payable to The University of Georgia.

Housing Reservations for Marriott Motor Hotel. Please do not send money in advance for housing

☐ **Single room** - $14 to $18

☐ **Double room** - $9 to $11 per person. I wish to share with .....
(name of person)
(If no roommate preference is indicated, another person from the Workshop will be assigned to share a guest room with you)

.....
(Dates housing is desired)

I expect to arrive ..... (date and approximate hour)

to leave ..... (date and approximate hour)

Please return to:
Conference on Urbanization
Center for Continuing Education
University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia

File
David Apter & Assocs.

April 4, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Enclosed is our check for $2,000 representing consultant fees for the month of April.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $2,000)

CHARLOTTE MEDICAL CLINIC
1900 BRUNSWICK AVENUE
CHARLOTTE, N. C. 28207

INTERNAL MEDICINE
DAVID S. CITRON, M.D.
LOGAN O. JONES, M.D.
MARVIN M. McCALL, M.D.
CLINTON H. McKAY, M.D.
THOMAS H. McMILLAN, JR., M.D.
RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

file

See David Apter & Kytle

5 April 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Forgive my delay in answering your last letter.

I am greatly impressed by the staff's reaction to our recent decision. I must admit that I have and still do share their reservations to a considerable degree.

Apter and Kytle strike me as extremely knowledgeable and competent people who have far more than a selfish interest in what they proposed. I doubt that they will succeed, for I don't believe that business has significantly changed its attitudes toward its responsibilities to the society in which it operates.

If I am wrong, and they have changed, I think we have a responsibility, at least, to talk with them.

I am not certain that I understand your reluctance to share the "reactions" with the Executive Committee. I don't see how it could fail to have a healthy effect, but I am willing to abide by the collective judgement of you, Josephine, and John.

We are just back from Durham and a good annual meeting of the NCCHR. Lee Bounds was superb.

I have written Al Ulmer a note of regret about his resignation.

Sincerely,

Raymond

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/ac

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

file

File David Apter & Assocs

April 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Paul:

Here is a list of the questions that Dave and I are using as a guide to our interviews with Southern businessmen. Understand, we do not ask these of all the men we talk with, nor do we ask them in any special order. Our phrasing changes, too, depending on the setting and what sort of responses we're getting. We try to keep everything open-ended, allowing as much opportunity for the man to open up and express himself as his fancy (or prejudice) dictates.

You'll note, too, that the questions have been determined more to find out what concerns and interests businessmen have that might be served legitimately by SRC, than to get reactions to specific SRC programs or proposals.

We think the yield on this kind of approach will be quite valuable.

See you both soon.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

Enc:
cc: Miss Josephine Wilkins

QUESTIONS FOR BUSINESSMEN: A guide to interviews during Phase One of SRC Project

1. Are you familiar with the Southern Regional Council?
2. How do you assess the general attitude among businessmen of your acquaintance with respect to issues of race and civil rights? Are they more willing now than they were, say, five or so years ago to work with Negroes on programs directed toward the achievement of equal opportunity?
3. What aspects of the racial problem concern you most in the conduct of your own business?
4. How do you see Negro leadership in your community?
5. What do you consider the most troublesome community problems related to race or civil rights? (School de-segregation? Equal employment? Voting? Justice in the courts? Police methods?)
6. Is your company (organization) working on these community problems? If so, how?
7. We are told frequently that Southern businessmen are now willing to hire Negroes on a non-discriminatory basis, that the problem is no longer getting business to open its doors to Negroes but to find Negroes who are qualified to fill the jobs available. Do you agree?
8. What jobs do you have open in your own company that you've been unable to fill with qualified Negroes?

9. Are you conducting any special in-plant training programs for the purpose of making more Negroes eligible?

10. Does your company conduct a regular course in executive training or management development?

11. If so, does the course deal in any way with such things as community relations; the corporation's social responsibility; the impact of Federal civil rights laws on business conduct; race as a factor in decision making; or social change in the South?

12. Are there any problems incidental to business compliance with civil rights laws that you would like to see more thoroughly researched? (Testing? Seniority systems? On-the-job training? Business-community relations?) Would research in these fields be helpful to you in your own decision-making?

13. Is the racial climate in a community a conscious factor in your company's search for desirable new plant locations?

14. Do you regard the Negro as a significant market for your product or service?

15. Do you have an integrated sales force?

16. Many white businessmen tell us that they would like to see more emphasis on programs aimed at getting Negroes to help themselves. In this connection, would you be willing to work with other white businessmen, say on a management advisory council, on programs to help Negroes go into business for themselves?

17. Do you feel that the general lack of successful experience in business is likely to have any significant influence among Negro voters and Negro candidates? Do you feel that there is a natural anti-business bias among Negroes which might be translated into support at the polls, and in the state legislatures, for more restrictive regulation of business activity?

18. If you do see this as a problem, now that Negroes are voting in increasing numbers, are you doing anything to acquaint Negroes with the U. S. business system and its relevance to national goals? If so, what?

19. What would you see as problems that the Southern states have peculiarly in common? (Education? Transportation? Attracting new industry? Mechanization of agriculture? Urbanization?)

20. There has been no systemative effort at Southern regional planning since 1954, when the Committee of the South folded. Do you feel that it might be useful to organize a new committee of this sort, perhaps keying its work to the 1970 census?

21. To consider the feasibility of such a project, the Southern Regional Council is thinking about convening a small group of leaders, drawn from business, labor, and agriculture, with representatives of both races from each category. If a meeting of this sort is called, would you like to get an invitation to participate?

22. Could you suggest the names of other business leaders whom we should consult?

Calvin Kytle
April 12, 1967

Speaking of the NAM!
file David Apter + Calvin Kytle Assocs Rec'd 5/12/67 WY

202/223-1212

Calvin Kytle

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

ASSOCIATIONS:

The New NAM

From the sound of it, the idea could easily have been inspired by the liberal Americans for Democratic Action. Instead, it was a product of that longtime pillar of the conservative business establishment, the National Association of Manufacturers. The NAM last week was proposing to start up an ambitious new corporate social-action project aimed at enlisting young executives to help train the jobless and participate in other poverty programs.

Only a few years ago, the NAM would never have dreamed of sponsoring such a project. Since its founding in 1895 as a national lobby for industry, it had come to symbolize the most reactionary end of the political spectrum. By railing bitterly and unsuccessfully against almost all new social legislation in this century, its leaders had made the NAM not only an intransigently negative organization but almost an irrelevant one. Membership had fallen from 21,000 companies in 1957 to 13,000 in 1962. In that year, NAM directors brought in Werner P. Gullander, a former General Dynamics executive vice president, to upgrade and update the slumping association as its first full-time president (previous presidents, most of them small-business men, had been elected for one-year terms).

Keeping Up: The stocky, dynamic Gullander, 59, has acclimated the NAM to the realities of the '60s and made it a vigorous force for the business viewpoint. The NAM, to be sure, remains conservative in its basic outlook; it is still against large government spending and high taxes. But as liberal Democratic Rep. Harley O. Staggers of West Virginia remarks, it "is keeping up now with the changes taking place in the nation. It just doesn't adamantly oppose change. It's good for the country."

"I'm a conservative," Gullander reports, "who wants to face up to the future." And he bustles about the country (he has made 67 separate airline flights so far this year) exhorting businessmen to "recognize the facts of life of the economy in which we live . . . and stop tilting with windmills. It is pointless to argue against letting the government try to solve problems if we don't try to solve them ourselves."

Gullander, in fact, has converted the NAM into something of a problem-solving workshop to prove out his conviction that business can outperform government in curing social ills and thereby save the taxpayers money. Under the supervision of Richard C. Cornuelle, a 40-year-old NAM executive vice president, the association developed a string of acronymic programs: STEP (Solutions to Employment Problems) to improve employee

file

Newsweek—Robert R. McElroy

Gullander: 'Face up to the future'

skills; TIPS (Techniques in Product Selection) to promote consumer education; and MIND (Methods of Intellectual Development) to give school dropouts fast job training.

Defectors: Progress in the NAM has not been without its price. A number of its older members, many of them Middle Western conservatives, have quit over the organization's new policies, which they contend are skirting dangerously close to socialism. Gullander regrets the defections but remarks philosophically that "you can't win them all."

Over-all, however, the NAM's new course seems to have steered it back into the mainstream of modern corporate thinking. Despite the defections, the membership has rebounded by 1,000 to a total of 14,000 companies since Gullander took command. Gullander, moreover, is determined to keep the NAM up with the times. "Our job now is not to waste our time on the past," he observed, "but to try to influence the future."

STOCK MARKET:

What Tsai Bought

One of Wall Street's favorite pastimes is kibitzing on the swift, surefooted market moves of Gerald Tsai Jr., the 39-year-old wizard of the mutual-fund industry. Since Tsai founded Manhattan Fund, Inc., fifteen months ago, its net-asset value has climbed 6 per cent to $515.8 million while the Dow Jones industrial average in the same period slumped 12.6 per cent.

Wall Street got a peek last week at what Tsai (pronounced "sigh") has been up to lately in the fund's first-quarter report. During the quarter, he picked up such stocks as Aluminum Co. of America, Avco Corp., Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp., Revlon, Inc., and Studebaker Corp. And he unloaded, among others, Ampex Corp., Cities Service Co., Gulf & Western Industries, Inc., and Radio Corp. of America.

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

Jim Apter & David Antonio

file

June 19, 1967

Dr. Andrew Brimmer
Governor, Federal Reserve System
Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C.

Dear Andy:

Though I'm ashamed to be so long in telling you, I do want you to know how much I appreciate your help in arranging for my meeting with the Federal Reserve staff in Atlanta.

Dr. Kimbrell and Dr. Taylor were generous with their time and also highly instructive. I now know what sort of data it is reasonable to expect from the bank's research department and, in particular, what sort of role the bank plays in regional economic development. Should we succeed in mounting a new study of the Southern economy as I hope, we'll have numerous occasions, I'm sure, to call on Dr. Taylor for advice. He has obligingly agreed to consult with us from time to time as we move along.

Our report to the Southern Regional Council is currently under review by its executive committee. We should know by fall whether we'll have the Council's help in seeking further foundation support for the idea.

Again, many thanks and every good wish.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

CC: Dr. Monroe Kimbrell
Dr. Charles T. Taylor

CK:sks

file

June 19, 1967

Mr. Davis H. Abrams
Francis I. DuPont & Company
Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dave Abrams:

This is an embarrassingly overdue note to thank you for spending that evening with me and George Goodwin back in April. Your suggestions were enormously helpful, particularly in the drafting of my preliminary report to the Southern Regional Council. The report, with recommendations, is now being considered by the Council's executive committee, with some action contemplated this fall.

I want you to know, too, that the idea of a two-year study of the South, keyed to urbanization and timed to capitalize on the 1970 census findings, is still being nursed by several of us here in Washington. I hope to have something substantive to report before the year's out.

Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Calvin Kytle

CK:sks
CC to: Mr. Paul Anthony ✓
Mr. George Goodwin
Miss Josephine Wilkins

This same note was sent to Frank E. Block, Matthew Connor, James W. Hall, and J. Michael Gearon.

DATE

DISPOSITION

APTER

KYTLE

File Apter David + Assocs

The Citizens and Southern National Bank

MARIETTA AT BROAD

P. O. BOX 4899 · ZIP 30302

Atlanta, Georgia

INVESTMENT DEPARTMENT
FRANK E. BLOCK, C. F. A.
VICE PRESIDENT

TELEPHONES
LOCAL 588-3261
LONG DISTANCE 404

June 21, 1967

file

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

I have been meaning to write you about our most pleasant evening with George Goodwin a few weeks back. This was a most interesting occasion for me, and I enjoyed very much hearing the views expressed by all persons present.

I would be most interested in learning of the progress made in your proposed two-year study of the South. If anything exciting develops, please drop me a line and bring me up to date.

With best personal regards,

Cordially yours,

Frank

Frank E. Block
Vice President

FEB/mm

Jim
David Apter
Avocs

June 26, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Mr. David Apter
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin and Dave:

Thanks for the several recent letters. I apologize for not having acknowledged them sooner.

Our thinking and exploring goes on, particularly through the function of monthly evening meetings of the professional staff.

You may recall we once discussed the possibility of Apter & Associates providing some analysis and a guide to fund-raising potentials and methods. This would probably call for a visit to perhaps two state Councils and the checking of records and methods of fund-raising of several more of them. We could provide all of this. Is it possible that you could give us some rough estimate of what you would see as the amount of time

and cost involved in preparing such a report? We have a meeting here in about two weeks with state Council presidents, and in early September we have a longer meeting of all the state Council staffs. In both of these we would like to discuss the desirability of such a guide.

The two points around which we will make our decision, if you have the time and are available, are the costs and the degree of interest on the part of state Council leadership. Needless to say, we won't do it unless we find a majority of them reasonably eager to have such material. Any estimate you give us we would, of course, accept as only an intelligent guess, but it would be good if we could have that.

Best to you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Josephine Wilkins

PA

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

file

June 28, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director, Souther Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Your letter of June 26 came just as I was about to leave for Philadelphia and before Dave got back from a crash assignment for one of his District clients. Though it'll be Monday before we have a chance to put our heads together, you'll have a thoughtful reply from us by July 7. That's a promise.

It was good to have a word from you. I'm looking forward to hearing about your trip.

Yours,

C—

Calvin Kytle

CC: Miss Josephine Wilkins
CK:sks

return to PA.

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

July 5, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Calvin and I appreciated the fill-in today on the staff studies on the Council's future program. It looks like the executive committee will have to make some important choices in September.

Both of us hope that we will be given an opportunity to assist once these decisions are made.

To confirm our discussion on local fund-raising, we would be interested in providing assistance to state Councils if professional guidance is built into the plan on a continuing basis. I do not believe that the study you suggested in your letter of June 26 would make any measurable difference without follow-up. It could end up gathering dust on your library shelves.

My proposal is that SRC, with these Councils most interested in building financial stability, retain DA&A for the period of one year. This assignment would include:

1. Visits with each participating group to develop a campaign best suited to its leadership resources.

2. Preparation of materials.

3. Training meetings with the volunteers who agree to accept campaign assignments.

4. Periodic follow-ups on the status of the campaign.

We would, of course, want to check your records and get your appraisal of the potentials in each state before beginning to work with the individual groups.

This proposal adds professional direction and continuity of effort to your original suggestion. I believe it can make the difference between success and failure.

The retainer I suggested of $1000 a month for 12 months, plus travel and all other out-of-pocket expenses, will mean that we would budget five days a month of professional time on this project. Once we knew how many groups were participating we could develop a time schedule for our first visits, submission of proposals, preparation of material, campaign dates, and follow-up.

If the state presidents approve, I think it would make sense to start soon so that one or more of the Councils would be ready to start their campaigns in the early fall.

Sincerely,

David

David Apter

DA:sks
CC: MissJosephine Wilkins

July 14, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Thanks for the clips. It was good to see you and David on Tuesday, although I regret we couldn't have had a more pleasant and longer visit. Ed Stanfield and I have talked further about your possible work with the state councils, not only with the immediate fund raising but keeping in the back of our mind and exploring seriously the possibility of continuing substantial work with the state councils. Ed agrees with me that if all works out you could offer them far more services under better arrangements than their idea of some sort of a central staffed office which they would support.

One of these days we will work it out. Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Miss Josephine Wilkins

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

July 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I though you and Ray Wheeler might like to have an extra set of clips on yesterday's hearing.

Congratulations on a magnificent job. Wheeler and Coles complemented each other beautifully! Thanks to them, I am now reservedly optimistic that Congress will get the message.

Yours,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

CK:sks
Encl.
CC: Dr. Raymond Wheeler

See David Apter & Associates

August 18, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Thank you for sharing with me the interesting idea of the program for official commissions. I am sorry that I haven't responded earlier. I would welcome an opportunity to think with you out loud about this. I have some vague reservations about using official commissions for this type of program and yet, quite obviously, they are among the few logical outlets. On the other hand, I could not agree with you more strongly on the need for a substantial education of white America. In fact, I would categorize this need not simply as a priority, but as an emergency.

I also feel that if such a program is developed, it must be done outside the normal realm of the professional staff people of

these agencies. This is not to slight them, but I don't feel that interpretation and communication to middle-class white America is generally a skill of these people.

Should interest continue to develop in this, however, I would be pleased at the opportunity to cooperate in any way possible.

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of Tom Gladwin's book. I look forward to reading it, and shall do so promptly.

I assume you and Dave will be at the Urban Coalition meeting on Thursday, and hope to see you both then.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Calvin Kytle
1145 19th Street NW
Washington DC 20036

August 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I've just read an advance copy of a book, "Poverty USA", written by a friend of mine, Tom Gladwin. I'm so impressed with it that I'm sending you a copy. It'll arrive under separate cover.

Tom, as you may know, was until recently one of the chief anthropologists at NIMH. I suppose one way of describing the book is to say that it's an anthropoligist's view of the war on poverty. That, however, won't do it justice. I think Tom has done a remarkably distilled analysis of our complicated efforts to date -- contrasting the New Deal with the OEO programs, for instance -- but, in addition, he's come up with some important new premises for future public policy.

Tom's book has the added advantage of being short enough -- 182 pages -- to be read in one sitting. I think you'll find it, as I did, well worth the time.

Sincerely,

C

Calvin Kytle

202-223-1212

DA
file

August 24, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Paul handed me the copy of your August 1 letter to Dr. George Gallup which you sent to him. He asked if I had any comment. I have little light to shed on the matter, really, but would like to venture a comment or two and raise a couple of questions.

First, I share your distress over what Gallup's poll reveals about the worsening attitudes of white Americans. And I agree that genuine progress in matters of race relations, economic justice and the like depends, more and more obviously, upon a change in the attitudes of the white majority. I am sure you noted that a recent Louis Harris poll confirmed the findings of the Gallup poll. According to Newsweek (August 21, 1967),

> In a list of standard indexes of white prejudice toward non-whites, nearly every familiar stereotype of the Negro finds greater acceptance by white majorities than it did last year. Thus, 70% of the whites agree that 'Negroes have less ambition than white people,' against 65% who thought this way in 1966; 47% agree 'Negroes keep untidy homes,' against 39% a year ago; and 58% accept a flat statement that 'Negroes have lower morals,' compared with 50% last year. The trend was the same on assertions that Negroes 'laugh a lot,' 'have less native intelligence,' 'want to live off the hand-out.'

Newsweek commented that "the whites' concern about the black man has been quickened--but it seems vitally lacking in affection. Fear and resentment have apparently displaced their weight in sympathy, and the white man's endorsement of massive aid to the ghettos may seem to him an imperative more pragmatic than moral."

It is a philosophic assumption of mine, perhaps unwarrented, that changes--however desirable in themselves--which people accept only because of countervailing pressures greater than the prevailing pressures will have little long-ranged ameliorative effect. They will only suppress the root-antipathy, and it will be there still, waiting to sprout at a different place. Thus, I quite agree with what I understand you to be saying: that in addition to legal, political, economic and all other types of pressure which justly can and should be brought to bear, "the problem...will be solved only with a change in the attitudes of the white majority...."

You anticipated the difficulty that I have with your specific proposal when you wrote that "bias of a certain dimension is not susceptible to facts." I doubt that white Americans hold the attitudes that they have toward non-whites because of any gap in knowledge. I suspect that theyblock is emotional, not intellectual, and that the communication needed is of a non-verbal variety,--more akin to therapy than to education.

Assuming that some technique could be found for convening the small groups you have in mind, there might be value in a low-key presentation of the facts about ghetto conditions in their city, provided the group were so composed and so motivated that something like group therapy could take place. It seems to me that there would be little gained, for instance, by merely presenting the facts on crowded classrooms and overloaded teachers in ghetto schools to a group of white housewives or union members. On the other hand, if a group composed of both Negro and white businessmen commonly concerned about a faltering economy or a group of both Negro and white workers commonly concerned about low wages and poor job opportunities could be brought together, given facts to show that discrimination and ghetto conditions are detrimental to the whole city, and to all of them as a part of the city, and if they then continued in some sort of working relationship, some change of the whites' attitudes might be forthcoming. What would be crucial, however, would be the relationship among the people, not the information.

This sounds like an extension of the human relations council idea. Perhaps, it would come out looking like local institutes along the line of those conducted by Emory Via, lately of our Labor Project. In any case it doubtless would be much more expensive than an information campaign and would need to utilize a greater range of specialists. At best it could hope to reach only the opinion-making leaders in each segment of the society. But perhaps understanding is as contagious as prejudice.

This has grown longer and murkier than I intended. In sum, I think the facts brought out by Gallup and Harris suggest that what white folks need to know is some non-whites--not just some facts about non-whites and their living conditions.

I would be interested to know if you got a reply from Gallup and what he thought of your idea.

Best wishes,

J. Edwin Stanfield
Director
Field Activities

JES/cl

Enclosures 2

Fred thinks we ought to do it. 202/223-1212
I think you'll be interested in his
letter -

Calvin Kytle

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

NAIRO

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS OFFICIALS
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W. ● WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 ● 387-7050
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

AUGUST 11, 1967

MR. CALVIN KYTLE
DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

DEAR CALVIN:

MANY THANKS FOR SENDING ME A COPY OF YOUR PROPOSAL TO GEORGE GALLUP. I THINK YOUR PROPOSAL OF DEVELOPING IN 25 STATES AN INFORMATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM IS MOST SIGNIFICANT. THE PARTICULAR PROGRAM YOU SUGGEST OF DOCUMENTING ON THE LOCAL LEVEL THE INEQUITIES BETWEEN THE WHITE AND NEGRO COMMUNITIES COULD HAVE REAL MEANING IN ALTERING THE ATTITUDES OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY. VERY FEW PERSONS ARE AWARE OF THE DESPERATE PLIGHT OF THE GHETTO DWELLERS; I AM PERSUADED THAT IF THE GENERAL COMUMNITY TRULY AND FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE TERRIBLE CONDITIONS OF THE GHETTO THEY WOULD AGREE THAT CHANGE MUST BE WROUGHT.

SOME MUNICIPAL, AS SOME STATE AGENCIES, HAVE A RESEARCH CAPACITY BUT NONE OF THEM HAVE UNDERTAKEN THIS TYPE OF STUDY. I BELIEVE THAT IN THE FIELD OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS WE HAVE BECOME SO CONCERNED WITH BEHAVIOR THAT WE HAVE IGNORED ATTITUDES. IT IS TIME FOR THE PENDULUM TO SWING BACK PART WAY; WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED WITH ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS AIMED AT BEHAVIOR, BUT WE MUST ALSO BECOME MORE CONCERNED IN BOLSTERING HEALTHY ATTITUDES, WHICH UNDERPIN DECENT SOCIAL BEHAVIOR. IT IS NOT ENOUGH THAT WE BEHAVE PROPERLY TOWARD ONE ANOTHER BUT WE ALSO MUST COME TO A PROPER UNDERSTANDING AND A DECENT REGARD FOR ONE ANOTHER IF WE ARE TO HAVE A VIABLE DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

I WOULD LIKE TO SEE SUCH A PROGRAM UNDERTAKEN IN CITIES OF VARIOUS SIZES. I COULD SEE IT BEING DONE, FOR EXAMPLE, IN SUCH CITIES AS CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES, AND DETROIT; MIAMI, ATLANTA, AND SAN FRANCISCO; FORT WAYNE, DUBUQUE, AND PITTSBURGH. A CAREFUL SELECTION SHOULD BE MADE BASED ON SUCH FACTORS AS SIZE OF THE TOTAL POPULATION, PROPORTION OF MINORITY CITIZENS, GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION, PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF A MUNICIPAL AGENCY, AND HISTORY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY.

NAIRO IS INTERESTED IN COOPERATING WITH YOU ON THIS MATTER. AS YOU KNOW, WE HAVE A DEPARTMENT OF COUNTY AND CITY HUMAN RIGHTS AGENCIES; DIRECTORS AND OTHER PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS OF AGENCIES ALL OVER THE COUNTRY BELONG TO THIS DEPARTMENT. I WILL CALL YOU NEXT WEEK TO ARRANGE A LUNCHEON AT WHICH WE MAY FURTHER DISCUSS THIS PROPERLY.

WITH WARM REGARDS.

CORDIALLY,

Fred

FREDERICK B. ROUTH
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

FBR:MLS

Ed - any comments?
PA

COPY

August 1, 1967

Dr. George Horace Gallup
American Institute of Public Opinion
53 Bank Street
Princeton, New Jersey

Dear Dr. Gallup:

I was especially interested in your poll, published in the Washington Post of July 23, showing that 76 percent of white Americans think Negroes are treated as well as they. As you will note from the enclosed, I had occasion almost two years ago to comment on a similar finding of yours, and I find it distressing to realize that, despite all that's happened since, white people are still of the same dangerous opinion.

Convinced as I am that the problem of the Negro ghetto will be solved only with a change in the attitudes of the white majority, I have wondered from time to time why we don't mount a national fact-facing campaign, to be conducted at the level of the local community and supported by all the research, talent, and dollars that normally go into a major advertising campaign. Here, it seems to me, you've given us a clear target: to reduce that 76 percent to something less than 50 percent.

Granted that bias of a certain dimension is not susceptible to facts, I would submit that a considerable number represented in your figure of 76 percent could be persuaded to change their minds were they to be told the truth about how Negroes are treated in their -- that is, the white's -- own home towns.

Specifically, I'd like to see, let's say $25,000, given to each of about 25 municipal human relations commissions, those in our most "sensitive" cities. This sum would be used for a carefully conceived information program, through which the straight facts would be worked through a diagonal slice of the white community. "Here are the facts," the commissions might say -- to small groups of government workers, professional people, housewives, union members, businessmen, shop clerks, right down the line. "Here's the way it is in our home town. We have so many policemen on duty propecting so many people in the white precincts; we have so many fewer policemen protecting so many more in the Negro precincts. We have so many teachers for so

many pupils in the predominantly white schools; we have so many fewer teachers for so many more pupils in the predominantly Negro schools." And so on and on. The message would be taken into every ward in the city and suburbs. It would be conveyed through strip films, film charts, and every other appropriate visual aid. I have in mind a steady, persistent campaign -- essentially unemotional in delivery, conducted in the mood of Joe Friday's "Nothing but the facts, ma'am."

A few years ago we might not have had the facts and figures on disparities between white and Negro treatment in the community; we have them now, or at least we have enough of them. But so far, tragically, there has been considerable resistance to using these facts forthrightly and in a professional way as a means of influencing municipal policy on such things as housing, police protection, welfare, education, public services, employment, and the like. Though such disparities have been well publicized at the national level, they have not been made relevant to most white people at the level where they live, which happens to be where the problems ultimately must be solved.

I have two questions for you. One, in the light of your own experience, do you think that what I'm proposing makes sense, and, if so, would you encourage me to take it to a private foundation? Second, could you give me a bit more interpretation of your findings? For instance, how many communities did you poll? Where were these communities? What was the ratio of Negroes to whites in each community? What did you mean, or what did the people interviewed think you meant, by the word "treated"? Did this have reference only to public accommodations and access to public officials or to all aspects of community life?

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin Kytle

Enclosures

The Gallup Poll

7/23/67

Only 1 City Resident in 7 Expects Serious Race Strife Next 6 Months

By George Gallup

PRINCETON, N.J., July 22—A large majority of the residents of big cities do not foresee serious racial strife during the next six months, but as many as one person in 7 expects trouble and another 8 per cent express uncertainty about what lies ahead.

These findings emerge from a national survey conducted during the weekend of July 14 through 16, as the streets of Newark and other major cities erupted into violence.

Those who foresee trouble blame the following: 1. outside agitators; 2. Negroes demanding too much (primarily a white sentiment); 3. poor living conditions (mentioned by persons of both races), and 4. a tense relationship between Negroes and police.

Here was the first question asked of all persons—both Negro and white— in a national survey:

"Do you think there is likely to be any serious racial trouble in this community in the next six months?"

Cities of One Million and More	
Is likely to be trouble	14%
Is not likely	78
No opinion	8

Taking the nation as a whole one person in nine expects serious trouble in his community.

On the treatment of Negroes, this question was asked:

"In your opinion, how well do you think Negroes are treated in this community—the same as whites are, not very well, or badly?"

The results indicate that a person's answer depends in large measure on the color of his skin. Three out of every four white persons nationally say Negroes are treated as well as whites, but a majority of Negroes say they are treated "not very well" or "badly."

Here are the results for both races:

Views of Whites	
Negroes are treated the same as whites	76%
Not very well	15
Badly	1
No opinion	8
Views of Negroes	
Same as whites	44%
Not very well	44
Badly	9
No opinion	3

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The Washington Post

Calvin Kytle
1145 19th Street NW
Washington DC 20036

5 September 1967

TO: Paul Anthony

Ben Holman thinks it's a good idea and offers to help.

DATE AUG 24 1967

DISPOSITION

APTER
KYTLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

August 23, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter to Dr. Gallup in which you proposed a program to acquaint white America with the actual plight of black America. I found your proposal quite interesting; indeed, I found it most exciting. To say it is timely is an understatement. It is something that is desperately needed at this time.

Our field representatives in community after community across the Nation constantly relay to us their frustrations, and those of others who seek a resolution of the current national crisis, because too many white people simply do not know or understand the plight of the Negro. I suppose I am as fearful as most persons these days about the future of this country. But I have a remaining hope that if somehow the message could be gotten down to the people of the Nation, we will develop the commitment to resolve this dilemma.

I would, however, offer these comments: I think it will require much more than $25,000 in each community to mount the kind of massive educational and information campaign you suggest. I don't know how much it will require, but I think there should be sufficient funds to garner the best brains and best skills in each community. I also suspect that there should be a more selective choice of cities. It might be better to have a pilot run in a smaller number of communities.

We in the Community Relations Service would be delighted to assist in any way possible in launching such a campaign. We have on file, for examples, profiles on 87 cities outlining precisely the disparities you mentioned in your letter to Dr. Gallup.

Please keep me informed of the progress of your proposal.

Sincerely,

Ben

Ben Holman
Assistant Director
for Media Relations

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES

REGARDING

State Councils ~~Proposal~~ acceptance of Apter Proposal concerning fund raising

DATE

8/16/67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD ACTIVITIES

See David Apter & Assocs.

September 27, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Here, finally, is some response to your note of September 11th and the interesting letter from George Gallup.

While I don't take exception to George's point of somebody telling the truth to Negro America about self-help, I doubt seriously if it could be or would be the same group that addresses itself to the white community. In fact, I suspect the makeup of such programs would require two entirely different types of groups as well as entirely different programs. Also, if properly done, I think a program directed at Negroes would be even more difficult than would that for whites.

Holman's response is encouraging. Do you see some structure developing for such an idea that would include the Community

Relations Commission? In fact, I am very interested to know just what type structures you do see for this program should it go further.

While it is certainly more modest than we had hoped for, I am delighted to know that an arrangement has been worked out with the Virginia Council, and pleased that we can support it to some degree financially.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Calvin Kytle
1145 19th Street NW
Washington DC 20036

11 September 1967

Dear Paul:

I'd be especially grateful if you'd let me have your reactions to this letter from George Gallup. I haven't received the breakdown from his statistical department yet. If the figures appear to add anything significant to our considerations, I'll forward them.

Calvin Kytle

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC OPINION

National Weekly Surveys of Public Opinion
Sponsored by America's Leading Newspapers

DATE SEP 6 1967

DR. GEORGE GALLUP
Director

PRINCETON
New Jersey

APTER
KYTLE

September 5, 1967

Mr. Calvin Kytle
1145 19th Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Kytle:

Many thanks for your interesting letter which arrived while I was in Europe.

I think that campaigns conducted locally in major cities would do much to reduce the 76% who say Negroes are treated the same as whites in their communities. I see no reason why you should not get money to help support this program from private foundations.

I am asking our statistical department to provide a full breakdown of the figures reported. This should show differences by areas of the country and by community size.

I am certain that many white persons living in major cities are not aware that there are fewer policemen in Negro areas, fewer teachers per 100 pupils, etc. On the other hand, I think they are daily made aware of the fact that whenever and wherever Negroes demonstrate their clear superiority -- in baseball, football, track, music, etc. -- there seems to be no discrimination whatsoever. In fact, the percentages of colored athletes is so high in relation to whites, that whites may begin to feel the discrimination is all the other way.

Whites read in their newspapers that the local schools are having trouble with the drop-outs -- and these seem to be mostly colored students. They do not read discrimination into this fact, but lack of any desire to improve their lot on the part of Negro families. Whites try to employ window washers or handymen, try to get their car washed or repaired, try to find plumbers, carpentars, or masons without any luck -- and on the basis of this experience decide there is no real unemployment -- for people who are really interested in working.

I say these things not to excuse white people from saying that whites and Negroes have equal opportunities, but to try to explain how they happen to arrive at this conclusion.

My own feeling is that maybe the ideal community relations program would be one that worked two ways. It would be directed at the whites and would recite the facts as you have noted them in your letter without any emotional overtones. On the other hand, I believe that somebody or group should tell colored people the truth without pulling any punches. As you note, there is a growing educational gap. This can only mean that in years to come, the distance between whites and Negroes will grow wider and not narrower, since education is the key to good jobs in America at this time. It seems to me that every Negro child and every Negro parent in America must understand they must not only work harder in school than white children, but they must be better educated than whites if they are to achieve full equality in the job market. This is exactly the conclusion to which the Jewish people of America reached a generation ago and that is why of all groups they are the best educated and the most successful despite religious prejudice. It seems to me also that Negroes must be encouraged to leave the big cities and go where the jobs are most plentiful. One of the most revealing surveys we ever undertook showed that both white and colored believed that life is best for the Negro in the smaller communities and towns of the country -- rather than in the large metropolitan centers.

We have always found, in our thirty-two years of polling, that the people of the country are eminently fair -- when all the facts are placed before them. That is why I believe so thoroughly in the proposals you make in your letter. I would only add that the same approach should be made to Negroes themselves -- all the facts should be placed before them.

I realize this is an extremely complicated problem. But if we can help in any way through our polling mechanism, we will be only to happy to try to work out some solutions that will help the situation.

Again let me thank you for your very interesting letter and the copy of your talk to the United Press International Editors and Publishers.

Sincerely,

George Gallup

George Gallup

GG:rcs

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

19 March 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Dave and I thought you might like to see this kit of materials prepared for use in the fund-raising campaign for the Virginia Council.

We're hopeful!

Yours,

Calvin Kytle

CK/skb
Encls: Fund-raising handbook
Appeal letter
Appeal letter envelope
Return envelope

Armistead L. Boothe
17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
P A I D
Richmond, Va.
Permit No. 1821

Help keep them on the same team
——when they come back to Virginia!

PLACE
STAMP
HERE

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS
17 East Cary Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Please complete this form, enclose check, and mail promptly

Enclosed is $_____for

( ) my Membership in ( ) my Contribution to

The Virginia Council on Human Relations

Name ( ) Mr. & Mrs.
( ) Mr. _____
( ) Mrs.
( ) Miss _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

CHECK MAY BE MADE PAYABLE TO VCHR

All contributions, including membership dues, are deductible from taxable income. They are shared, unless otherwise specified, between the State Council and your local council, regardless of which office receives them.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

I wish to support the work of the VCHR and the affiliated council serving my community by enrolling for:

( ) $ 5 Basic Membership
( ) $10 Active Membership
( ) $25 Contributing Membership
( ) $ 60 Sustaining Membership
( ) $120 Sponsor Membership
( ) $500 Patron Membership

Please bill me at the rate of $_____per month
for_____months for the balance of my pledge.

( ) Please check if this is a Membership Renewal

Help keep them on the same team ——when they come back to Virginia!

Dear Friend:

During the next twelve months more than 20,000 Virginians will be discharged from the armed services. More than half say they'd like some help, both before and after they get out--the kind of help that will enable them to lead productive, rewarding lives as civilians.

This is your invitation to join the Virginia Council on Human Relations in a program to make sure that these returnees get the help they need at the place where it will count the most--their own home towns.

Servicemen are now coming home in increasing numbers. Twenty percent more will be mustered out this year than last. To ease the transition, they're hoping for the same kind of welcome that World War II veterans got but which today almost no American community is organized to give . . . the kind of tangible assistance that will lead to more schooling, the right job, a good home in a good neighborhood . . . the kind that can be provided only when the appropriate services of both public and private agencies are coordinated for local delivery.

To see that veterans of the Vietnam era get the best that Virginia communities have to offer--this is what the Virginia Council proposes to do through "Project Homeward Bound."

About 85,000 Virginians are currently on active duty. Of these, 12,000 are in Vietnam. However they differ in background, one thing can be said with certainty about them all: when they come back they will be changed in two important particulars:

ONE: They will come back smarter, tougher, and fitter. They will have acquired the skills to run a technologically superior military force.

The U. S. military establishment is training GIs in 1500 different skills. Today's returned servicemen thus constitute a brand-new resource of talent, knowledge, and energy--a resource vital to Virginia's economic development. It will be our loss if, after a taste of home, they leave us

The Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219

for other states thinking opportunities elsewhere are greater.

TWO: Their attitudes will have changed because for at least two years they have lived, worked, and fought in an environment that is, in one special sense, more democratic than most of them grew up in. For in the American armed forces, integration is neither a threat nor an aspiration. It is an accepted fact.

The implications are formidable. In today's military, average white Americans and average black Americans are coming to know and respect one another as they were never permitted to do in our segregated domestic institutions. Whether black or white, few men who have had such an experience while in uniform are going to be satisfied with anything less than equal opportunity when they get back.

Among Negro GIs the attitude is clear and firm. Despite the fact that they make up only 11 percent of the U. S. population, Negroes make up 23 percent of our fighting forces. A total of 40,000 of them are now in Vietnam. Twenty percent of Army deaths in Vietnam last year were Negroes. Of the 20,000 Virginians who will be discharged this year, 4,000 are Negroes.

One Negro GI has spoken for them all: "I've paid my dues."

They've paid their dues!

It's up to us to see that they get what's due them.

Sensitive to all this, the U. S. Department of Defense is launching Project Transition. About eighty military centers are being set up to offer personnel counseling, job placement services, and up to six months of civilian-job skills training to selected servicemen completing their tours of duty. Seven of these centers will be in Virginia--at Fort Eustis, Fort Lee, Fort Myer, Fort Belvoir, the Norfolk Naval Base, Langley Field, and Quantico.

Although Project Transition constitutes the most advanced program of preparation for civilian life ever developed by the military, its success will swing, inevitably, on the nature of the civilian response. That's why, in cooperation with the Defense Department, the Virginia Council is initiating "Project Homeward Bound."

During the next twelve months, the Council will ask each of its 28 local affiliates to:

- Determine whether local servicemen already returned are getting adequate help;
- Serve as the community catalyst in the formation of a facility for the coordination of services for returning GIs;
- Cooperate with other local agencies, employers, housing agents, educators, and labor union officials in a concerted effort to see that jobs, housing, education, and other forms of assistance are made available to every veteran who wants them.

Meanwhile, through its state offices in Richmond, the Virginia Council will:

- Serve as the communications link between Project Transition centers and Virginia communities, so that each community will know in advance which of its men are participating in Project Transition and what skills training they are receiving;
- Enlist industries and labor organizations in a program to provide job-related assistance to each of the seven training centers in the state.

To make Project Homeward Bound a success, we need your help. We need your time, your counsel, and your money.

Project Homeward Bound is but one of several programs of the Virginia Council through which Virginians of all faiths and all races are being mobilized to help solve Virginia's problems where they live. As a matter of personal conviction and organization policy, our members hold one idea in common. We believe that, in the last analysis, the big problems of American democracy will be solved at the local level. But democracy rests on a delicate balance between order and freedom. And to maintain that balance nothing is more important than the participation in community affairs of those special citizens in whom good will is matched with good sense.

You, as one such citizen, may make the crucial difference.

To finance its activities for the current year, the Council is seeking to raise $50,000 in new memberships and contributions.

You can help today--by sending us your check. Later, we'll be reporting on the programs as they shape up, with the hope that you may want to help in other, more personal ways. Meanwhile, many thanks.

Sincerely,

Armistead L. Boothe

Armistead L. Boothe
Chairman
1968 Campaign Committee

P.S. All contributions to the Virginia Council are shared with the 28 local councils. All, of course, are tax deductible. Forgive us if you receive more than one copy of this appeal. Several organizations are demonstrating their support of Project Homeward Bound by making their mailing lists available to us.

Virginia in Transition: PROJECT HOMEWARD BOUND

Help keep them on the same team ——when they come back to Virginia!

PROJECT HOMEWARD BOUND CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Hon. Armistead L. Boothe, Alexandria, Chairman

Dr. Aubrey N. Brown, Jr.
Richmond

Rev. Lawrence A. Davies
Fredericksburg

Dr. Martin Donelson, Jr.
Danville

Mr. Carl G. Estabrook
Arlington

Mrs. Carl G. France
Colonial Heights

Rev. L. Francis Griffin
Farmville

Rabbi Harold D. Hahn
Norfolk

Miss Ruth L. Harvey
Danville

Hon. Henry E. Howell, Jr.
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Rev. Boston M. Lackey, Jr.
Petersburg

Prof. Leslie F. Malpass
Blacksburg

Bishop William H. Marmion
Roanoke

Hon. Henry L. Marsh, III
Richmond

Mrs. William T. Mason
Norfolk

Dr. J. Rupert Picott
Richmond

Bishop John J. Russell
Richmond

Mrs. Sam Z. Troy
Richmond

THE VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS was founded in 1955. It uses fact-finding, education, negotiation, persuasion, and publicity to advance the legitimate aspirations of all citizens for equal dignity and opportunity. To achieve these objectives, it works through a professional staff in Richmond, 28 local affiliates throughout the Commonwealth, and individual members. Its programs encompass the fields of employment, education, housing, governmental affairs, community services, legal justice, and public accommodations.

LOCAL COUNCILS

Alexandria
Arlington
Charlottesville
  Albemarle County
Covington
  Alleghany County
Danville
Fairfax County
Franklin
  Southampton County
Fredericksburg Area
Hanover County
  Ashland
Hopewell
Lancaster–Northumberland
Lexington
  Rockbridge–Buena Vista
Loudoun County
Lynchburg Area
Mercer–Tazewell
Montgomery County
  Blacksburg
New River
  Giles County
Norfolk Area
Peninsula
  Hampton–Newport News
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Portsmouth–Chesapeake
Prince Edward County
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Richmond Area
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The Virginia Council on Human Relations, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219

Phone: (703) 648-4444

"HELP KEEP THEM ON THE SAME TEAM
--WHEN THEY COME BACK TO VIRGINIA"

CAMPAIGN WORKBOOK

FOR THE

VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1968 MEMBERSHIP/FUND RAISING APPEAL

VIRGINIANS IN TRANSITION: PROJECT HOMEWARD BOUND

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INTRODUCTION

A NOTE TO COMMUNITY CAMPAIGN COORDINATORS

You have already received some literature on the 1968 membership/fund-raising campaign to be conducted jointly by the Virginia Council and its affiliated councils.

First was the December 11 memorandum on the sharing of dues and contributions between State and local councils.

This explained the six new categories of membership and urged that efforts be made to increase the level of financial support by members.

It is important to remember that all members, regardless of their category, have equal rights, privileges, and responsibilities.

Our second mailing, on December 13, contained three reports:

1. An explanation of the Virginians in Transition theme for the year's work.
2. An outline of the Homeward Bound project - a community-based program to provide jobs and housing for veterans returning to Virginia.
3. A recommended membership/fund-raising campaign plan which, we hope, you have begun to implement.

The only change we have made in the plan is that the three-week campaign is now scheduled to begin of Friday, March 1.

In a third mailing you received a copy of the Department of Defense memorandum on Project Transition, which will provide counseling, skills training, and job placement services to veterans who have completed their tours of duty.

Copies of a draft of our appeal letter were mailed early in February.

Those of you who attended the annual meeting in Richmond learned more about the campaign plan.

This Campaign Workbook goes into the specifics and timing of the membership and fund-raising drive. Before you do anything else, please find a quiet corner and read it all the way through. Make notes as you go. Some suggestions may not be altogether clear when you first come across them. They should become clear as you read along, as the various

tasks to be done fall into place.

This workbook is designed to be your guide. You may not find everything in it suitable or workable. Don't worry. Its contents have been so arranged that, in constructing your own campaign plan, you can easily pick those ideas that make the most sense for your members and your community.

In the coming weeks you will receive these additional materials:

1. A supply of four-page appeal letters signed by former State Senator Armistead L. Boothe which should be handed out to all prospects.
2. A supply of a combination return envelope and contribution form which should accompany the appeal letter.
3. A supply of an attractive #10 envelope, some carrying the VCHR return address.
4. Questions and Answers for Volunteer Workers
5. Suggestions for Publicity Chairmen
6. Dues/Contribution Report Forms.

An order form for the first three appears at the end of this Workbook. PLEASE RETURN IT IMMEDIATELY.

PERSONAL SOLICITATION

VCHR has organized a state-wide campaign committee which will conduct a mass mail appeal across the state.

Concurrently each local council is being asked to conduct a personal solicitation campaign, the kind that is most productive and that can only be carried out at the local level.

What do we mean by personal solicitations?

First, face-to-face contacts between a volunteer worker and a prospect.

Second, telephone communications, in which the caller follows up the conversation by mailing the materials to the prospect with a personal note.

Third, the scheduling of small group meetings in which a worker invites friends and associates to hear the Homeward Bound story at a luncheon, in an office, or at his home.

Fourth, the mailing of a genuinely personal letter on

the worker's own stationery to his list of friends, enclosing the campaign literature.

Fifth, the writing of a personal note on the blank space at the top of the appeal letter and mailing it to friends and associates. A good source of such names is the worker's own Christmas card list.

Everyone we have spoken to agrees that the Council's theme this year has great appeal. It is timely. It is important.

But people will not join and they will not give - unless they are asked.

We look forward to your dedicated effort and a very successful campaign.

If you need fast answers to any questions that may arise, please call Mrs. Phyllis Conklin, our campaign coordinator, in the Richmond office. The telephone number is (703) 648-4444. If she can not be reached, call David Apter & Associates, our campaign consultants in Washington. The number is (202) 223-1212.

Here are seven subjects you will need to consider before a successful campaign can be organized:

I. QUOTA

Just as your Council must set clear goals, so too must a membership drive and fund appeal have set objectives.

How many members do you wish to recruit?

How many dollars can be raised in your community?

VCHR has set $50,000 as the amount it must have in 1968 if its augmented program is to succeed. This is exclusive of the amount it will share with local councils.

With this objective in mind, it is asking each council to establish its own quota. Do you believe that Project Homeward Bound provides enough appeal to allow you to double or triple your past quotas? Looking at it another way, do you think it is possible to arrive at the figure by multiplying the number of your present members by $50 or $75 or $100?

We want you to shoot for the stars, but at the same time suggest that you set a goal which can be met.

II. LEADERSHIP

No campaign is ever stronger than its leadership.

Take a fresh look around your community to identify the people who should be asked to serve on your Campaign Committee for the public appeal.

Who are the influential businessmen, public officials, churchmen, educators, labor leaders, and voluntary organization officers who can identify with the need to plan for the homeward bound serviceman?

Decide now who should be invited to serve, when they should be approached, and who amoung your Council members should be responsible for approaching them.

III. WORKERS

There is a general rule that there should be at least one worker for every 10 prospects. If you are to follow this rule, you will need a large corps of volunteers.

The Virginia Council has been blessed with members who have been unstinting in their support. But even these must be multiplied.

You will have to decide how many workers are needed, where they are to be obtained and how they will be recruited and trained.

You may want to ask each of your members to start off by recruiting 10 other volunteers. There are people in your church, at the office, in the neighborhood, and in other organizations who will be willing to help - if they are asked.

Volunteers will respond best if you are specific about what you want them to do and guarantee that they will not be asked to give more than three weeks of their time to the campaign.

Of course, those workers who accept the additional responsibility of heading a committee or serving as captains for groups of volunteers will have to devote more time to the campaign.

IV. CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Once you have made a realistic appraisal of your leadership potential and the number of workers who can be recruited, you will have to weigh these facts against the quota that has been established.

How can these resources best be used in reaching your goal? Out of this process comes the decision on your campaign strategy.

You may decide to concentrate on one or a combination of the following techniques:

A. A Personal Solicitation Campaign
B. A Telephone Campaign
C. A Personalized Letter Campaign
D. Fund-Raising Luncheons and other special events.

V. PUBLICITY

Publicity in itself will not bring in more members or contributions. However, it is important in creating the favorable climate of public opinion necessary to increase the effectiveness of your workers.

Select one person to handle your publicity. If you can secure the voluntary services of a public relations professional, a newspaperman, or a broadcaster, so much the better.

You need to consider who needs to be told the campaign story, what needs to be said, and how you can best reach your target audiences.

VI. BUDGET

Though you will be receiving basic campaign literature and envelopes from VCHR, you will undoubtedly be faced with some expenses, particularly for postage.

This problem needs to be faced at the outset. Take the time to figure how much it will cost to organize an effective campaign, prepare a budget, and, if your council treasury is inadequate, decide how you are going to raise the seed money you will need.

VII. LOCAL ORDINANCES

Finally, be sure to check whether your community has any ordinances or regulations on fund appeals. If your city requires you to register, or to apply for a permit or to issue cards to volunteer solicitors, be sure that these details are taken care of at the outset of your planning.

This is the time to move into high gear. The campaign begins in three weeks. The advance solicitation drive should start in two weeks. Every key spot in the campaign organization has to be filled this week.

If your planning has been thorough, you are ready to name the chairman of your presitigious Campaign Committee.

You should also be ready to select one Council member to be responsible for each of seven specialized tasks:

- Special Gifts
- Membership
- Group Appeals
- Volunteer Recruitment
- List Acquisition
- Kick-Off Meeting
- Publicity

A separate committee should be organized around each of these specialized tasks. You name the chairman; let him pick his workers.

Keep the multiplier factor in mind at all times. Every person who agrees to work should also be given an opportunity to suggest other names for the various tasks at hand.

Now let's consider what each of these special committees should be asked to do.

I. THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Though you and your specialized committee chairman will be carrying the major burden of the campaign, you should attempt to enlist a representative cross-section of community leaders to serve as members of the Homeward Bound Campaign Committee.

If you completed your leadership list during the planning period, you are now ready to make personal approaches.

TAKE ALONG A COPY OF THE PROOF OF OUR APPEAL LETTER.

Though the final version will be condensed, this tells the story of the campaign. It states what your committee is being asked to support. Let the Richmond office know if you need more copies.

The Chairman and members of the Campaign Committee can be vital in broadening the base of your constituency. Don't stint on the number of members. Remember, people give more when they are involved. The corporate executive who might write a check for $10 when approached by a worker is more apt to contribute $100 as a result of his personal commitment as a member of the Campaign Committee.

You will be asked, "What do I have to do if I agree to become a member?"

First, tell the prospect that you want more than a letterhead committee. You want his advice and counsel. You want him to attend one meeting, after the committee is formed.

Beyond that, his participation is voluntary. He might consider taking on one or more of the following responsibilities.

A. Write a check for his gift for membership before March 1.
B. Agree to make personal calls on 5 or 10 of his friends and associates.
C. Write a personal note on his own letterhead to any list he cares to develop, enclosing the campaign literature.
D. Write a personal note on the blank space in the upper right-hand corner of the appeal letter and send this to his own list with his name and address in the space for return address on the campaign envelope.
E. Invite a small group to luncheon, to his office, or to his home to hear the campaign story.
F. Suggest names of prospects who should be approached by volunteer workers.
G. Make lists available for VCHR's mass mailings.
H. Assist the Special Gifts Committee in voting prospect cards.
I. And if none of these rings a bell, see if he has any other suggestions on how he can be of assistance.

II. THE SPECIAL GIFTS COMMITTEE

If you have set the kind of quota that is necessary to meet the state-wide goal, you will recognize that it can not be met by $5 and $10 memberships. You should aim for achieving two-thirds of your quota through a higher level of giving.

For this reason, we are suggesting that you organize a two-pronged drive, with one group concentrating on special gifts and another on regular memberships.

You must first decide, from your own knowledge of the community, the minimum you will consider as a special gift.

Is it $60 - $120 - $500 - $1000?

Once that decision has been made, the special gifts committee should begin preparing prospect cards.

Who are the businessmen, the industrialists, the professional people, the organizations, and other potential givers who should be approached?

Review your present membership list to determine who among this group fits within the category of special gifts prospects.

Put the name, address and phone number of every prospect on a 3 x 5 card. Make a notation on the card if the prospect has ever contributed to your Council or similar organizations. Note the name of the friend or associate who suggested his name. Keep this card as a permanent record, together with notes made by the worker who made the approach on the prospect's interest in the Council and the Homeward Bound Project.

During the first week concentrate on names - names - names. Don't limit yourself at first in the number of prospect cards prepared.

III. THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

The responsibility of the membership committee is to widen your council's constituency across the community. It will be seeking memberships at categories below that which has been established as the minimum for the Special Gifts committee.

First, of course, it will have to prepare a prospect card on every present and past member of your Council.

The cards should be the same type described in the preceding section and should become part of your permanent records, but perhaps of a different color.

Then you need to begin the big job of building the list of membership prospects.

Try to get lists of people who belong to organizations with program objectives broadly similar to your own. Ask the churches and synagogues for suggested lists. Send a questionaire to every one of your members, asking each to list a minimum of 10 people who should be approached. Who are the doctors, lawyers, clergymen, public officials, civil rights leaders, trade unionists, businessmen, and friends and neighbors who should be put on your list?

Concentrate on names during the first week of build-up.

IV GROUP APPEAL COMMITTEE

This is the committee which attempts to home in on very specific target audiences. Out of its work may flow a variety of specialized appeals to homogenous audiences.

For example.

Can you interest a contractor to develop his own committee for a campaign aimed at contractors?

Can you find a doctor who will do the same for the medical men in your community?

Will the head of the Central Labor Council take on the job among union officials?

Will some of your active church members take responsibility for getting the story and materials to other members of their church?

There is no end of special target groups that can be gone after in this way once the committee has set its mind to the task.

Some volunteers will not want to make a cold approach to the names on the prospect cards compiled by the Special Gifts and Membership Committees. They will be more comfortable contacting people they know. The trick is to find a special assignment that will please the worker and meet your objectives.

The answer will often be a group appeal assignment. See if the volunteer will take responsibility for his office or

office-building, his block or apartment house, his club or a group of people in his same profession or business.

V. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT COMMITTEE

Up to now we have concentrated on the jobs that must be done to mount a successful campaign.

But without an adequate force of informed and enthusiastic workers, there can be no action - there can be no campaign.

Your Volunteer Recruitment chairman carries a major responsibility.

Assuming that the organizing committee has named the key committees, volunteer recruitment should concentrate on building a corps of workers and a smaller group of captains.

The individual worker will be asked to take on a specific assignment and should be told that the job will be over in three weeks, beginning on March 1.

In addition to a specific assignment, the captain should be asked to coordinate the work of no more than 10 workers. The captain should be expected to give part of his time for a four-week period, beginning on February 23.

Here again, the responsibility during the first week is to fan out across town to enlist volunteer workers.

The members of your council should be signed up first-by telephone. Each member should be asked to talk to friends and associates and to suggest others who might be willing to serve.

Then go after people who have been active in groups with a similar interest: Fair Housing committees - NAACP - Urban League - Churches - ADL - Clubs. You will know many other sources which can be tapped for volunteer workers.

Keep in mind during this recruiting process the need to feed workers to the Special Gifts Committee, to the Membership Committee, to the Group Appeal Committee, and

other spots in your campaign organization.

VI. LIST ACQUISITION COMMITTEE

Here is where you tie in to the state-wide mass mail appeal.

VCHR intends to mail Armistead L. Boothe's appeal letter and a reply envelope to thousands of Virginia residents.

Rather than diverting the energy of local Councils from the essential job of personal solicitation, the Richmond headquarters will handle the mechanics and bear the entire expense of this effort.

In order to utilize VCHR's non-profit mailing priviliges, all these letters have to be posted in Richmond.

All proceeds from contributors in your community will be credited to your quota and will be shared with your council.

Thus it is vital that we receive good lists from each council.

Check with the Chamber of Commerce, the manufacturers association, the political parties, professional groups, clubs and social organizations. Make your own determination first on the value of the list.

Then call Phyllis Conklin, VCHR's state campaign coordinator in Richmond (703) 648-4444 and reverse the charges. Describe the list to her and ask if she can use it.

If you intend to solicit the people on a list, it should not be sent to Richmond.

But there are many others that will not be reached because of the limitations of your own manpower and funds. These are the ones we want.

Our first priority is for lists which can be reproduced on labels, which will be affixed to envelopes in Richmond.

Some organizations will not agree to provide lists in this form, for fear that their lists may be used for other purposes. If this is the case, ask Mrs. Conklin to mail you

a set number of envelopes which can be run through the organization's machine. Then ship the envelopes back to Richmond where they will be mailed.

You can guarantee all these who cooperate that the list will not be copied or used in any other way.

Our appeal letter will state:

"Forgive us if you receive more than one copy of this appeal. Several organizations are demonstrating their support of Project Homeward Bound by making their mailing lists available to us."

VII. KICK-OFF MEETING COMMITTEE

If you are going to have a successful event launching the campaign on March 1, this committee will have to begin work immediately.

It will have to decide on the type of event, reserve the place, invite the speaker, work out the agenda, and begin issuing invitations before the week has gone.

Ask VCHR for assistance if you need a speaker, but a prominent local citizen is perferable.

Remember, this is the time to give recognition to everyone involved in the campaign.

It is the time to give public notice that the drive is under way and is going to be a success.

It is the time to challenge your community to its responsibilities to the men and women, white and black, who are returning home from the Vietnam war.

VIII PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Your publicty chairman should be a key member of your inner circle and should be familiar with every element of the campaign.

His first news release will probably announce the name of the chairman of the Campaign Committee and outline the reasons why support is needed for Project Homeward Bound.

He should be asked to prepare public service spot announcements for radio and television, and newspaper releases on the need for volunteer workers.

Announcements should be made periodically on the names of local citizens who agree to work as chairmen and members of committees.

If possible, he should be asked to arrange for people who are knowledgable about the Defense Department's Project Transition and VCHR's Project Homeward Bound to speak before clubs and to be interviewed by newspapers and radio and television stations.

If one of the seven military installations conducting Project Transition programs in Virginia is nearby, talk to the project officer there about taking part in the publicity campaign.

A seperate memorandum for publicity chairman will be issued by VCHR.

Monday, February 12 PROGRESS REPORT #1

This is the date to mail your first progress report to VCHR. On the following page is a worksheet which you can keep for your records. The form to be mailed to VCHR is the buff one at the back of the Workbook.

VCHR will issue a weekly newsletter tabulating the information it receives from these reports.

Each coordinator will be able to use this information to keep his workers informed about the progress being made across the state.

It will be a valuable tool in assessing your own activities.

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 12, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #1

Council Reporting _____

1. No. of members at end of 1967 _____

2. Total amount of money raised in 1967 $_____

3. Our 1968 Campaign Quota $_____

4. Local Coordinator (name) _____

   (address for mailings) _____

   (city) _____ (zip) _____

5. Campaign committee chairman:

   (name) _____

   (title) _____

   (organization) _____

   (address) _____

   (city) _____ (zip) _____

6. Other Committee Chairmen:

   (name) _____ (committee) _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

7. Appraisal:

Signed: _____

Your organization should be clicking by now. All key spots should be filled, and all committees should be funtioning.

It will be helpful if you prepare and share the following organization aids with all your key people.

a. An organization chart
b. A meeting and events schedule
c. A campaign progress chart, showing both the increase in memberships and dollars.

You should schedule at least one meeting of your key people this week, and one during every subsequent week of the campaign.

No one should participate at any level of the campaign until he has been fully briefed on Project Homeward Bound, the Virginia Council on Human Relations, and the activities of your council.

The process begins at the top, should extend to all volunteers by personal contact with their chairman or captain, and down to the entire field of support through publicity.

There is no more important step in the process of indoctrination than to insist on having every worker make his own contribution before he solicits anyone else.

Your training efforts, beginning in the second week of the build-up period, should be continuous. Once the campaign begins, you will find that some people will want to do more than sign-up. Bring them in, brief them, and work out a mutually satisfactory assignment for every volunteer.

Now let's check what your committees should be doing.

I. THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

This is the last week to nail down the membership of this committee. The full list should be publicized as soon as possible.

Council members who are working with your prestigious Campaign Committee should follow up to see that each committee member is fulfilling his commitments.

II. THE SPECIAL GIFTS COMMITTEE

The job of building the prospect card list is continuing.

Now is the time to begin the second function of the committee, the rating of prospects.

After the prospect files are completed, and before there is any solicitation, it is vitally important that each card be rated by a knowledgable group of volunteers. Rating means that you rate how much the prospect should be asked to contribute. Some of the members of the Campaign Committee should be asked to help, particularly if they are to be responsible for approaching the prospect. Ask every person who suggests a "Special Gift" prospect, how much he believes the prospect would be willing to give.

If possible, the rating process should include a suggestion on which workers should handle which cards. The people who can best "suggest" the gift desired of a prospect are those who are on the same or higher Socio-economic level.

This amounts to setting a quota for each prospect to be solicited, with the aim of making the total of all individual quotas at least 150 percent of the campaign goal.

This is necessary if special gifts are to produce the necessary two-thirds of your local quota. Because there is always a slippage between ratings and actual gifts, we suggest you use the 150 percent figure in the rating process.

Without a rating process, every prospect on the list can contribute and the campaign can fail. No process in any campaign is more important, and no process is so frequently overlooked.

III. THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

"List building" and the preparation of prospect cards continues all this week.

IV. GROUP APPEAL COMMITTEE

Having made some initial decisions on the groups who should be reached in this process, the committee members are seeking out the key people who will agree to accept major

responsibility for each group.

Depending on the nature of the appeal, each chairman of a special group campaign will need assistance in developing his plan. Estimates should be made of the number of appeal letters, envelopes, and combination return envelope contribution forms that will be needed by each chairman.

You may find that some members of your prestigious Campaign Committee will agree to take on a special effort within their own groups.

This is also the time to begin asking the Volunteer Recruitment Chairman to submit names of volunteers who might be willing to concentrate on a special group.

V. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT COMMITTEE

The search continues and intensifies.

Accurate lists must be maintained of the name, address and phone number of every volunteer. The list should indicate the kind of assignment the worker is willing to accept.

Remember, there is a job for everyone. Don't make the mistake of forgetting to call on anyone who has indicated an interest in being of assistance.

At the same time, remember the multiplier factors.

Ask each volunteer if he or she can suggest others who would be interested in working, or joining your council, or making a contribution.

VI. LIST ACQUISITION COMMITTEE

By now you have made arrangements for your first lists to be shipped to Richmond.

Keep up the search. This is a continuous process. VCHR may be making these mass mailings for the next several months.

VII. KICK-OFF MEETING COMMITTEE

We've been using the generic term of "kick-off" meeting. You may decide to call it the Project Homeward Bound Dinner, The Council's Challenge meeting, the Mayor's Conference, etc.

Your invitations must be in the mail this week, your speaker nailed down, and everyone involved should know his responsibility. Don't forget the head table list, the public address system, flowers, publicity, etc.

VIII. PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

The first news story should be released this week. The long-term plans made for publicizing the kick-off, the report meetings, etc.

Monday, February 19 PROGRESS REPORT #2

This is the deadline for filing your second progress report to VCHR. Your copy appears on the next page. The form to be mailed to VCHR is the blue one at the back of the workbook.

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 19, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #2

Council Reporting_____

1. New committee chairmen:
   (name)_____(committee)_____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

2. No. of people serving on general campaign committee _____

3. No. of special gift prospect cards prepared _____

4. Minimum amount for special gift soliciation $_____

5. No. of membership prospect cards prepared _____

6. List of special group appeals:
   (type of group)_____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. No. of volunteers recruited _____

8. Lists acquired for VCHR:
   (Names)_____(Est. no. on list)_____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

9. Plans for kick-off meeting (enclosed: yes___ no___)

10. Publicity Report and Clippings (enclosed: yes___ no___)

11. Additional literature needed: Appeal Letter Send____
    Return Envelope Send____
    Mailing Envelope - No Return Address
    Send____
    Mailing Envelope - Printed Return Address
    Send____

12. Appraisal:

Signed:_____

Every one of your committees should have completed its planning and organizing by the end of this week.

Every volunteer should have an assignment. And to prove that everything is in order, you should begin your advance solicitation drive.

Let's discuss what we mean.

Every committee chairman and every captain should be asked to participate in a one-week advance solicitation drive before the campaign starts on Friday, March 1.

The purpose of this drive is to set the necessary standard of giving by providing some outstanding examples of generous gifts in every group to be solicited and to obtain the renewal, membership, or contribution of every worker.

The volunteer who has written his personal check before soliciting others is a more effective fund-raiser.

It is important to note that the purpose of advance solicitation is not primarily to raise as much money as possible in advance. It should be a process for sampling attitudes, training workers, and providing examples of sacrificial giving.

You may wish to secure renewals from every one of your present members during the advance solicitation drive, thus permitting everyone to concentrate on new members during the three-week public campaign.

THE RESULTS OF THE ADVANCE SOLICITATION SHOULD BE ANNOUNCED AT THE KICK-OFF EVENT

NOW LET'S REVIEW THE STATUS OF YOUR COMMITTEES.

I. THE CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

Every member should have made his contribution.

These who agree to make personal contacts should be asked to make at least two during the advance solicitation drive.

These who agree to write letters should have assembled their lists and drafted the letter.

There should be a clear understanding of what each member is going to do, when he is going to do it, and what help he needs.

II. THE SPECIAL GIFTS COMMITTEE

The prospect cards are completed and rated.

Each card has been assigned to a volunteer, with no more than 10 to a person. If the worker completes his list during the campaign period and asks for more names - GREAT.

A captain has been assigned to each 10 workers. He should make one telephone call each week to each worker. He has to arrange to pick up the envelopes containing checks and turn them in at the weekly report meeting. Each captain should be asked to encourage workers to make one or two calls during the advance solicitation drive-this week.

A list must be maintained of the cards issued to each worker. All of them should be returned at the end of the campaign. Those who have said they would contribute but whose checks have not been received should be contacted during the clean-up period after the campaign closes.

III. THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

The prospect cards are completed.

Each card has been assigned to a volunteer, with no more than 10 to a person.

A captain has been assigned to each 10 workers.

Each captain should be asked to encourage workers to make one or two calls during the advance solicitation drive-this week.

The pattern of reporting and record keeping is the same as described in the previous section.

IV. GROUP APPEAL COMMITTEE

Each group should have been identified and each chairman named.

The procedure to be followed during the three-week campaign is understood by all participants.

Every group chairman should be asked to attend each of the campaigh report meetings, where he will turn in the receipts collected that week.

Every group should be asked to participate in this week's advance solicitation, by making the initial first and second contacts.

V. VOLUNTEER RECRUITMENT COMMITTEE

Every possible volunteer has been recruited and put in touch with the committee with whom he will work.

The committee has not completed its task. If the publicity is good and the community becomes more aware of the campaign, there will be more interest in helping.

Keep the recruiting effort going.

VI. LIST ACQUISITION COMMITTEE

VII. KICK-OFF MEETING COMMITTEE

VIII. PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

All of the above will continue the work described in the previous sections.

Monday, February 26 PROGRESS REPORT #3

This is the date for filing your third and last progress report before the campaign opens. Your copy appears on the next page. The form to be mailed to VCHR is the pink one at the back of the workbook.

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 26, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #3

Council Reporting_____

1. No. of special gift prospect cards prepared _____

2. No. of membership prospect cards prepared _____

3. List of special group appeals:
   (Type or name of group)_____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

4. No. of volunteers recruited _____

5. Lists acquired for VCHR:
   (Name)_____(Est. no. on list)_____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

6. Publicity Report and Clippings (enclosed: yes___no___)

7. Additional literature needed
   Appeal Letter Send_____
   Return Envelope Send_____
   Mailing Envelope - No Return Address Send_____
   Mailing Envelope - Printed Return Address Send_____

8. Appraisal:

Signed:_____

FRIDAY, MARCH 1 CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF

The campaign, like a circus, should not sneak quietly into town, but should open with enough visibility to let everyone know what is going on.

If possible, the formal opening should be scheduled for March 1, to tie-in with the state-wide publicity campaign.

This will be your opportunity to tell the story of Project Homeward Bound in your community. Whether you decide to sponsor a formal public dinner with a major speaker or limit yourself to a regular meeting of your Council, try to get maximum publicity.

If you decide to limit the kick-off to a meeting of Council members, be sure to issue special invitations to all your volunteer workers.

If you decide to hold a public meeting, be sure to invite everyone listed on your prospect cards as well as your volunteers.

Be sure to give every person attending a copy of the appeal letter and the combination return envelope/contribution form.

Give everyone an opportunity to write his check or make his pledge before he leaves the meeting.

MONDAY, MARCH 4 MEMBERSHIP/CONTRIBUTION REPORT #1 MAILED

You will receive special report forms that should be mailed, along with checks received to date, to VCHR in Richmond.

The Richmond office will send you a weekly report listing the individual memberships and contributions which it receives from people in your community. This information should be noted on your prospect cards and records to prevent a duplication of solicitations.

You will note that our literature requests that checks be made out to VCHR. This was done because contributions to the Virginia Council are tax-deductible. You can assure all prospective doners that your Council will share in the contributions received.

If the contributor prefers to make his check out in the name of your council, you may either endorse the check to VCHR or send us your council's check after deducting your share of the proceeds.

This first report will reflect the amount raised during your advance solicitation drive and at your kick-off meeting.

The campaign newsletter will keep all councils advised on the status of giving across the state.

FRIDAY, MARCH 8 FIRST REPORT MEETING

We suggest that you schedule a weekly report meeting, preferably on Friday or the weekend as this gives your workers an opportunity to make progress statements after a full week's effort.

Report meetings need to be held frequently for the reason that volunteers are apt to confine their efforts to the period immediately preceding a report.

Your chairman, captains, and other key workers should be expected to attend. Ask them now to mark the dates and place on their calendars. If other workers are interested in attending, they should be encouraged to do so.

Remember, people are not stimulated to great efforts by being told that the campaign is dragging.

The accent should always be on success.

There will be many problems that have to be solved on a day-to-day basis. These can best be handled in smaller group meetings.

MONDAY, MARCH 11 MEMBERSHIP/CONTRIBUTION REPORT #2 MAILED

FRIDAY, MARCH 15 SECOND REPORT MEETING

MONDAY, MARCH 18 MEMBERSHIP/CONTRIBUTION REPORT #3 MAILED

THURSDAY, MARCH 21 PUBLIC CAMPAIGN ENDS

FRIDAY, MARCH 22 FINAL REPORT MEETING

This, we believe, will be your victory meeting. You will be "over the top." But even though you meet your quota, your

organizing committee should plan to devote another week or 10 days to "clean-up."

MARCH, 22-31 THE CLEAN-UP

Cards will be turned in which indicate that some who pledged to give have not done so. They should be called.

You may find that somehow a tried and true member has not sent in his check. There should be a follow-up.

Because of illness or absence from the city, there are always a number of prospects that remain to be solicited after the end of the public drive.

You should plan your follow-ups and not leave them to chance.

And, most improtant, is the expression of appreciation to those who worked before and during the public campaign.

MONDAY, MARCH 25 MEMBERSHIP/CONTRIBUTION REPORT #4 MAILED

MONDAY, APRIL 1 FINAL MEMBERSHIP/CONTRIBUTION REPORT MAILED

MAIL THIS FORM TO VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219 -- Keep second copy for your files.

ORDER FORM
for
CAMPAIGN MATERIALS

FROM: (Name)_____
(Address)_____
(City)_____(Zip)_____

1. APPEAL LETTER

This is a four page pre-folded printed letter signed by Armistead L. Boothe, which can be handed or mailed to prospective members and contributors. The back page carries a list of affiliated councils. It is the basic campaign document on Project Homeward Bound and the work of the Virginia Council and its local affiliates.

The first shipment will be made in lots of 500.

PLEASE SEND _____

2. COMBINATION RETURN ENVELOPE/CONTRIBUTION FORM

This should be handed or mailed to all prospects with the appeal letter. The back flap provides space for the contributor to indicate the amount of his gift, the type of membership desired, the schedule of payments if he desires to make a pledge, and his name and address. Workers should write their names on the front after inserting the contribution in the envelope - before turning them in at Report Meetings. The printed return address is that of VCHR in Richmond. Local councils will be informed of all gifts and memberships mailed directly to this address.

The first shipment will be made in lots of 500.

PLEASE SEND_____

3. NO. 10 MAILING ENVELOPE -- NO RETURN ADDRESS

The face of this envelope carries the same photo and slogan which appears at the top of the appeal letter. The blank space in the upper left hand corner allows each worker to personalize the approach by inserting his own name and address. Local councils may wish to imprint their name. The appeal letter and return envelope should be inserted along with personal notes or any other material developed by the local council. As VCHR's postage indicia can only be used in mailings from Richmond, users will have to provide their own postage.

The first shipment will be made in lots of 500.

PLEASE SEND_____

4. NO. 10 MAILING ENVELOPE -- PRINTED RETURN ADDRESS

This is the same as the envelope described above, except that the upper left hand corner informs the recipient that it is being sent by "Armistead L. Boothe, 17 East Cary Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219"

The first shipment will be made in lots of 500.

PLEASE SEND_____

FIRST SHIPMENTS WILL BE SENT ON OR ABOUT FEBRUARY 16

MAIL THIS FORM TO VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS, 17 East Cary Street,
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 12, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #1

Council Reporting _____

1. No. of members at end of 1967 _____

2. Total amount of money raised in 1967 $_____

3. Our 1968 Campaign Quota $_____

4. Local Coordinator (name) _____

   (address for mailings) _____

   (city) _____ (zip) _____

5. Campaign committee chairman:

   (name) _____

   (title) _____

   (organization) _____

   (address) _____

   (city) _____ (zip) _____

6. Other Committee Chairmen:

   (name) _____ (committee) _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

   _____ _____

7. Appraisal:

Signed: _____

MAIL THIS FORM TO VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS, 17 East Cary Street,
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 19, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #2

Council Reporting_____

1. New committee chairmen:
   (name)_____ (committee)_____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

2. No. of people serving on general campaign committee _____

3. No. of special gift prospect cards prepared _____

4. Minimum amount for special gift soliciation $_____

5. No. of membership prospect cards prepared _____

6. List of special group appeals:
   (type of group)_____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

7. No. of volunteers recruited _____

8. Lists acquired for VCHR:
   (Names)_____ (Est. no. on list)_____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

9. Plans for kick-off meeting (enclosed: yes___ no___)

10. Publicity Report and Clippings (enclosed: yes___ no___)

11. Additional literature needed: Appeal Letter Send____
    Return Envelope Send____
    Mailing Envelope - No Return Address
    Send____
    Mailing Envelope - Printed Return Address
    Send____

12. Appraisal:

Signed:_____

MAIL THIS FORM TO VIRGINIA COUNCIL ON
HUMAN RELATIONS, 17 East Cary Street,
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Deadline for mailing: Feb. 26, 1968

PROGRESS REPORT #3

Council Reporting _____

1. No. of special gift prospect cards prepared _____

2. No. of membership prospect cards prepared _____

3. List of special group appeals:
   (Type or name of group) _____
   _____
   _____
   _____
   _____

4. No. of volunteers recruited _____

5. Lists acquired for VCHR:
   (Name) _____ (Est. no. on list) _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____
   _____ _____

6. Publicity Report and Clippings (enclosed: yes___ no___)

7. Additional literature needed
   Appeal Letter Send _____
   Return Envelope Send _____
   Mailing Envelope - No Return Address Send _____
   Mailing Envelope - Printed Return Address Send _____

8. Appraisal:

Signed: _____

for David Apter & Assocs

April 12, 1968

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Forgive me for not responding sooner to the materials you sent on the Virginia campaign -- I had wanted to read them before replying. They are extremely well done and if there is the right follow-up in Virginia I have no doubt the campaign will be successful. And, ironically, the terrible tragedy of last week may actually spur more white folks to both a realistic and compassionate step.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
David Apter & Assocs

August 15, 1958

Mr. Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate
David Apter & Associates
1145 - 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Calvin:

Last weekend I was cleaning out a room at home prior to painting it, and to my absolute horror I discovered the draft of your new descriptive piece on Apter & Associates. It had gotten there because I conscientiously took it home over a weekend to spend some time with it.

If by any chance you have not yet produced your brochure I will, of course, share my comments with you. But, for the moment I can only offer my most sincere apologies for this inexcusable lapse.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle
Senior Associate

14 June 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

After a year of hemming and hawing, Dave Apter and I have finally drafted a prospecting piece. I enclose a copy, with the hope that before it goes into print you may find time to read it and give us your top-of-the-head reactions.

We're asking this of only about a dozen special people whose taste we value, and we're doing it simply because we don't trust our judgment about something that talks about our own virtues. In every draft before this one, we've either sounded embarrassingly self-conscious or been guilty of telling a great deal more about us than anybody would care to know.

We're eager to know what, if anything, you find (1) confusing, (2) vague, and (3) dull. The more specific you are, the more helpful you'll be. We'd particularly like to know how you feel about the section of quotes beginning on page seven. (Do the quotes tell you anything about us that isn't already, and perhaps better, implied in our list of clients and in our biographical sketches? Are there too many quotes? If so, which ones should we cut? Should we drop the whole section?)

We don't intend to use the piece for a big mailing but as a handout, usually in response to a specific inquiry. What we want, of course, is something that will be descriptive, to the point, unpretentious, and in a style that's reflective of both our standards and our operating approach. We plan to run the recurring god's-eye in four colors and hope to treat it typographically in such a way as to develop a bit of suspense.

You'll be doing us an enormous favor.

Blessings,

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

CK/rpk
Encl.

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES

The company we keep, the work

we do, and the ideas we hold.

DAVID APTER . CALVIN KYTLE

Public Affairs/Communications/Community Relations

1145 Nineteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036

(202)-223-1212

OUR CLIENTS

During the past two years ~~one or both of us~~ we have worked for:

- The Agency for International Development
- Delta Sigma Theta
- Employee Benefit Consultants
- The U. S. Food and Drug Administration
- The Ford Foundation
- F & R Lazarus Division of Federated Department Stores, Inc.
- Grosset & Dunlap
- Guild of Prescription Opticians, Inc.
- Institute of Educational Research
- Institute of Scrap Iron & Steel, Inc.
- International School of America
- League of Women Voters Education Fund
- Model Inner City Community Organization, Inc.
- National Aeronautics and Space Administration
- National Association of the Partners of the Alliance
- National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
- Science Research Associates
- Southern Education Foundation

. Southern Regional Council

. United Negro College Fund

. U. S. Conference of Mayors

. Virginia Council on Human Relations

. Washington Urban League

. White House Conference on Civil Rights

. Woolman Systems, Inc.

WHAT WE DO

Our services vary with the needs of the client.

Sometimes our job is merely to help the client make a decision by bringing him facts and clarifying his options. Other times it's to announce and gather support for a decision he's already made.

We are prepared to lay out a whole communications strategy, helping an organization define its objectives, pinpoint its relevant publics, and establish a distinctive identity. Usually we go on from there, working by plan, to produce the programs and materials necessary to fulfill that strategy. We write news releases; hold press conferences; produce all kinds of institutional literature and visual aids; conduct direct-mail appeals; stage seminars, conferences and special events.

In some cases, we serve as the client's man in Washington. For example, we have:

. Drafted the basic communications program and counseled on all aspects of citizen participation for an advocacy planning group in a Washington renewal area.

. Directed all national publicity incidental to the release of two major studies, one on fair housing, the other on voter education in the ghettos.

. Developed and planned an industry-wide beautification program that brought a citation from the White House.

. Carried out a public education campaign in support of free trade.

. Designed a government-industry manpower project.

. Initiated a public information program that resulted in Senate hearings and new legislation for consumer protection.

. Written the basic public relations plan for a new nonprofit organization devoted to the promotion of better understanding between the U. S. and Latin America.

. Surveyed drug companies on equal opportunity practices.

. Conducted a series of interviews with key government officials on emerging trends in consumer protection.

. Planned and supervised three fund-raising drives.

. Developed a youth motivation program for a predominantly Negro organization.

. Assisted in the design of a government-industry program on the applications of space research.

. Helped develop alternative approaches to the reorganization of a research firm specializing in the design of training systems.

. Evaluated proposals for a major U. S. foundation.

. Provided a wide range of consulting services to an entrepreneur who wants to develop a new city from scratch.

. Developed policy recommendations aimed at improving communications between the business community and human relations councils.

WHO WE ARE

DAVID APTER has been a Washington consultant in public affairs since 1955, the past four years as president of David Apter & Associates. He was for ten years a vice president and director of the Washington office of Edward Gottlieb & Associates, Ltd., one of the ranking U. S. public relations firms.

His credentials include service as a public affairs officer

in the U. S. Department of State, executive assistant to the mayor of Los Angeles, lecturer at the University of Southern California, public relations officer in the Air Force, assistant to the president of Hampton Institute, fund raiser with the John Price Jones Corporation, and a news reporter in Washington, D. C., Hartford, Conn., and New York City.

He was information coordinator for the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, principal consultant to the 1966 White House Conference "To Fulfill These Rights", and a consultant to the 1965 White House Conference on Education. In 1952, he was a member of the U. S. Delegation to the UNESCO General Conference in Paris and in 1967 he went to Rio de Janiero as a U. S. representative to the Inter-American Conference of the Partners of the Alliance (Alliance for Progress).

He has served as president of the Association of Municipal Public Relations Officers and the Public Relations Association for Negro Colleges. He is accredited by the Public Relations Society of America.

A native of Connecticut, he grew up in Virginia and attended George Washington University.

CALVIN KYTLE, senior associate, was an executive of the Nationwide Insurance Companies of Columbus, Ohio, for fourteen years, at different times heading both the office of personnel and the office of public relations. From 1957 to 1964 he was Nationwide's vice president for public relations and advertising. He also served as deputy to the senior vice president, in which capacity he was responsible for a major corporate effort to identify social values as measurable criteria in management decision-making.

He came to Washington in 1964 to become deputy director of the U. S. Community Relations Service, the conciliation agency established in the Department of Commerce by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. He headed CRS for six months after the director, Governor LeRoy Collins, became Undersecretary of Commerce. Until he joined David Apter in January 1967, he was director of information for Urban America, Inc.

A native of South Carolina, he is a graduate of Emory University and a former reporter for The Atlanta Constitution. He won a Bronze Star for service during World War II and in 1947 received a Julius Rosenwald grant for creative writing. Over the years he has contributed to Harper's, Saturday Review, The Reporter, Coronet, and other magazines. His book for young people, "Gandhi,

Soldier of Non-violence", will be published this fall by Grosset & Dunlap.

WHAT WE SAY

Last year about a third of our work came out as words on paper -- in speeches, reports, proposals, mailing pieces, press releases. Some of these words we offer below, for what they have to say about our point of view and the things that interest us.

> Free men may not yet be able to control their own destinies, but many more of them -- especially the young -- are now persuaded to try harder in the faith that they can.

* * *

The future U. S. society will be not only integrated but decompartmentalized. The ecumenical spirit will spread; creative federalism will take hold; institutional fences will come down. Governments will call increasingly on the resources of private industry; business will become increasingly involved in the processes of government. Corporations, churches, unions, private foundations, universities, associations (professional, trade, and civic) -- all will come to recognize that each has a stake in meeting the unfulfilled needs of the total community. Roles may differ, motivations

may differ, rewards may differ, but the legitimacy of every institution's interest in the general welfare, and of every institution's right to participate in the formation and execution of public policy, will no longer be debatable propositions.

* * *

> The message of science and technology is getting through. Life does not have to be a matter of making the best of a given situation; a new situation can be created. The pie does not have to be just so big, with only so much to go 'round; the pie can be as big as men need it to be.

* * *

The U. S. domestic condition suffers not so much from a lack of invention and fresh ideas as it does from an apparent inability to carry out rationally and humanely those of already demonstrated value. The really tough problems today are those of organization and management and politics.

* * *

> Nothing is clearer in times like these than the need for public opinion to be better and faster informed -- unless it is the need

> for divergent groups whose interests collide and converge in the formation of that opinion to get to know one another better and to learn to talk to one another more intelligibly. Awareness is not the same as understanding.

* * *

It took 44 years for county agents to sell American farmers on the superior virtues of hybrid corn once it had been successfully developed. The problems of today's urban society are of such dimensions that a similar combination of unreasoning resistance and educational lag would be suicidal.

* * *

> The main objection to those who insist that political parties are dead and done for is that as yet they have offered no alternative fit for a republic.

* * *

Granted the importance of personalities and television; granted the excessive importance of money as a determinant of who runs for public office -- for these same reasons the need to stabilize and strengthen party organization would appear to be all

the greater.

* * *

At their best, political parties operate as stabilizing, unifying forces. As synthesizers, as agencies of accommodation and inclusion, they constitute an indispensable element in the mystique of democratic government. For this reason, if for no other, the rising sounds of dissent and insurrection now summon every good man to come to the aid of his party.

* * *

Participation is without meaning unless (1) it presents people with realistic choices relevant to their own perceived needs; and unless (2) it leads to a tangible pay-off which has some resemblance to the choices people have made. Participation is thus the precise opposite of alienation, an affliction of the spirit marked not so much by the abandonment of hope as by the individual's belief that in a world grown big and impersonal he has been given no freedom of choice.

* * *

It may be that because its very efficiency is jeopardized by the maintenance of archaic

social systems, modern technology will require a fundamentally new city.

* * *

The history of planned communities in this country argues that in the absence of coherent federal action the most expertly planned new town is destined to be little better than an aesthetically pleasing subdivision. But the current overpopulated chaos of our big cities argues with equal strength that a comprehensive new-towns policy, vigorously supported by federal dollars, is absolutely imperative if the existing cities are to be made fit to live in.

* * *

> Effective planning cannot be carried out apart from action; the best hope for realizing a new town of quality is to see planning, work, and people as parts of the same organic process.

* * *

There is as much diversity of attitudes about race among white businessmen as there is diversity in the American business system. . . Although all are being touched by the revolution in white-Negro relations, businessmen are moving at different speeds and

at widely different levels of awareness.

* * *

> To be effective, any organized effort to influence businessmen directly on matters of race has to have multiple approaches, each directed toward a selectively defined management group and each designed to connect at the group's own point of readiness.

* * *

Convinced as we are that the problems of the Negro ghetto will be solved only with a change in the attitude of the white majority, we have wondered why some group doesn't mount a nationwide fact-facing campaign. A few years ago we might not have had the facts and figures on disparities between white and Negro treatment at the community level; we have them now, or at least we have enough of them. So far, however, there has been considerable resistance among white civic leaders to using these facts forthrightly and in a professional way as a means of influencing municipal policy on such things as housing, police protection, welfare, schools, employment, and the like. Though such disparities have been well publicized at the national level, they have not been made relevant to most white people at the level where they live, which happens to

be where ultimately the problems must be solved.

* * *

Democracy rests on a delicate balance between social order and individual freedom. To maintain that balance, nothing is more important than the participation in local affairs of those special citizens in whom good sense is matched with good will.

* * *

ON DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES

To help raise the right questions; to open minds, hearts, and doors; to help improve the quality of information on which public opinion is based -- these are the things we do, for clients who share our concern for the future.

* * *

We work for those organizations -- be they profit or nonprofit, private or public -- which see themselves as responsible agents of change.

* * *

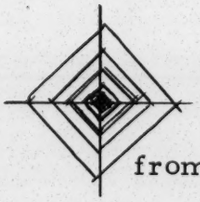
We welcome as clients those organizations which see their natural self-interest in the sound resolution of public issues.

* * *

We prefer clients who understand that communication is as much listening as it is talking. We especially like clients who, if they complain of being misunderstood, will entertain the possibility that they do not understand.

* * *

We are in the communications business. On behalf of the people who pay us, we want to communicate honestly that which is worth communicating.



DA&A's insignia is adapted from the god's eye used by American Indians to welcome good spirits.

Welcome, good spirits.

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July 14, 1969

Mr. Ted Cron
Grosset & Dunlap Publishers
51 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Cron:

Whenever Mr. Calvin Kytle's book, Soldier of Nonviolence, is available would you send us one copy and bill us for the same? Please send the book to the attention of Mr. Paul Anthony.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ/mj

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

Calvin Kytle, our colleague, has retold the Gandhi story in a touching and informative biography called *Gandhi, Soldier of Nonviolence.* Grosset & Dunlap has timed publication to help celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Mahatma's birth.

57 Madison Ave

We think the book will be of much interest to mature readers as well as young adults, for whom Calvin primarily wrote it. It's dedicated to the memory of Martin Luther King, Jr., it's liberally illustrated with photographs, and publication date is August 25.

David Apter

Ted Cron

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

202/223-1212

DAVID APTER & ASSOCIATES
1145 19th Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

October 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

For several years now the two of us have enjoyed a pleasant and mutually profitable association that we like to think has also benefited our clients and friends.

Effective November 1, we enter into a new relationship which not only reflects the growth of our common business but a common desire to keep close to our clients, and to each other, while pursuing somewhat different professional interests.

On that date, under a "together-but-separate" arrangement, Calvin will establish his own firm, Calvin Kytle Associates. He will continue to be closely associated with DA&A, and much the same client relationships will be retained, with the professional staffs of both firms available for assignment on accounts of the other.

It goes without saying that the two of us will retain the warmest of working as well as personal relationships.

On that same date, our two firms will be moving into new quarters, in suites adjacent to each other, on the first floor of the Commonwealth Building, 1625 K Street Northwest. DA&A's phone number will be 393-2200, and CKA's will be 638-1113.

You're cordially invited to drop by.

Sincerely,

David

David Apter

Calvin

Calvin Kytle

July 20, 1944

Dr. Raymond Adams
Department of English
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Raymond:

For some time I have been wanting to write you and thank you for your most generous remarks about me in the News Letter of the Archaelogical Society of North Carolina. I am proud to have had a part in building up the Archaelogical Society, and I miss very much the friendships which developed through our common interest in archaelogy.

The May 15 News Letter certainly looks good. Mrs. Derieux is a good worker, and I am glad that she is editing the News Letter.

Best wishes for the Society, and greetings to you and Charlotte.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

NEWS LETTER

OF THE

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Raleigh, North Carolina May 15, 1944

Greetings From the President of the Society

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina has proved itself to be a tenacious and virile organization. Originating in a year of economic depression and continuing to have an active loyal membership under war-time conditions, it is effective evidence of a fundamental interest in the State in matters archaeological. Even under present limitations, we have the opportunity to carry forward the development of the Society and to prepare for an expanded program when post-war conditions permit. Thus, this bulletin presents a statement about tangible accomplishments in the past and of our hopes for the future.

Officers of the Society for 1944

Vice-President

J. R. Shipley
Asheville

President

Sanford Winston
Raleigh

Editor

Mrs. J. B. Derieux
2802 Hillsboro St.
Raleigh

Secretary-Treasurer

Raymond Adams
Chapel Hill

Field Director
(on leave)
Joffre L. Coe
Chapel Hill

Executive Board

Composed of the above officers and following elected members:

Term expiring in 1944	Term expiring in 1945	Term expiring in 1946
John Gillen	John Shipley	James B. Bullitt
Durham	Winston-Salem	Chapel Hill
Thurmond Chatham	J. E. Steere	C. C. Crittenden
Winston-Salem	Charlotte	Raleigh

EDITORIALS

Our First Decade

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina has rounded out its first decade of activity. It is most encouraging to note that the society has made excellent progress on a number of projects which were outlined in the early years of its existence.

The first work to be undertaken was a survey of the known or suspected ancient sites of the state. Additions to this survey are still being made as interested citizens write to the officers of the society or to Mr. Harry T. Davis, Director of the State Museum, describing peculiar earthworks or the location of numerous artifacts which are to be found on their property or in the neighborhood.

North Carolina was fortunate to be among the several states which were selected by the Federal Government for archaeological investigation in 1934. The newly organized society was fortunate also, when the governmental decision was made to include scientific excavation as legitimate C.W.A. projects. In addition to this timely aid the society has been assisted by the State Museum in carrying forward its plans.

Archaeological accomplishments of the society during its first decade of existence include the excavation of the Keyauwee Village site in Randolph County, the excavation of the Occaneechi Village near Hillsboro, explorations conducted on three islands in the Roanoke River below the junction of the Staunton and Dan Rivers, the excavation of the Sara Village in the Dan River and the Sapona Village on the Yadkin River near Salisbury. Extensive investigation also has been carried out at the Frutchey mound near Mt. Gilead.

North Carolina's first Archaeological Reservation came into existence on May 15, 1937 when a prehistoric mound was presented to the State by the owners, Mr. and Mrs. L.D. Frutchey. An interesting ceremony marked the formal transfer of this ancient earthwork. It is hoped that it will not be long before a small museum can be erected near the mound for the housing and display of the artifacts which have been found in this area. This site is now a part of the State Park system and will receive permanent care.

Artifacts which have been found during the past decade have been identified and classified and a number of them have been placed on display at the State Museum, Raleigh, the Wachovia Museum, Winston-Salem and the State University at Chapel Hill.

Archaeological Activity In The Southeastern States

The past decade has witnessed unusual archaeological activity in the Southeastern States. Among the most outstanding accomplishments of this period, perhaps, are the explorations and restoration projects which have been conducted in the Ocmulgee area at Macon, Georgia, and the intensive investigations which were carried out in areas which were to be covered by the impounding waters of the Tennessee River.

Extensvie archaeological investigations have been carried out during this period by Alabama, Louisiana, Kentucky and Florida.

With Dr. Guy B. Johnson out of the state the Archaeological Society has a real gap to fill. The gap is not in the roster of officers, for the present bulletin is evidence that his job as editor has already fallen into good hands. Rather, the gap is in the area of unselfish interest in the entire work, membership, and very existence of the society. There are a few people who have followed the society through its entire history as guides and advisers, and a gap in their ranks can hardly be filled.

The announcement issued recently by the Institute for Research in Social Science at the university, in spite of its not mentioning the interest in archaeology and a lot of other interests of Guy Johnson, seems worth quoting in full:

> Announcement has just been made of the election of Professor Guy B. Johnson of the University of North Carolina as executive director of the newly organized Southern Regional Council with headquarters at Atlanta. Dr. Ira B. Reid of Atlanta University was elected associate director. The functions of this council as stated in the charter are the improvement of economic, civic, and racial conditions in the South, in the endeavor to promote a greater unity in the South in all efforts towards regional and racial development; to attain through research and action programs the ideals and practices of equal opportunities for all peoples in the region; to reduce race tension, racial misunderstanding, and racial distrust; to develop and integrate leadership in the South on new levels of regional development and fellowship; and to cooperate with local, state, and regional agencies on all levels in the attainment of the desired objectives.
>
> Dr. Johnson, as research professor in charge of racial studies at the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science and as a member of the Board of Trustees of Howard University at Washington, has done distinguished work in both the South and Nation at large. In addition to his own publications, which have been numerous, and his work in national committees, he has just recently participated in the Myrdal-Carnegie study of the American Negro, in which he was in charge of the sociological aspects of the inquiry. Both he and Mrs. Johnson contributed largely to those studies and are preparing special volumes as the outgrowth.
>
> Dr. Johnson is a native Texan, holds the M.A. degree from the University of Chicago, Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina, and has done field work in anthropology under the direction of Yale University. He has worked with the Social Science Research Council and the University of Chicago in special studies and equipment for anthropological research. His publications include a very large number of journal articles and special volumes on Folk Culture on St. Helena's Island, South Carolina; John Henry; and he has collaborated in the volumes on the The Negro and His Songs and Negro Workaday Songs. Dr. Johnson's election has been acclaimed with great enthusiasm by both races North and South, and the work of the Council is estimated to be one of the most important in the Nation at this time.

One could add a good deal to that statement; but one hardly needs to detail the many offices Dr. Johnson has held in our little society nor the scientific and friendly spirit he has developed among us. He is already at work in Atlanta, where his address is 710 Standard Bldg., 95 Fairlie St., N. W.

R.A.

Here and There

The archaeological materials and records which the Society and the University gathered at Chapel Hill just before the war are at present on file and in storage in space made available by the sociology department there. With Guy Johnson no longer on hand, and Robert Wauchope and Joffre Coe both away from Chapel Hill, access to the material is not easy, for it is not the kind of thing that a novice should prowl through. But things are safe, records are made, and after the war the work can be resumed. Not everything in our world is likely to be just as it was left when the war came on. We probably want many changes all together, but not among arrowheads and bone necklaces.

While in Washington, D. C. last summer Mr. Rights received a generous offer from Dr. Frank M. Setzler of the Smithsonian Institute to send some of the representative material which was excavated at the Peachtree Mound to the museums of North Carolina. Mr. Rights suggested State Museum, Chapel Hill Laboratory, and the Wachovia Museum. A box of pottery specimens has arrived at the Wachovia Museum and will be placed in cases for special exhibit. Peachtree Mound was excavated in 1933-4. A detailed account is to be found in Bulletin 131 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This study was prepared by Dr. Setzler and Jesse D. Jennings.

Among the interesting and valuable booklets which are issued by the National Park Service in their Popular Study Service are two which will be of special interest to members of the society. "Prehistoric Cultures of the Southeast" and "New Echota, Birthplace of the American Indian Press," can be secured from the U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Washington, D. C. for ten cents each.

Several members have recently sent in their dues and that leads the treasurer to hope that others have overlooked the payment of theirs. A dollar will bring one's membership up to date. If you are at all interested in the work and future of the Society and have not paid your dollar, please send it to the treasurer: Raymond Adams, Box 762, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

At the present moment world history is being written so rapidly that there is slight possibility of doing more than recording present events for future study. With the arrival of peace, however, scientific investigations will be resumed on a larger scale and with a greater number of interested workers taking part. Many soldiers in the Armed Forces are now either stationed or fighting over some of the oldest occupied country in the world. Their interest has been stimulated not only in the ancient lands in which they find themselves but in the manners and customs of the people. Many of these interested soldiers of today will become tomorrow's students of archaeology and anthropology.

Post-Script: If any reader has any item of general interest to the Society, please send it to the Editor.

NEWS LETTER

OF

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Number 12 October, 1944

The annual meeting of the Archaeological Society will be held at Raleigh on December 6, 1944. Following the custom of the last few years this meeting will be held in conjunction with the State Literary and Historical Association, the Folklore Society, the Art Society and the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities. Tentative plans are being made for an afternoon meeting in the ballroom of the Sir Walter Hotel. Further announcements and program will be given in the December News-Letter.

Since the mid-year meeting was dispensed with because of travel restrictions and gasoline rationing, the December meeting will afford the only opportunity for the members of the society to come together this year. It is hoped that a large number will be present not only to enjoy the program but to become better acquainted with each other. Begin now to make your plans to be in Raleigh for the December meeting.

****

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1944

President

Dr. Sanford Winston
State College, Raleigh

Vice-President

Mr. J. R. Shipley
Winston-Salem

Secretary-Treasurer

Dr. Raymond Adams
Chapel Hill

Editor

Mrs. J. B. Derieux
2802 Hillsboro St.
Raleigh, N. C.

ELECTED MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Term expiring 1944	Term expiring 1945	Term expiring 1946
Mr. John Gillen Durham	Mr. John Shipley Winston-Salem	Dr. James B. Bullitt Chapel Hill
Mr. Thurmond Chatham Winston-Salem	Mr. J. E. Steere Charlotte	Dr. C. C. Crittendon Raleigh

FROM THE EDITOR

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina has completed its first decade of existence. Organized by a group of interested people who realized the State's rich archaeological heritage and its urgent need for protection, the society has not only made a constructive growth but an excellent contribution to existing knowledge of the Southeastern cultures of the United States. The society has received recognition and assistance from both the federal and state governments. It is affiliated also with the Eastern Archaeological Federation and has been ably represented at National meetings since becoming a member of this organization.

The growth and accomplishments of the society have been most gratifying to the members of the organization. Although further excavation must be deferred until after the war, this cessation of physical activities need impede neither the growth of the society nor the archaeological interest of its members.

This is an excellent time, when in the neighborhood of museums, libraries or other places where artifacts are displayed, to visit these collections and become better acquainted with them. Where the displays are extensive enough to include exhibits from several cultures it is fascinating to compare the forms or shapes, textures, colors and designs of the artifacts of these different cultures.

This is also an excellent time in which to review a number of the splendid books, articles and government bulletins which have been written on Archaeology during the last few years. These can be secured easily from public or state libraries.

Members can assist officers of the society by reporting local discoveries of artifacts or areas that are suspected to have been of early habitation. Further assistance can be rendered by reporting all wanton destruction of artifacts or archaeological areas which are under state control. The inclusion of papers and articles on archaeology in club programs also stimulates interest in the subject. This service can be made highly effective when emphasis is placed on the need to protect all finds or discoveries until the services of a trained worker can be secured for the excavation. In this way authentic notes can be made on the position and condition of artifacts as well as many other important details noted.

As a number of societies are compiling bibliographical lists of articles, books and references which relate to the Indians of their particular section, it has been suggested that the North Carolina Society begin the preparation of such a catalogue and that the society cooperate with other societies in the exchange of material which pertains to their particular area. This is the type of research in which every member can have an active part. Notes of all available references to the Indians of our state or area which have an archaeological significance will be welcomed by the editor.

A bibliographic list will be made from this material and published in the News-Leter. A copy of this compilation will be deposited also in the files of the Eastern Archaeological Federation for distribution to each state in the Federation of items of archaeological interest to that state. With the cooperation of the members of our state society and the twelve sister states of the Federation a bibliographic list can be compiled in the next few months which will be of great assistance to students of North Carolina Archaeology.

HERE AND THERE

Reports are being received in this country of the interest which is being displayed by American soldiers in the large collections of artifacts which are to be found in a number of museums of the old-world. Many of these exhibits have been acquired from excavations which have been made during the last decade and are of unusual value and archaeological interest.

Among the rich archaeological areas which have been recently investigated and in which American soldiers are stationed today are the Mediterranean world, the ancient Holy Land, Iraq, or Mesopotamia, the Garden of Eden area, Iran, also known as Persia, and Western Europe. It is hoped that when these soldiers return to their homeland they will retain their interest in archaeology and become students of early American cultures.

NEW MEMBERS FOR THE DECEMBER MEETING

The present time presents an excellent opportunity for building up the membership of the organization. There are hundreds of people in North Carolina who are keenly interested in the rich archaeological remains which are to be found within their state and not only desire to have these remains protected until such a time as they can be scientifically explored, but they would be glad to have a part in such an undertaking. Let us seek out these interested individuals and give them an invitation to join our society. Dr. Raymond Adams, Chapel Hill, secretary of the organization, also will be glad to receive names of interested persons and extend to them an invitation to join the society. The dues remain one dollar a year.

INFORMATION PLEASE

Because of the paper shortage this year the bulletins have been restricted to two in number of four pages each. Plans are now being made for a larger and final issue about the first of December. We should like to include in this bulletin a short news item from each member of the society.

AN INTERESTING LETTER RECEIVED FROM A SOLDIER

An interesting letter from Pvt. B. E. Nicholson has been received by Dr. Guy B. Johnson who kindly shares it with the other members of the society. "I was reading the article 'Indian Pottery In Carolina' by Douglas Rights in the State Magazine and I found it most interesting," writes Pvt. Nicholson. "I formerly collected Indian relics as a hobby. Most of my collecting was done in South Carolina where I live. There seems to be an abundance of Indian relics there, especially in cultivated fields bordering large streams and rivers. I assisted Mr. W. H. Ritter, an archaeologist who was connected with the Charleston Museum but he died several years ago," he continues. "I have a very nice collection but have not been able to mount it as it should be."

Pvt. Nicholson also mentions the collection of his friend, Mr. Mitchell of Edgefield, S. C. "It is one of the best I have seen, especially the arrows," he writes. "He also has pots, sinkers, celts, and all Indian stones. Most of his collecting was done on Turkey Creek where there seems to be an abundance of Indian relics."

It is hoped that it will not be long before Pvt. Nicholson, as well as the other members of the Armed Forces, can return to their home and to the enjoyment of as interesting a hobby as Archaeology.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE WAR

Through the study of archaeology the conditions which led up to the present war can be better understood. Excavations have revealed that throughout the centuries of man's occupancy of the earth, nations have grown strong, made war upon weaker countries, taken them as tributaries, only to fall a victim, in turn, to some stronger nation that enslaved the people and exploited their resources.

For several years prior to the outbreak of the war excavations were revealing the important details of these civilizations now long vanished from the earth. The archaeological discoveries made in Egypt, Palistine, Iraq and Iran were of particular importance and verified in a remarkable way the writings of the Old Testament.

Since archaeology enables mankind to know what has taken place in the past and thus better understand the present and even predict in a measure man's reactions to certain conditions in the future, we are encouraged in our belief that the human race has made definite ethical progress through the centuries.

"The physiological needs of human beings are the same everywhere," writes Dr. Carleton S. Coon, Harvard Anthropologist. "We no longer have any primitive races to conquer or exploit."

Whether the human race has reached this Utopian condition is not known. Perhaps a happier thought for the future is that the desire to conquer and exploit is not as universal as in the past. Mankind is learning, at last, the lesson which archaeology teaches. Kingdoms founded upon slavery and force pass away, only those whose foundations are justice, freedom and cooperation can endure.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
710 Standard Bldg.
95 Fairlie St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

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N.C.

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UNITED STATES POSTAGE

NEWS LETTER

OF

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA

Number 13 — Mrs. J. B. Derieux, Editor
December, 1944 — Raleigh, North Carolina

Fellow Members:

The Society has rounded out ten years of development. In contrast to many similar societies, we have not been quiescent during the war, but have maintained our loyal membership and our interest in continuing research. An interesting program has been arranged for the annual meeting on December 6. We are urging that you plan to come and bring others with you. Please be here in time for the business meeting at 2:00 P. M. which will precede the general session.

Sincerely,

Sanford Winston,
President.

The annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina will convene on Wednesday afternoon, December 6, at 3:00 o'clock in the Roanoke Room of the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, N. C. An executive meeting will be held at 2:00 o'clock.

The following program has been arranged for the general meeting:

"Museums And Archaeology" --- Harry T. Davis, Raleigh, N. C.

"The Guarani Indians of South America" --- Guillermo Tell Bertoni, Asuncion, Paraguay.

"The Catawba Culture of the Carolinas" --- Douglas L. Rights, Winston-Salem, N. C.

DR. GUILLERMO TELL BERTONI, GUEST SPEAKER AT ANNUAL MEETING

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina is fortunate to have secured Dr. Guillermo Tell Bertoni as guest speaker for the annual meeting of the society on the afternoon of December the sixth. Dr. Bertoni is in this country at the invitation of the Institute of Inter-American Affairs having been brought here for the purpose of studying the organization of agriculture in the United States. Upon his return to his native country of Paraguay, Dr. Bertoni will publish in book form a detailed account of his study and research on American agriculture.

In the National University of Paraguay, Dr. Bertoni holds the position of Professor of National and Comparative Economic Geography. He is the President of the Academy of the Guaranian Culture, a member of the Paraguayan Institute of Historical Research, Correspondent Member of American Academy of History, a member of the Scientific Society of Paraguay and the author of a number of scientific articles. Dr. Bertoni also is a member of the Council of State and the Director of the agricultural program of Paraguay.

Dr. Bertoni is the author of a Dictionary and a Grammar of the Guarani Language. In addition he has made an extensive study of the Guarani people and is recognized as the greatest living authority on this culture.

Mr. Harry T. Davis and Rev. Douglas L. Rights Present Papers

The program of the annual meeting will be introduced by Mr. Davis, Director of the State Museum. Mr. Davis has made a splendid contribution to the Archaeological Society of North Carolina through his capable and enthusiastic assistance with excavations, classification of artifacts and attractive archaeological displays at the museum.

The Rev. Mr. Douglas L. Rights, pastor of the Trinity Moravian Church of Winston-Salem, will conclude the afternoon's program with an address on the Catawba Indians. Rev. Rights is a recognized authority on this culture and has made an outstanding contribution to existing knowledge of it through long research on the Catawbas. He has represented this society most ably at the annual meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation.

Mr. Harry T. Davis and Rev. Douglas L. Rights hold memberships in a number of state and national societies and are well known throughout this country in their particular fields of endeavor. Both are among the early founders of the Archaeological Society and have served it most capably as president and also in other official capacities.

Executive And Annual Meetings of The Society

The executive meeting of the society will be held in the Roanoke Room of the Sir Walter Hotel at 2:00 P.M. on Wednesday, December 6. This meeting will be followed by the annual convocation of the society at 3:00 in the same room. It is hoped that a large number of members and friends will be present to enjoy the excellent program which has been arranged.

THE GOURD AND THE AMERICAN INDIAN

By Eddie W. Wilson

Archaeologists and ethnologists tell us many interesting facts regarding the gourd and the American Indian. They say that this member of the Cucurbitaceae was also among the plants of the Basket-makers. Seeds, bits of rind, whole gourds, and gourd-shaped pottery have been taken from various archaeological areas of the United States.

That pottery making was at its best among the tribes of the Southwest is evident from the splendid specimens which have been unearthed. These are of various shapes yet Dr. W. H. Holmes, in a report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, attributes most of these forms to the gourd. According to his theory the gourd cut off midway gave the form of the bowl. The vase-like form was made possible by a higher cutting of the gourd. By cutting the body of the gourd longitudinally at one side of the axis the straight or curved handle was the result. Eccentric forms were secured by placing one gourd upon the other.

The early Indian was quite a food preserver and conservationist. When animal and vegetable foods were plentiful, the ingenious women did not forget that there were certain seasons of the year when these could not be obtained; and there were seeds to be saved for the next year's planting. So in the gourd container were stored vegetable oil for seasoning and the precious seeds of the plants which the American Indian gave to the world.

Water was carried in a gourd and drunk from a gourd dipper or cup. Food was served in a gourd bowl, eaten from gourd dishes and spoons, and even cooked by the hot stone method in a gourd. James Mooney is the authority for the fact that the Indians also made bird houses out of gourds.

When members of the different tribes came in contact with one another through warfare, the hunt, or friendly visits, they learned that the animal, plant and mineral products of one region varied greatly from those of another. From a desire for the new, we find that a lively trade often arose between the tribes. Therefore it is not surprising that in the early days the Pimas who were farmers carried such products as corn, beans, and cotton blankets to the Papagos, a desert tribe, to exchange for cactus fruit and syrup, wild gourd seeds, and so on. As trading was often a social event, we can picture the traders visiting for perhaps weeks, meanwhile engaging in games and other festivities of marked peace and friendliness.

The gourd was used by the shanan or medicine man either as a rattle, as the medicine itself, or as the vessel from which the medicine was directly swallowed by the patient. As the medicine man chanted his prescribed rite or formula for the particular ailment he was treating, he vigorously shook his gourd rattle. Then if he were a Pima and the patient was suffering from earache, he pounded the roots of the wild gourd in a mortar, boiled them, and put the juice into the ear. On the other hand, the Cherokee insisted that the patient drink from a gourd dipper the concoction which he had so carefully prepared.

The Indian story-teller included the gourd in many of the charming

myths which he told in the evenings about the glowing camp fire or in secret session held in the sacred kiva. Varied are these tales--early America's great contribution to world literature. In certain of them the gourd behaved and spoke in like manner as the Indians themselves. According to these ancient stories it even had an important part in the creation of the world and man.

In addition to the pleasure that the gourd may afford through research as reflected in the foregoing, the gourd vine of one's very own is a wonderful possession.----I have found that interest in archaeology and interest in gourds dovetail in the most delightful manner.---- As hobbies, I recommend archaeology and gourds!

This delightful article was written by Mrs. Eddie W. Wilson of 1021 Florida St., Los Angeles 14, California. Mrs. Wilson, formerly of Cary, N.C., is a member of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina and the Gourd Society of America, her particular group being the Gourd Village Garden Club of Cary, N. C. Mrs. Wilson is an authority on gourds and her splendid contribution to the December News Letter is appreciated very much.

Artifacts From Surry County

The Rev. Douglas L. Rights contributes the following interesting news item. "The late Mr. George Butner, of Surry County, near Pilot Mountain, gathered Indian artifacts on his farm, and before his death left instructions that a cigar box full of Indian material be given to me... In the box," continues Rev. Rights, "I found an ax, arrow points, and other material. What interested me most was a small assortment of gun flints, showing contact with the settlers. One of these flints," relates Rev. Rights, "was probably an importation from England and had been chipped into shape by Indians as a typical scraper of this area. Thus the transition period was clearly represented."

A New Archaeological Society To Be Formed

Dr. Raymond Adams of Chapel Hill contributes the information for the following news item. A new Archaeological Society is to be formed in Tennessee. Their journal will be known as "The Tennessee Archaeologist" and will include in its initial issue Dr. Adams' article, "Speaking for Arrowheads." The Archaeological Society of North Carolina extends congratulations and best wishes to this sister society and will follow with interest the progress of this new society. This interest is further stimulated by the fact that the archaeological and social interests of these two states are almost identical. Not only are they in many of the same prehistoric cultural areas but since Tennessee was once a part of North Carolina the people of these two states are bound together closely by ties of kinship as well as friendship.

Private Collections of Artifacts of Value And Interest

There are a number of valuable and interesting collections of artifacts which are owned by members of the society. One of the largest and most varied of these is the collection of Mr. John R. Shipley of 1090 Arbor Road, Winston-Salem. Mr. Shipley is vice-president of the society and has been interested in archaeology for many years. The majority of his artifacts are from Forsyth County and vicinity.

Regarding the artifacts in his home Mr. Shipley remarks modestly, "that none is rare or unusual---but the collection is sincere and genuine, representing a cross section of those remains of an enduring type that were left behind by unknown bands roving or tarrying in these regions through many a long century. They represent," he adds, "almost identically nearly all of those implements, weapons and tools by which the Stone Age of our own ancestors slowly rose from obscurity, maintained its position, and finally dominated the earth; and they reflect the lowly but true foundation from which arose our modern mechanized existence."

Mr. Shipley and his comprehensive collection were featured and photographed by the Winston-Salem Journal and Sentinel of November 5. The above remarks are taken from this issue.

Gleanings

Dr. Robert H. Lowie of the University of California writes in a recent periodical, "Samuel G. Morton who has been called the first physical anthropologist of America postulated the unity of all American Indians including the Mound Builders but gave the Eskimo a distinct position. Later Hrdlicka and Boas demonstrated the derivation of our Indians from Eastern Asia."

Dr. Frank C. Hibben, anthropologist, and for several years on the faculty of the University of New Mexico, writes in Harpers and Reader's Digest concerning his search for the answers to the following questions: "Where did Folsom Man come from in the first place? How did he get to North America? What happened to him?" After finding a Folsom point in a curio store in Alaska, Dr. Hibben organized an expedition in 1941 and started out to find the answers to his questions. In an old gold mine on the Yukon River was found quantities of prehistoric animal bones which still had flesh on them or tendons or scraps of skin, all having been frozen for presumedly 10,000 years---"And then came the day," writes Dr. Hibben, "not three feet from the remains of a particularly fine specimen of Alaskan lion lay a Folsom point, still frozen securely in the muck bank, 75 feet below the surface of the present-day valley.

"After sailing through Chinitna Bay in its one navigatable channel, a beach landing was made and almost immediately a valuable flint was found. Excitedly, we followed the evidence along the beach for almost a mile," relates Dr. Hibben. "It seemed that Folsom Man had camped, killed and eaten here on many occasions. Here were bits of charcoal, charred mammoth bones, Folsom points, and bits of flint which had been chipped from the points during their manufacture.-- We had enough evidence to prove conclusively that Chinitna Bay had been one of the first points of Folsom Man's invasion. He had come from Siberia across the Bering Strait. As we left the bay we had visions of some day finding Folsom Man himself frozen solid in some muck bank - not only his skeleton, but his skin, and flesh and hair, so that there would be no doubt that we were looking at the face of one of the first Americans.

After the war, Dr. Hibben expects to continue his investigation of the Folsom Man in Siberia. It is hoped that the supposed Folsom evidence which was found in North Carolina and Virginia prior to the war can be investigated also in greater detail.

An inscribed strip of bronze indicating existence of a monarch who claimed the title "king of the world" 2500 years ago, has been discovered in Palestine.

"Active assistance of natives in some of the most remote regions where our troops are now fighting is being secured by anthropologists. They are also helping organize tribes to gather rubber so vitally needed for our war production, and to help stimulate local crop production to feed our troops in these distant sections."

"Anthropologists have first-hand knowledge of strange parts of the world, which is proving most useful to the Allies. They know what native foods may be safely eaten and have detailed knowledge of the topography of little known regions. Based on native practice, some are offering valuable suggestions as to how to clothe and shelter our troops most expeditiously and comfortably. Others are giving courses in languages never before taught in America."

Dr. Ruth F. Benedict of Columbia University writes of the anthropologist of today: "He looks over the contemporary cultures of the world and it seems quite possible to him that the special values of each of them could be maintained and enhanced in the post-war world."

This, it is hoped, is the ideal toward which we are progressing--that each race shall have the privilege of making its contribution toward the better world of tomorrow.

A Fund For Future Excavations

Although the society cannot undertake further excavations until after the war, this is an opportune time, perhaps, in which to start a fund for this work or for other archaeological investigations. There is at the present time, Dr. Raymond Adams, Secretary-Treasurer of the society, informs us, $86.00 in the treasury. This balance from former years could be expanded easily into a sizable amount through gifts, dues and new memberships. During the past decade the Archaeological Society of North Carolina has done some excellent work in excavations and classification of artifacts. The funds for much of this work have come from the state, the federal government and from private contributions. These greatly appreciated financial aids may not be available in the future. Many extremely valuable archaeological sites throughout the state, however, may be lost during the next decade if not investigated and protected. All members and friends of the society can have a part in this important work. Paid-up dues from each member will start the fund growing immediately. A dollar brings one's membership up to date.

Difficult Years Provide Incentive For Growth

Many Archaeological Societies throughout this country are finding it difficult to hold their membership together during these trying days. It is a splendid testimonial to the fidelity and perseverance of the members of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina that they have maintained their solidarity as a unit. It would be an even greater accomplishment and an encouragement to the officers of the society if an increase in membership could be realized. Let each member invite an interested friend to join the society.

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December 10, 1945

Mr. Harry T. Davis
State Museum
Raleigh, N. C.

Dear Harry:

I was glad to get the News Letter of the Archaeological Society. I wish I could be present at the annual meeting in Raleigh on December 13. I hope that the meeting is successful in every way.

I want to keep up my membership, so I am sending my dues to Raymond Adams today.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

NEWS LETTER
OF
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA

NUMBER 14 DECEMBER, 1945 HARRY T. DAVIS, EDITOR

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Fellow Members and Friends of the Archaeological Society:

The annual meeting of the Archaeological Society of North Carolina will convene on December 13th at the Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, N.C. Following the custom of the last few years, this meeting will be held in conjunction with the State Literary and Historical Commission, the Folklore Society, the Art Society and the Society for the Preservation of Antiquities.

Since the mid-year meeting of the Society was dispensed with because of travel conditions and gasoline rationing incident to the War, the annual meeting will afford the only opportunity for the members of the Society to come together this year. It is hoped that a large number will be present not only for the business meeting at 2:30 but for the program which will follow at 3:00 o'clock.

The Archaeological Society is fortunate in securing Dr. W.F. Stinespring, Professor of Old Testament at Duke University, to deliver the annual address. Dr. Stinespring is a recognized authority on the literature of the Bible and has had a wide experience in Biblical research. His subject will be "The Near East in Archaeology." Since archaeology has made one of its most valuable contributions to mankind in its verifications of Biblical History in the Near East, Dr. Stinespring will be heard with great interest and profit.

The Society is fortunate also in having Mr. Harry T. Davis, one of the early founders of the Society, a past President and now Editor of the Society's News Letter, to speak at the annual meeting. Mr. Davis is the Director of the State Museum. His subject will be "A Survey of North Carolina Archaeology to Date."

It is hoped that the attendance at the annual meeting for 1945 will be one of the largest in recent years. Begin now to make your plans to be present for the afternoon of December 13th not only to enjoy the excellent program, which has been prepared, but to become better acquainted with other members of the Society.

Mrs. J.B. Dorieux.

ANNUAL MEETING

December 13, 1945 - 2:30 P.M., Sir Walter Hotel, Raleigh, N.C.

Business Session - - - - - - - - - - - - 2:30 - 3:00.
Reports of President and Secretary-Treasurer.
Election of Officers for 1946.

- PROGRAM -

"The Near East in Archaeology," Dr. W.F. Stinespring
Professor of Old Testament, Duke University.

"A Survey of North Carolina Archaeology," Harry T. Davis

NOTE:

This meeting is open to the public and especially to those who are in Raleigh to attend meetings of the other cultural societies.

OFFICERS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1945

Vice-President	President	Editor
Dr. L.E. Hinkle	Mrs. J.B. Derieux	Harry T. Davis
Raleigh	Raleigh	Raleigh

Secretary-Treasurer	Field Director (on Army Duty)
Dr. Raymond Adams	Jeffre Coe
Chapel Hill	Chapel Hill

EXECUTIVE BOARD

Composed of the above officers and the following elected members:

Terms Expiring in 1945	Terms Expiring in 1946	Terms Expiring in 1947
John Shipley	Dr. James B. Bullitt	Dr. Sanford Winston
Winston-Salem	Chapel Hill	Raleigh
J.E. Steere	Dr. C.C. Crittendon	Rev.Douglas L.Rights
Charlotte	Raleigh	Winston-Salem

Report: On last year's meeting, December 6.

Dr. Guillermo Toll Bertoni gave us a scholarly paper on "The Guarani Indians of South America." This dealt with the influence of the indigenous Indian culture of Paraquay and adjacent regions today.

Dr. Douglas L. Rights read a paper on "Catawba Culture in The Carolinas," This was a logical arrangement of the knowledge that has been collected on this subject.

These papers will merit permanent publication by our Society. The editor gave a brief paper on the part taken by museums in scientific archaeology.

Editorial: "Pink Ribbons."

Early in the War a prominent archaeologist was asked about his current activities. His reply was that they consisted of gathering up of progress to-date and carefully tieing it up in pink ribbon perfection for the duration, in order that there might be resumption without loss when War ends.

It is of interest to note that archaeological personnel are in critical demand when War comes, even though "spies" is not the designation. The Armed Services call upon them for Military Intelligence, Psychological Warefare and other similar activities.

Our progress to date has been carefully preserved in vault and storage as cited in detailed records from our Field Director, Jeffre L. Coe, erstwhile Army Lieutenant in the Philippines.

With War's end, we are now challenged to:

1. Survey and record the unlisted sites in North Carolina.
2. Resume detailed scientific excavation of selected sites.
3. Provide restorations and exhibits for State Parks and Museums.
4. Provide printed information that can be used by schools and others to fill an obvious need and desire for clear and authentic facts.

With your Active Interest the year 1946 can see us well along with this and more. Active Interest can be best attested by sending now your 1946 dues of $1.00 and enlisting others for active membership. Dr. Raymond Adams, Box 762, Chapel Hill, is our Secretary and Treasurer.

Harry T. Davis, Editor.

Guy B. Johnson

RECEIVED
OCT 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

NEWS LETTER
OF
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

GREETINGS TO THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

During the war the Archaeological Society, like a number of other organizations, was forced to curtail many of its activities. With the return to more normal times it is hoped that the Society can resume its interrupted program.

While actual excavation is not possible at this time,because of lack of personnel and funds, every member of the Society can have an active part in strengthening our organization by securing new members, stimulating interest in archaeology in their neighborhood and among their friends, reporting all places thought to have archaeological interest to officers of the Society and affording protection to the same until scientific investigation is possible.

Let us conserve not only the growth which our Society has made in the past but strive to build a strong, active organization which will become a contributor to important archaeological knowledge of the Southeast which is one of the great prehistorical areas of our country.

Looking forward to our annual meeting in December and trusting that it will be one of our best and most enthusiastic meetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. J.B. Dorieux.

The Annual Meeting is already planned for December in Raleigh, when some of you will be coming to attend meetings of some of the other cultural societies. Our President has already arranged for our principal address, and it is not disclosing too much to say that the scheduled speaker is a foremost authority on the archaeology of our region.

Membership in the Archaeological Society was not stressed during the war years when active field work gave way to more material works. The skeleton crew has stood by to keep the Society operable and now comes the time for more normal operations. Renew your membership and solicit the interest of others who wish to aid the work or take an active part in it. The Executive Committee meeting, September 23rd, ruled that annual dues of $1.00 paid now will carry your membership through 1947. Send this direct to Dr. Raymond Adams, Secretary-Treasurer, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

Publications have likewise been held in abeyance. Now in preparation is a Bulletin that will carry two scholarly articles that you will treasure for your Library. This will be sent to all current members. These papers are the addresses that were delivered at our Annual Meetings in 1944 and 1945, namely - "The Guarani Indians of South America" by Dr. Guillerno Tell Bertoni of the National University of Para-

quay, and "The Near East in Archaeology" by Dr. W.F. Stinespring, Professor of Old Testament at Duke University.

NEWS AND NOTES

Dr. Stinespring was called to serve the Anglo-American Commission on Palestine which took him into this turbelent field of activity. He could make interesting reports when he returns.

Miss Wellena B. Dutcher, Science Dept., Newark Museum, Newark, N.J., is making a survey of Bannerstones found in the State of New Jersey, and asks that any one knowing of such artifacts to please send the information to her.

Dr. Archibald Rutledge, outdoorsman and writer, is getting together an extensive collection of Amerindian artifacts for Converse College Museum at Spartanburg, S.C.

Life Magazine carried some interesting pictures on field archaeology in the September issue. More recently there were pictures of skull remains of early man.

Our member, Douglas D. Joter, writes that he is now off military duty and is "reconverting" as Professor of Geography at the Savannah Division, University of Georgia.

Joffre L. Coe, our faithful Field Director, "reconverted" from Pacific Army Service by further safeguarding our gains in archaeology. His terminal leave was a labor of love in working with our extensive collections in systematic storage at Chapel Hill.

It is always gratifying to have a local group observe a need and then do something about it. Citizens of Macon County have organized a Historical Society, and paid $1500.00 from 143 donors to preserve for posterity the remarkable Indian Mound near the highway in the suburbs of Franklin.

The Annual Meeting of the Eastern States Archaeological Federation, will be held November 9 and 10 at the Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences, Rochester, N.Y. We are one of the affiliated societies and we naturally hope to have a representative present. If you know of any member who can conveniently attend, please inform our Secretary.

The enclosure from H.G. Ormwake is because of interest in trade pipes. Mr. Ormwake is now taking graduate work at Duke University and may be addressed Box 4748, Duke Station, Durham.

While here Mr. Ormwake and friends have located an Indian Village site on an Island in the waterpower lake between Rowan and Davidson counties, Yadkin Valley. While the water is down he is working with others to excavate this site. We may expect a report on this at our next meeting.

The Indians of the Southeastern U.S. This comprehensive work by Dr. John R.Swanton has recently been published by the Bureau of American Ethnology. There are 943 pages, with charts and maps, and 107 pages of excellent black and white plates. This is a basic work for this section of America and can be had for $2.75 from the Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

REPORTS OF SITES

Burials in front of his home, by W.M. McNeill, Red Springs, N.C.
Artifacts and "Fossils" near Archers Lodge, Johnston County, by D.T. Harris.
Site near Ore Hill, Chatham County, by Capt. W.N. Heritage.
Village Site, Myatts Mill area, Harnett County, by Thomas D. Stewart.
Barhams Springs, Rolesville, Wake County, by J.W. Groening.
Neuse River, near Oriental, a village site, by Mrs. C.S. Warren.

These are listed to suggest that some alert observation can greatly expand our site surveys. Much road work is going on that may be uncovering new sites. Insist always that sites await trained excavators and not be robbed of the relics.

Mrs. J.B. Derieux - President. Raymond Adams, Sec.- Treas.
L.E. Hinkle Vice- President. Harry T. Davis, Editor

SURVEY OF PIPES OF EUROPEAN MANUFACTURE
Traded To The Indians
In The
Eastern States

Please fill out and return to H. G. Omwake, Selbyville, Delaware. If you have found no trade pipes yourself, but know someone who has, please hand this sheet to him.

The purposes of this survey are threefold:

1. To assemble all available records of trade pipes;
2. To determine, so far as possible, their places and dates of manufacture;
3. To provide another yardstick for determining chronologies of colonial and pre-colonial contact sites.

Obviously only pipes or pipe stems bearing makers' initials makers' marks, or decorations of any sort have major value in this survey. Plain bowls, sufficiently complete to indicate their shape, and angle of attachment should also be reported.

- -

1. Item (bowl or stem):_____
2. Location of site (town or township, county,state):_____
_____
3. Name and address of finder:_____
_____
4. Date of recovery (approximate)_____
5. Description of items (give color, shape of bowl, length of bowl or stem, marks (on bowl, heel, or stem) or decorations. If marks are on bowl, tell whether on side or back; if on stem tell whether they parallel or encircle it; if on heel tell whether on bottom or sides).
_____
_____
_____
_____

6. Conditions of recovery; surface_____, burial pit_____, refuse pit_____, storage pit_____, other_____, purchase_____, gift_____.
7. Associated objects of white manufacture_____
_____
8. Origin and date of associated coins_____
9. Relationship to objects of Indian manufacture_____
_____

10. Please sketch pipes, bowls, or stems (complete or fragmentary), showing approximate size, angle of attachment of bowl, shape of bowl, location and character of decorations or marks.
11. On thin paper please make rubbings of marks or decorations, using soft pencil, and attach to this sheet.

Your cooperation and assistance in this project may provide valuable clues to presently indefinite chronologies. Certainly it will add to recorded archaeological knowledge. Your kindness in returning this sheet will be acknowledged and appreciated.

(Please use the other side of this sheet for additional information or suggestions and to record other trade pipe finds.)

Confidential
Negro M'P's

July 28, 1944

Cpl. Frank E. Morse
Co. P. 3d Bn. S. C. U. 3403
Camp Shelby, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Morse:

It is good to hear from you again. I have been wondering whether you were still in the wilds of Mississippi or had been shipped away to some other place.

Thanks a lot for the shoulder patch and good conduct ribbon. Edward Johnson will treasure these when he sees them. He is not here yet, but will be moving sometime during August. My older boy, Benton, who will be 16 next month, is now a freshman at the University of North Carolina. It is hard for me to realize that the time has come already for him to get out of the old nest and to rely more and more on his own wings.

Thanks, too, for the dollar which you contributed to the cause. Being a resident of the South at present, you are eligible for membership in the Council, but knowing your impatience with all schemes for "social action," I shall not insist that you become a member. We will just enroll you on our mailing list, so that our literature will follow you around like a pestiferous gadfly.

Your comments on race relations and on the Negro soldier in particular are very interesting, as your comments always are. We helped TIME get up their dope for their July 10 story on "Unhappy Soldier." I wish I had had your letter then. I would have taken the liberty of giving them some excerpts from it—without identifying you, of course—for I am convinced that there is more to the subject than ordinarily gets discussed in print.

I hope you will follow up the suggestion of writing a handbook for teaching reading to people who are barely literate. I really think it would be very useful.

Let us know if you change your address. It is always good to hear from you.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

22 July 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thanks for the reprint which I have read. I gather you haven't been lynched yet but that the axes are out & the hatchet men with other ideas are advancing to smite the straw men they create. Seems to me it is typical of most men with a message or cause, i.e. to set up a mythical entity to demolish, & identify their movement with the position of some one they want to hack down. Hope you like the game, & the wounds give strength.

Doubt if you have much time to read letters. The enclosures are: one dollar for your organization - I believe that is the yearly tax if I read correctly - a shoulder patch of the 4th Service command & a good conduct ribbon for your 12 year old if he wants them. That I had another ribbon around from the first war but guess I have given them all away. The cadets like these things for their youngsters.

I am again lightening baggage as I expect to move. We inactivated the 5th Bn. STAS are now in process apparently of

sinking the 4th & 3d.

A man whom I hired as a printing instructor in a correctional school in New York State went to Hampton in the same capacity & now has gone to West Virginia Tech or some such dump. He was unhappy at Hampton - rather antagonized by the negroes & quite elated that a negro head man was leaving or had left & a Brooklyn white was coming or had come to run the place. I considered sending you the letter but doubted the man's ability to evaluate any situation.

The New Orleans papers, while, with the small Hattiesburg sheet we about all I ever see now carry much less negro material than the Memphis & Jackson papers that I read at McCain, or at any rate I do not notice it.

The cadre here is white & largely Tennessee & Mississippi. The program is phony. Theoretically & according to publicity we are salvaging men for the army by teaching illiterates the tool subjects of reading, writing & arithmetic in two to twelve weeks. I believe we are reviewing the previous school work for many of the men & adding some vocabulary & possibly

giving them an idea that school is worth while & a desire to send their own youngsters for as much schooling as possible. We do some educating in health & sanitation. Some of our younger boys, but not many, have considerable self-respect & standards & maintain them even under army conditions. Mostly we have the calls of the commanders in this program. Each shipment seemed poorer.

Things pop up at times that remind me of your course. They (our negroes) seem to dislike the colored M.P.s & think they get an unfair break then & the white M.P.s are better. We have had some trouble with exploitation, negro non-coms selling forged passes at a dollar a pass, trivial thefts in valuable articles & refusal to allow redemption etc. Think I wrote you about the men borrowing money & returning, or trying to return double the amount on pay day. Not I said odd or two twice.

But returning to the race debates they feel that the race situation is local, not national, & must be solved locally.

The matter is linked up with local autonomy in other fields. From the standpoint of political science the fields of national, state, & local activities seems to need remaking now. But an antagonism & resentment is surely building among these southern whites because of the national interference. They expect trouble after the war. I think the KKK may rise again & one white sector is convinced there is an agreement among some negroes to rape at least one white woman in their lifetime. (For your information only though you may have heard it.).

Segregation seems to me inevitable & probably largely automatic, but I believe as a tactical measure toward easing racial tension it has value. So many northerners, friendly or indifferent to the negro, seem to get bitterly antagonistic on contact & experience with them in the army. I noticed the same phenomena in correctional institutions in New York state where mixing was forced. It bred intolerance. But you know more about this than I do. I just live & work in this army situation with a few

whites & many blacks.

Read the other day that some negro leaders in N.Y. had swung to Dewey because of the treatment of negroes in the southern army camps. I do not know to what he refers. At camps Lee I saw little of the negroes but at McClain & Shelby I have seen much. At McClain Station Complement Medical Detachment both groups ate in the same mess hall but the negroes ate first & got most of the food & always the best - the whites got the needed wings. In the hospital there & here they are mixed in the wards but when left alone seemed to congregate in the wards in racial groupings. To the homes seemed to group together in the N.P. section. Rations, quarters, P.X.s, clothes et al are the same. Both races go to the same movies. The service clubs are separate & a colored service club is off limits to whites so I have not seen one. Some P.X. are black, some white, & some are open to both - also some are open only to certain organizations housed in the immediate vicinity. Ratings seem much easier for negroes than whites to get. Furloughs & passes are just as frequent for

the negroes. In minor disciplinary measures the negro seems treated more leniently. In our Duck Hill shooting affray near McCain I think the army protected the negroes from civilian courts. I just don't get the point, unless it is matters I haven't run into.

One of our main troubles with negroes is sick call. On Sunday almost no one is on it. Other days it is regular. As a group there seems an undue amount of anxiety & of conversion psychoneurosis - "miseries" of the back, legs, & head with no organic or physical reason. We handle these negroes much more gently & slowly than we did the whites I knew at Lee & McCain.

But enough. You have a multiple-sided game with innumerable variables & I fear the worst enemies are the loudest pseudo-friends, probably not consciously enemies but yet the most damaging to infiltration of the foothills or assault on the peaks. May whatever gods there be abide with you, yours, & your cause. Hope the defenses hold & you have adequate fire power for assault.

Sincerely,

Frank E. Morse

Co. P - 3d Bn - SCU 3403
Camp Shelby, Miss.

probably due to damage room.

P.S. On rereading your pamphlet I figure I'm not eligible for membership as (1) I do not reside in the region & (2) hesitate to affirm a belief in any purposes - Please put the dollar in your stamp fund or where you will - Thanks -

question here is where do we go next - The curtailment of the draft has cut down the number of trainees here. The only two expanding army branches at the moment seem to be the Medics as casualties roll in, & the war prisoner guards as the number of prisoners increase - I noted some resentment among whites on our cadre of the use of negro guards over white germans. Seems to me in what little reading I did on northern war prison camps during the war between the states that the southern boys had the same gripe - One of my numerous home towns is Elmira, N.Y. which had a camp for confederates in the civil war - & negro church & cemetery section, an escaped slave from Virginia, had charge of the burials & I understand kept an accurate record of the grave of each southern boy - Today both grey & blue are buried in a well kept national cemetery immediately adjoining

Woodlawn (where Mark Twain is buried) ...
(Club - Not sure it is Woodlawn but think it is some such name) & in sight of the Elmira Reformatory. Each grave is marked & numbered now except for one community grave of bones transferred from the scene of a railroad wreck. The prison camps seem to have been the deadliest weapons of that war. Think Elmira ran 260 odd casualties. Wasn't Andersonville 75 odd? But I ramble. Have been hoping to see an announcement of your wife's book on racial history but so far have not. Some of my colored men here ask me about racial history. Thank heaven for what little I read in Weatherford & Johnson & Booker T. Washington. One thing we lack is simple reading of adult interest level for these men. In our cabin is a man from the Methodist Publishing Co. (Knoxville I think). He wants me to write up a system for teaching reading in colored Sunday Schools that any literate negro could follow, & based on the Bible in basic English. Say, his company would welcome such gladfully. Looks to me as if it would be a lot of work wasted. The thing might peddle & make money but I doubt that it would be used enough to warrant selling it to poor people.

Confidential

file

EXCERPTS FROM A LETTER FROM CPL. FRANK E. MORSE, Camp Shelby, Mississippi.
Dated July 22, 1944

"Things pop up at times that remind me of your course. They (our Negroes) seem to dislike the colored M.P.'s and think they get an unfair break there and the white M.P.'s are better. We have had some trouble with exploitation, Negro non-coms selling forged passes at a dollar a pass, trivial loans on valuable articles and refusal to allow redemption, etc. Think I wrote you about the men borrowing money and returning or trying to return double the amount on payday. And I could add other trivia."

. . .

"Segregation seems to me inevitable and probably largely automatic, but I believe as a tactical measure toward easing racial tension it has value. So many northerners, friendly or indifferent to the Negro, seem to get bitterly antagonistic on contact and experience with them in the army. I noticed the same phenomena in correctional institutions in New York State where mixing was forced. It bred intolerance. But you know more about this than I do. I just live and work in this army situation with a few whites and many blacks.

Read the other day that some Negro leader in New York had swung to Dewey because of the treatment of Negroes in the Southern army camps. I do not know to what he refers. At Camp Lee I saw little of the Negroes, but at McCain and Shelby I have seen much. At McCain Station Complement Medical Detachment both groups ate in the same mess hall, but the Negroes ate first and got most of the food and always the best. The whites got the necks and wings. In the hospital there and here they are mixed in the wards but when let alone seemed to congregate in the wards in racial groupings, (and the homos seemed to group together in the neuro-psychiatric section.) Rations, quarters, P.X.'s, clothes et al are the same. Both races go to the same movies. The service clubs are separate

and a colored service club is off limits to whites, so I have not seen one. Some P. X.'s are black, some white, and some are open to both--also some are open only to certain organizations housed in the immediate vicinity. Ratings seem much easier for Negroes than whites to get. Furloughs and passes are just as frequent for the Negroes. In minor disciplinary measures, the Negro seems treated more leniently. In our Duck Hill shooting affray near McCain I think the army protected the Negroes from civilian courts. I just don't get the point, unless it is matters I haven't run into.

One of our main troubles with Negroes is with sick call. On Sunday almost no one is on it. Other days it is popular. As a group there seems an undue amount of enuresis and of conversion psychoneurosis - 'miseries' of the back, legs, and head with no organic or physical reason. We handle these Negroes much more gently and slowly than we did the whites I knew at Lee and McCain."

U.S. Army — Policy on Negs.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

1 February 1950

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are informed by the Information & Education Division that the material requested in your letter of December 12, 1949, is not available here, but may be obtained through the Princeton University Press. We have been as anxious as you to secure copies, and regret that we cannot comply directly with your request.

I noted your recent mission to Miami. I usually go down each winter, and plan to be there toward the end of February.

We have attempted to keep you informed on recent developments in Army policy. This matter has not stopped, but continues to look forward.

Again, officials who have recently visited a number of Air Force installations in the South and West indicate that implementation of the Air Force program of integration moves forward at a rapid pace and without untoward incident.

We hope to maintain contact with you.

Sincerely yours,

JCE

JAMES C. EVANS
Civilian Assistant to the
Secretary of Defense

Armed Services, segregation in

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

4 December 1951

RECEIVED
DEC 7 1951
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The information about the action which you took as regards the flag incident is appreciated. With you, I am glad that the the Armed Forces gave you full reassurances in response to your communication.

Other items of contrast would be found interesting. A soldier recently observed that at the post where the flag incident took place, everything is fine inside but not so outside. In another location, far to the North, everything is fine outside but not so inside.

Another complaint contrasts the situation where military personnel are given all the benefits of interstate travel status on trains by both the train crews and the military policemen; — over against other areas where, for reasons yet to be determined, the military policemen enforce racial segregation upon military personnel while civilian passengers in interstate travel are not segregated.

These contrasts and conflicting situations outline areas of further service through civilian organizations such as you represent.

I was glad to see you at Detroit and regret that time did not permit us to work longer together.

Sincerely yours,

James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant

February 26, 1945

Mr. Devereaux McClatchey
66 Avery Drive, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McClatchey:

We are asking a small group to meet at Council headquarters at 3:30 P. M. on Tuesday, March 13 to discuss some practical steps that might be taken to meet certain problems of racial adjustment which will arise when the soldiers come home.

We are very much in need of your advice and assistance, and we hope that you can attend this meeting. Will you please advise me by letter or telephone whether you will be able to attend or not? Our telephone number is WAlnut 7963.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Also to:

Mrs. Tilly
Jo Wilkins —
L. D. Milton
Goodrich White —
R. L. Foreman
Glenn Rainey —
Lucy Mason—
Dr. Mays and Dr. Clement reminded

m

3/15/45

absent

Milton
Rainey
Wilkins
McClatchey
Foreman

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to

Clement – alternates Mays
Fountain Russell
~~McClatchey~~ – stat. McClatchey
Tilley
Rainey Mitchell
White Paden
~~Gellerstedt~~?
Johnson Foreman

Tilley & McClatchey make arrangements

Mr. L. L. Gellerstedt, Pres. Cham. of Commerce.

Res.: 1272 Oakdale Rd, N.E.

EMORY UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
EMORY UNIVERSITY, GEORGIA

March 27, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am sorry that I have not been able more promptly to reply to your letter of March 16.

I am returning herewith the copy of the memorandum with some pencilled notations as to relatively minor modifications that suggest themselves to me. I shall not try to elaborate on the reasons for these suggestions.

It seems to me highly important that on the committee presenting this memorandum there should be some distinguished churchman (Bishop Moore, for example) and at least one or two business leaders.

Sincerely yours,

Goodrich C. White

Goodrich C. White
President

GCW:MLH

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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QJ83

1945 MAR 22 PM 10 43

Q.CDU970 NL PD=CD NEWYORK NY 22

GUY B JOHNSON=

Rm 432

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST

ROOM 432 ATLA=

SPLENDID DOCUMENT TO THE GOVERNOR SUGGEST YOU CUT OUR AS MUCH AND AS POSSIBLE PAGE TWO ITEM 1 ALSO CUT OUT WHEREVER POSSIBLE PAGE THREE ITEM 5 WHY NOT REQUEST THE GOVERNOR TO HAVE CONFERENCE WITH MAYOR=

BENJAMIN E MAYS.

.1 5..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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E. D. SMITH, JR.
LOUIS REGENSTEIN, JR.

BERTRAM S. BOLEY
JULIAN E. GORTATOWSKY
A. G. CLEVELAND, JR.
HARRY S. BAXTER
SIDNEY HASKINS

HAROLD HIRSCH
(1881-1939)

March 20, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Dr. Johnson:

In reply to your letter of March 16, I have examined the tentative draft of memorandum which you propose to submit to Governor Arnall. The preamble is well drawn and well stated, and the recommendations should form a good basis of discussion with the Governor.

On account of another matter pending before the Governor at this time in which I am indirectly interested, I do not feel that I should go to him with your group. However, I wish to express my appreciation for the work you are doing and I wish you the best of success.

With very best wishes.

Sincerely,

Devereaux F. McClatchey

Devereaux F. McClatchey

DFMc:MM

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

March 20, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I think that your memorandum of the things which we should bring to the attention of Governor Arnall is an excellent one.

Do we want to ask him to interest other government officials, including mayors of the largest cities of Georgia and the governors of the Southern states?

Sincerely yours

Rufus E. Clement

REC.C

CITIZENS' FACT-FINDING MOVEMENT OF GEORGIA

A coordinating agency for studying Georgia and for stimulating its progress through the democratic process

818 FORSYTH BUILDING, ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

March 19, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

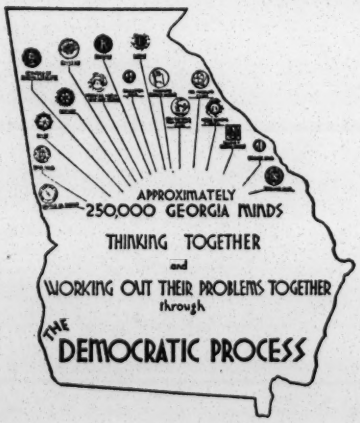
Dear Guy:

I too am sorry I could not get over to the meeting Wednesday. Thank you for your note regarding it and for the copy of the memorandum being prepared for Governor Arnall.

I have read the draft of the memorandum and consider it excellent, as well as the whole plan for seeing the Governor about this matter. I have only one suggestion to make in regard to the paper, that is I would like "urge" used in enumerating the requests we make of the Governor.

Sincerely,

Josephine Wilkins
Administrator



RACIAL ADJUSTMENT AFTER THE WAR

A Memorandum to Governor Ellis Arnall

We come to you as a group of citizens who are deeply concerned with the problem of preventing racial tensions and promoting fair play and understanding in the post war days which are rapidly approaching.

Georgia has approximately 169,000 white selectees and 62,000 Negro selectees at war, or a total of more than 231,000. Presumably, most of these will return to Georgia when the war is over. Fulton County has contributed 30,000 white selectees and 12,000 Negro selectees. Other examples are: Bibb County, 5000 whites, 2600 Negroes; Chatham County, 6300 whites, 4000 Negroes; Muscogee County, 5500 whites, 2200 Negroes; Troup County, 3000 whites, 1200 Negroes. Such figures suggest the magnitude of the problem of readjustment when the boys come home.

When we no longer feel the urgency of the war effort, and when jobs are less plentiful, we may face a situation of psychological tension in which even trivial interracial incidents are potentially dangerous to the public peace and morale.

The white veteran is likely to be dominated by a desire to return to things as they were before the war. The Negro veteran is going to be fearful that things will be no better than they were before he went to war. He will feel that, since he has fought for the preservation of democracy, he deserves a greater share of democracy when he comes home. If his legitimate wants are neglected or repressed, his morale will be extremely low, and he will become hypersensitive and aggressive.

Many services and programs are being set up to aid the veteran in his readjustment to civilian life, but little is being done to prepare the public for the return of the veteran. This is particularly true with respect to certain

problems of racial adjustment which are bound to become more acute than usual after the war. There is great need, then, for a positive program which will help to create a climate of public opinion favorable to tolerance, restraint, and common sense in the relations of the races as we approach the post war period.

Because of your constructive liberalism and your personal integrity, you have won a high place in the esteem of the American people. What you do and what you say on these problems of racial understanding and fair play can have tremendous weight in shaping personal attitudes and public policy throughout the South. We beg you, therefore, to do the following things, or as many of them as you possibly can:

1. That you ask a group of police officials to meet with you in private conference and that you request them to impress upon their police personnel the importance of maintaining calmness and impartiality, and the special importance of refraining from the use of force upon any person unless it is absolutely necessary.

2. That you likewise confer with a selected group of transportation officials and suggest to them that they make special efforts to impress upon their employees the importance of exercising the maximum courtesy and restraint to the end that unfortunate interracial incidents may be kept to a minimum on public carriers.

3. That you confer with a group of white editors and solicit their cooperation in helping to create a public opinion which is favorable to tolerance and forbearance in interracial affairs.

4. That you also confer with a group of Negro editors and attempt to make them aware of their special responsibility in shaping

a public opinion among Negroes which will tend to counteract any unjustified sensitivity.

5. That you use your influence wherever possible to see that the interests of Negro citizens are directly represented in the agencies and services which are now being set up to aid our veterans.

6. That you bring these matters to the attention of the Conference of Southern Governors, to the end that a constructive efforts may be encouraged in all of the Southern states.

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Executive Department
Atlanta

ELLIS ARNALL
GOVERNOR

M. E. THOMPSON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 9, 1945

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
1013 Highland View, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Tilly:

Acknowledgment is made with thanks of your letter of April 3rd in which you request that I make an engagement for you and a group of your friends with the Governor for April 15th.

The Governor is out of his office and will not return until about the first of May. If you will contact me at that time I will be glad to make arrangements for an appointment.

With highest regards and every good wish,
I am

Sincerely yours,

M. E. Thompson

M. E. Thompson
Executive Secretary

met/sw

cf with Sec

May 17, 1945

Mr. M. E. Thompson
Office of the Governor
State Capitol Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Thompson:

This is to thank you for making it possible for the interview a group of us had with the Governor some days ago.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

MET:m

Conference with Ga

May 17, 1945

The Honorable Ellis Arnall
The Governor of Georgia
State Capitol Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Governor Arnall:

This is to express to you my thanks and appreciation of the interview you gave to Dr. Guy Johnson of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Goodrich White of Emory, Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, Dr. R. L. Russell of McDonough, Georgia, Glenn Rainey, and myself.

We are deeply grateful that you stated to us you would bear in mind the request we made of you, and that you are concerned that racial good will prevail throughout our state.

Sincerely yours,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

MET:m

Cof with Governor

May 17, 1945

The Rev. James W. Sells
Room 406, New Capitol Building
Jackson, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Sells:

You will remember that I told you of the interview a few of us were to have with the Governor of Georgia with reference to racial tensions. Dr. Guy Johnson of the Southern Regional Council, Dr. Goodrich White of Emory, Dr. Benjamin Mays of Morehouse, Dr. R. L. Russell of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, Professor Glenn Rainey of Georgia Tech, and I, Christian Social Relations Secretary of the Southeastern Jurisdiction, saw him last week, and I am enclosing a copy of the memorandum we gave to him.

We want similar interviews with each Governor of the Southern states by people who will have some importance in his eyes. However, if you think it wise, discuss this memorandum with your Governor yourself, and let me know his reactions. If you could get a promise from him to discuss it at the Conference of Southern Governors, I believe it would have far-reaching effect on our whole South.

I promised you I would give you some more information about Georgia's health program, and it may be possible for me to give you these facts within the next few days.

With kindest regards,

Cordially yours,

MRS. M. E. TILLY

MET:m
Enclosure

M E M O R A N D U M

Informal Conference on Attitude Education Program in the South

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Present: Dr. W. W. Alexander, Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Dr. B. E. Mays, Mrs. M. E. Tilly and Dr. Ira De A. Reid.

Doctor Alexander posed this problem. When the war is done, in all probability, there is a grave chance that there will be much unrest among Negro soldiers and that their adjustment in the Southern community will not be so easy. He gave examples of several situations that have taken place in the South since the war. He was of the opinion that unless some preparation was made in the local community for handling community situationsinto which Negro soldiers were supposed to fit when they return some race difficulties might follow. Following the first World War, Doctor Alexander was Ex-director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and was instrumental in bringing this problem to the attention of several communities in the South through a series of conferences. Today's informal meeting was called for the purpose of discussing some steps that may be taken in order to establish constructive community relations for the Negro veterans upon their return from this war.

The discussion centered around what could be done to promote a program of attitude education in the South. The following was suggested: (1) That a conference be held with some of the southern editors. It was suggested that we might call upon the group that met in Atlanta to discuss the poll tax. (2) That there be conferences with police administrators in several cities. (3) That there be conferences with the governors and mayors. (4) That white ministers be called upon to aid in this cause; that the various state committees, particularly interracial committees, and local employers be utilized also.

The particular ends to be sought might be expressed as follows: (1) To provide a general overall picture of what men and women in the service have been facing. (2) To prepare a statement indicating what happened after the last World War. (3) To give to the community some conception of the mental state of Negro soldiers. (4) To give some concrete example of the heroic things that have been done in this war. (5) To prepare for the Negro soldier a memorandum indicating what has happened since he went away.

Other suggestions included: (1) That an article be written in one of the nationally distributed magazines by, say, Walter Davenport. Doctor Alexander also suggested that such a person asCarol Kilpatrick of the Chicago Sun Bureau in Washington might also be considered for writing such an article. He would talk with Mr. Kilpatrick about this when he went to Washington. The suggestion was also made that

this whole problem should be discussed with the transportation authorities, both interstate railways and bus as well as streetcar systems. It was suggested also that the Y.M.C.A. secretaries in the South be called upon to aid in promoting a morale program of this nature. Also the state church papers might be used to disseminate such propagarda as may be necessary. All persons were of the opinion that the ministers could be of great help in creating a desirable situation.

It was decided that one of the best taking off points would be to have an approach to the Governor of Georgia who may, if he sees fit, bring this matter to the attention of southern governors and ask their cooperation. It was, there fore, decided that today's group would constitute the core of a committee to interview Governor Arnall at his convenience sometime after March 15.

On Tuesday, March 13 we planned to meet again. It was suggested that other persons be invited to this meeting, including Mr. Deveraux McClatchey, Miss Josephine Wilkins and Mr. Glenn Rainey. Other names suggested included Dr. Goodrich White of Emory University, Mr. Robert L. Foreman of Atlanta, Miss Lucy Mason of Atlanta and Mr. L. D. Milton of Atlanta. At this meeting on March 13, Mr. Reid was to submit a memorandum indicating some of the problems that may be presented to Governor Arnall, and Dr. Guy Johnson a memorandum on how the South could be organized for the larger effort.

February 20, 1945

It is recommended that-

1. The Southern Regional Council cooperate in the organization and establishment of state-wide efforts to integrate the returning veteran-and to give particular attention to the needs of the Negro veteran.

2. That a committee be appointed to report to the executive committee on specific ways of cooperation with the plans of ~~the~~ cooperating Negro Education Institutions and to give particular attention to-

a- Tension in pla~~ns~~ces to which veterans are returning.

b- Using the Council's influence, aggressivly to open new employment opportunites.

Gov. Arnall

A Tribute to Governor Arnall of Georgia

A resounding, though unheralded, break in the solid front of the eight poll-tax states of the South has occurred. The Georgia legislature, at the forceful initiative of a young, progressive governor, has abolished the tax on voting (poll-tax).

Obviously it is desirable that, wherever possible, anti-poll-tax measures be initiated and carried through by natives of the states primarily concerned: democratic reform is most admirable when it springs from the moral convictions and is achieved by the elective powers of the community in which reform is needed. The great argument of the reactionary politicians whose careers are based on a restricted suffrage in their home states was and is that anti-poll-tax sentiment is exclusively a "foreign" doctrine. Georgia's action effectively disproves the demagogic claim that the people of the poll-tax states themselves are, by some quaint persuasion, favorable to the device that decimates the electorate.

There is a vast stirring in the masses of the common people of the South which has expressed itself of late in the election of progressive candidates to public office. Hill of Alabama, Pepper of Florida, Fulbright of Arkansas, are cases in point. The Deep South is in process of taking its rightful place abreast of the historic epoch in which it lives. The war has accelerated this tendency by making clear the indispensability of the common man—in the armed forces, in the factory, on the farm. It is difficult to oppose enfranchisement of those who defend the country. It is almost equally difficult to stand against votes for their brothers who are producing the munitions with which they fight and the food which sustains the nation in its time of peril.

We salute Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia for his leadership in this historic upheaval. He stands directly in the tradition of Thomas Jefferson of Virginia and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, great popular leaders in their epochs. It is time that out of the South should again come a voice which speaks for the common man who by the work of his hand and brain has made America. The emergence of Governor Arnall to the front rank of progressive political leaders in this country is a warning to those regressive forces which have too long held political and economic power in the South. In his career, the Governor of Georgia symbolizes the arrival of the people to power, and gives earnest of an unshackled and progressive South.

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January 30, 1970

Mr. Mitchell Rogovin
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Dear Mitch:

Belatedly, thank you for seeing us at breakfast last week and for your advice. We found the people at IRS and Treasury to be very much as you had predicted; essentially non-commital and certainly not encouraging. Our attorneys are, of course, following up with written requests for certain rulings.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

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FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Paul.

Lowell Beck has asked that we not give this any general distribution, but you might find a suggestive point or two in it.

Best
Harold

HAROLD C. FLEMING

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CABLE ADDRESS
"ARFOPO"

January 9, 1970

RECEIVED
JAN 9 1970

Mr. Lowell R. Beck
The Urban Coalition Action Council
2100 M Street, N. W.,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Lowell:

In line with our meeting yesterday, the promised memorandum on the effect of the foundation provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 is enclosed.

Have a safe trip. See you next week.

Kind regards.

Sincerely,

Mitch

Mitchell Rogovin

Enclosure

HAND-DELIVERED

ARNOLD & PORTER January 9, 1970

MEMORANDUM TO THE URBAN COALITION

Re: Foundation Provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969

One of the most significant changes made by the Tax Reform Act of 1969 in the tax treatment of exempt organizations is the segregation of the "private foundation" from other organizations exempt from tax under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and the enactment of various restrictions on the spending and the activities of the "private foundation." If a section 501(c)(3) organization is not a private foundation, the effect of the Act upon its operations is minimal.*

You have asked for an analysis of the effect of the foundation provisions of the Tax Reform Act of 1969 upon the Urban Coalition. As you will see, whether or not the Urban Coalition fits within the definition of private foundation will depend upon certain dollar computations. Although we do not have the precise figures

* With respect to section 501(c)(3) organizations other than private foundations, the Act prescribes various requirements for the returns, notices and reports to be filed with the Internal Revenue Service by such organizations and sets up certain rules for the treatment of unrelated business income and unrelated debt-financed income.

necessary to make such computations, it would appear quite likely that the Urban Coalition is either outside of the thrust of the new legislation or that by pre-arrangement, you can so order your affairs so as to be construed a public charity in the future.

Is the Urban Coalition a private foundation? - Section 509 of the Act excepts from the definition of "private foundations" those organizations which "normally" receive more than one-third of their support from the general public and which "normally" receive not more than one-third of their support in each taxable year from gross investment income.* In determining whether one-

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* The Senate Finance Committee Report on the Tax Reform Act, in discussing the application of these support tests, indicated that the nature of an organization's "normal" support will probably be determined on the basis of some kind of averaging method over a period of several years.

> ". . . Existing regulations determine what is 'normal' on the basis of a 4-year moving average. In general, the committee anticipates that this approach will be used in applying the 'normal' tests of the bill. Appropriate modifications are expected to be made, however, to take into account the likelihood that on occasion an organization may receive an unusual grant or bequest which should not affect is status. For example, one approach could be to determine whether the organization meets the support test in 3 out of 4 consecutive years." Sen. Rep. No. 91-552, 91st Cong., 1st Sess. 58.

third of an organization's support is derived from the general public, contributions from "disqualified persons" and from section 501(c)(3) organizations other than churches, schools, hospitals and government-supported organizations are not taken into account. The term "disqualified person" includes an individual, corporation or trust which contributes an aggregate amount of more than $5,000 to an organization, if that gift is more than two percent of the total grants received by the organization during the year in which the contribution is made.*

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* The Act includes within the definition of a "disqualified person" the following categories of persons:

1. a substantial contributor;

2. a foundation manager (an officer, director trustee);

3. an owner of more than 20% of the voting stock, partnership profits, or beneficial interest, as the case may be, of a corporation, partnership or trust which is a substantial contributor;

4. a family member (a spouse, ancestor, descendant, or spouse of a descendant) of any individual described in paragraphs 1 through 3; and

5. a corporation, partnership or trust of which persons described in paragraphs 1 through 4 own more than 35% of the voting power, profits interest or beneficial interest, as the case may be.

[footnote continued on next page]

We suggest that you make an analysis at this time of whether the Coalition has, for 1968 and 1969, received more than "one-third of its support from the public," within the meaning of section 509 of the Act.* This determination can be made for each year in question as follows:

1. Determine the total amount of the "support" received by the Coalition during the taxable year (the total gifts, grants and contributions it received; its gross investment income, not including gains from the sales of capital assets; its gross receipts from related business activities; and its net receipts from unrelated business income);

[continued from previous page]

We believe that only in limited cases, if at all, will any person fit the definition of a "disqualified person" with respect to the Coalition other than one who is a substantial contributor. Your records should be analyzed, nevertheless, to determine whether any contributor to the Coalition (other than substantial contributors) is within the definition of a "disqualified person."

* The "public support" test is the crucial one for the Coalition. We believe that the Coalition will not have any problem with regard to the second test, i.e., that not more than one-third of its support be from investment income.

2. Determine the total amount of the gifts, grants, and contributions received by the Coalition during the taxable year;

3. Segregate from the total contributions received: (a) all gifts made by foundations and other exempt organizations that are not churches, schools, hospitals or government-supported organizations, and (b) all gifts made by "disqualified persons," including those gifts made to the Coalition during the current year which exceed two percent of the total contributions and including gifts made by persons who were "substantial contributors" in prior years. (We assume that all gifts in excess of the two percent limitation will also be in excess of $5,000; and having met both the $5,000 test and the two percent test, these gifts will fall within the category of having been made by a "substantial contributor," who, under the Act, is considered to be a "disqualified person.")

4. On the basis of the above figures, determine whether the contributions received by the Coalition from persons other than disqualified persons and other than exempt organizations which are not churches, schools, etc. (item 2 less item 3) exceed one-third of its support (one-third of item 1) for the year.

At some point after the Treasury issues Regulations, we will have to determine which persons are "substantial contributors" and "disqualified persons" with respect to the Coalition. On the basis of the list of contributors attached to the Coalition's 1968 information return, it would appear that General Motors, Tenneco, and American Telephone and Telegraph, each of which gave over 2% of your total 1968 contributions, would be classified as "substantial contributors." The danger in having such groups fall within the "substantial contributor" category is not only the fact that their gifts must be disregarded in computing whether the Coalition meets the one-third public support test during the current year. Once an individual, corporation or trust has been classified as a "substantial contributor," that status is retained. Gifts made to the

Coalition by a person who was a "substantial contributor" in a previous year will not be counted in computing the one-third public support test for any subsequent year. Unless careful records are kept to prevent a contributor from making an excessive gift, the Coalition, at some future date, may find itself without qualified contributors and would not be able to meet the "one-third public support" test. The key to success in preventing this result is for the Coalition to prepare monthly statements of contributors, analyze who its donors are, and determine whether there is a risk that any donor may become disqualified as a result of the amount of its contribution.

Until a section 501(c)(3) organization receives a ruling from the Internal Revenue Service (to be applied for and issued pursuant to the Regulations that will be issued by the Treasury) to the effect that it is not a private foundation, it will be treated as a private foundation under the Act. Thus, the foundation provisions of the Act will be relevant to the Coalition until it receives a ruling that it is not a private foundation, or, of course, in the event the Coalition cannot meet the support tests of section 509.

In its treatment of private foundations, the Act makes a distinction between an operating foundation and a non-operating foundation.* There are advantages to classification as an operating foundation.

1. An operating foundation is not required to distribute each year the greater of all its adjusted net income or an amount equal to 6% of the value of its assets, as is the non-operating private foundation under section 4942 of the Act.

---

* As defined in section 4942(j)(3), an operating foundation is one which distributes substantially all its adjusted net income by making "qualifying distributions" directly for the active conduct of its exempt purposes, and:

1. substantially more than half its assets are devoted directly to its activities or functionally related businesses; or

2. it normally makes qualifying distributions directly for the active conduct of its exempt purposes in an amount not less than two-thirds of its minimum investment return (6% of the value of its assets); or

3. substantially all its support is normally received from the general public and at least five exempt organizations; not more than 25% of its support is from any one such exempt organization; and not more than half of its support is normally received from gross investment income.

2. Under section 170(b)(1), as amended by the Act, contributions to an operating foundation may be deducted up to 50% of the taxpayer's adjusted gross income. The deduction for contributions to most other private foundations is limited to 20%.

3. A grant to an operating foundation (but not a non-operating foundation) from another private foundation does not have to be distributed currently by the operating foundation in order for the grant to constitute a "qualifying distribution" by the donating private foundation.

The other foundation provisions of the Act apply to all private foundations, both operating and non-operating. In general terms, these provisions are as follows:

1. Private foundations are subject to a 4% tax on net investment income;

2. For any act of "self-dealing" between a private foundation and a disqualified person, a tax, based on the amount involved, is imposed

on both the self-dealer (5%) and the foundation manager (2-1/2%);*

3. A tax of 5% is imposed each year on the value of a private foundation's excess business holdings in a business enterprise.**

4. If a private foundation invests any amount in such a manner so as to jeopardize the carrying out of its exempt purposes, a tax of 5%, based on the amount so invested, is imposed on the private foundation and any foundation manager who knowingly participates.

5. An expenditure made by a private foundation will be subject to tax if: (1) it is made for the purpose of carrying on propoganda or influencing legislation or the outcome of an election; (2) is a grant to an individual (other than a grant awarded on an objective,

---

* Self-dealing means certain direct and indirect transactions between a private foundation and a disqualified person such as a sale of property, loan of money, furnishing services, payment of compensation.

** In general terms, a private foundation will be considered to own excess business holdings in a business enterprise if it, together with all disqualified persons, owns 20% of more of the enterprise's voting stock.

nondiscriminatory basis pursuant to a procedure approved in advance by the Service, and which constitutes a scholarship for education, an award to a member of the general public, or is for the purpose of achieving a specific objective such as a report or enhancing a talent of the grantee); (3) is a grant to a private foundation (unless the grantor exercises "expenditure responsibility"); or (4) is for any purpose other than one exclusively for religious, charitable, educational, etc. purposes. The tax on the foundation is 10% of the "taxable expenditure" and, in addition, there is a tax of 2-1/2% imposed on the willful agreement of a foundation manager to make such an expenditure.

These new strictures on private foundations contain many terms that have not yet been defined. Thus, much of the effect of the legislation will depend upon the Treasury's exercise of rule-making authority and its definition of the new words of art. For this reason, working definitions of these new terms and our analysis

of the effect of the Act upon the Coalition's operations must await action by the Treasury.

It is clear, however, that the basic thrust of the Act is the imposition of restrictions on the activities of the "private foundation." These restrictions are not extended to those organizations that are specifically excluded from the statutory definition of that term. Classification as a private foundation will not only impede an organization's own spending and activities, but, in addition, it might deter grants from other private foundations since private foundations are required by the Act to exercise "expenditure responsibility" for grants made to other private foundations. The Coalition should therefore take all necessary steps (such as periodic analyses of its contributors) to bring itself within the statutory exception (the "one-third public support" requirement) to the private foundation definition.*

---

* We are aware that the Coalition is presently considering a merger with Urban America. Since the merger will of course effect whether the Coalition meets the "one-third public support" exception to the Act's definition of private foundations, an analysis of the sources of Urban America's support should be made.

file

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CABLE ADDRESS
"ARFOPO"

August 3, 1970

AUG 6 1970

Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler
Charlotte Medical Clinic
1900 Brunswick Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28207

Dear Ray:

I just wanted to congratulate you on your eloquent testimony before Senator Mondale's committee. Although I am sure you received clippings of your testimony by now, I am enclosing several clippings from the Washington Post on the outside chance you might not have received any.

The purpose of this letter is to bring you up to date on the proposal that Les Dunbar raised with me some time ago. Les's suggestion was to explore the possibility of a handbook on the legal rights of migrants and the legal services available to migrants in the various states in the migrant stream. I have been slowly trying to respond to Les's idea and to formulate a way to proceed.

Les and I had originally discussed the possibility of setting up a committee of lawyers from the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council to oversee the project. Since that time I have had discussions with the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and it is interested in the project as well. The way I now see the development of such a migrant handbook would be as follows:

1. A joint project with the Southern Regional Council and the Lawyers' Committee.

2. Preparation of a short and small (perhaps billfold size) handbook to be distributed by the Southern Regional Council to migrants. The handbook would explain in very graphic terms certain basic rights available to them and the fact that lawyers would be available to them to help enforce those rights. This particular publication should be something the migrants--both Spanish speaking and non-Spanish speaking--could read quickly and understand easily.

3. This handbook would hopefully contain just one telephone number which migrants in all the states could call if they ran into any kind of legal problem. As you probably know, AT&T has a system which allows someone to dial directly one number from anywhere in the country at no cost to the person calling. An example of this is the hotel reservations systems which one can call on one number from anywhere in the country. We might be able to negotiate some kind of arrangement with AT&T whereby it would donate telephone lines and that one number.

4. A migrant using that number would call one central location, possibly the Washington office of the Lawyers' Committee. The central location would then have a list of lawyers around the country, including migrant legal services offices, rural legal service offices, and others which could handle these problems.

5. All the lawyers who would be plugged into the migrant legal system that would be set up would be given a detailed legal memorandum prepared by the Lawyers' Committee. This legal memorandum would outline the legal rights and services--both state and national--which would be available to migrants. The legal memorandum would be prepared primarily for those five to ten states with the largest migrant population.

The above represents some preliminary thinking that has been done concerning this project. If the outline

above seems okay to you, Ray, we will proceed to draw up a proposal and think some of these problems through. Please let me know what you think.

Cordially,

Harry Huge

HH:ps
Enclosures

cc: Leslie Dunbar
Paul Anthony

Fidelity Union Bank
NEWARK

file

August 13, 1970

AUG 17 1970

COPY

Mr. Harry Huge
Arnold and Porter
1229 19th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Harry:

Thank you for the clippings and your letter. Please forgive my delay in answering but I wanted to give your letter adequate thought.

I am very much interested in and concerned about legal services for migrants and read your proposal with great interest. My trips to Florida and Southwest Texas convinced me that one of the most important things to be done for immediate relief of some of the problems of migrant workers is to bolster in whatever way possible their legal power.

I am wondering, however, if there should not be further exploration of what is the best way to do this.

Your proposal, I think, would involve a tremendous amount of work in terms of research into the laws of five or ten states plus publication and distribution of properly presented material in two languages. The expense would likely be considerable. I mention this because I have a question as to whether this approach will produce the kind of results which would justify such an expenditure of work as well as money.

I think I am correct in noting that the experience of VEP in publishing and mass distribution of informational pamphlets has not been as productive as was hoped.

I do know that young lawyers in Texas and Florida, who are now working with migrants, have far more work than they can handle. I would favor some further exploration of how we could directly strengthen that effort, perhaps through the Lawyers Committee, with briefings and informational services at first directed primarily to the community leaders among the migrants.

I think consultation with people like Joe Segor and Roger Dunnwell might be helpful in shaping our ideas.

I saw today that you are to speak in Chapel Hill in October. Is there any chance of your visiting overnight before or after with us. Also, I think you are on a committee of SRC to make some recommendations about the annual meeting and that should be meeting before long. Perhaps we could talk there.

Sincerely,

Raymond M. Wheeler, M. D.

RMW/jb

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
The Field Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, New York 10028

COPY

September 8, 1970

Mr. David R. Kentoff
Arnold & Porter
1229 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear David:

How I envy people who can go a year and a half without collecting travel expenses. More seriously, enclosed is our check.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

SEP 8 1970

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CABLE ADDRESS
"ARFOPO"

September 3, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Our Bookkeeping Department has just advised me that we somehow slipped up on sending you a bill for the travel expenses that I incurred on my trip to Atlanta, about one and a half years ago, for the meeting of the Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans. I hope you will not think it graceless of me to send it at this late date.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

David Kentoff

David R. Kentoff

Enclosure

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CABLE ADDRESS
"ARFOPO"

September 14, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for the prompt payment of our statement of disbursements.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

David R. Kentoff

To Mr. Anthony

Date 12-14-70 Time 2:45

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

Mr. Arnold Bennett

of Alexandria, Virginia

Phone

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	✓
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
	RETURNED YOUR CALL		

Message

B. Childres

Operator

EFFICIENCY® LINE No. 4725

ARTICLE ONE

A MAGAZINE FOR
THE NEW VIRGINIA

Mr. Denning
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1703
DEC 4 1970

Clarendon Building, Suite 2
1408 North Fillmore Street
Arlington, Virginia 22201
703-524-2432

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Kennedy P. Maize

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Robert Stern
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Roy White
Murat W. Williams

2 December 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your sympathetic ear and words of encouragement.

Our circulation now stands at 945. This was developed in a very limited direct mail campaign and by word of mouth between January 28 and July 20, 1970.

The 1971 budget which I'll submit to our Board of Directors on December 12 will read something like this:

Printing costs	$6,800
Postage	700
Salary	9,100
Manuscripts	600
Expenses	1,000
Circulation mailings	600
Miscellaneous	1,000
	$19,800

During 1971, I expect that circulation revenues will be at least $12,000, probably considerably more. I estimate advertising space sales revenue at a minimum of $4,000. This will leave, at worst, a manageable deficit of approximately $3,800, plus whatever repayment we make on

our current debt, which stands at about $3,000. A series of fund raising events now scheduled for January may absorb most of this potential deficit.

Our immediate needs run to about $2,00 to $2,500. We need approximately $1,500 to print our January issue; $500 to $1,000 for operating expenses; and, if possible, about $500 for advertising. (Actually, we don't have to have all the cash in hand now. What we need by December 11 is about $500 and a firm assurance of delivery of the balance by mid-January.)

We have the volunteer manpower ready for a circulation drive in the latter half of December and in January. If the money to produce the January issue is available, this drive can be undertaken.

This six week effort should raise most of the funds needed for the April issue--about 500 subscriptions, an attainable goal--leaving us three months of operations in the black to get a head start on funding operations (through new circulation, ads, and some gifts) for the rest of 1971. We are planning some fund raising events in January and February.

When Article One reaches a circulation of about 2000-2500, we will be just about stable. This circulation represents only slightly more than half of New Republic's circulation in Virginia. We should be able to reach this point by late summer or early fall.

I am convinced that Article One can and will succeed. Unfortunately, however, many potential contributors are not so convinced. If we can get out our January issue, some local money will almost certainly shake loose.

Help at this juncture is critical. If I am able to raise money through other sources during the next week or so, I'll call you immediately. If not, your aid will make the difference between collapse and survival.

There are four ways to help us:

1. Advertising space purchase. If, for example, the amount you can spend is $2400, this could be three pages in each of the first two 1971 issues, using two colors on each page. If you allow us to choose the second ink in each case, we can bill you for the second ink that we will be using for our editorial matter, anyway.

2. Purchase of a block of magazines--January issue--for distribution by you. The January issue will have an analysis of the 1970 Virginia Senate election by political scientist Victor Fingerhut that might be your reason for wanting the

copies. Our cover price is $2.50; the extra copies you buy will cost us about 35 cents each, beyond our initial printing costs. Purchase of 1000 copies would cost you $2,500 and net us about $2,150.

3. Purchase of reprints of "Picking Poverty's Pocket" by Barry Barkan and the Reverend Mr. R. Baldwin Lloyd, an expose of the intertwining of special interests in draining Appalachia of its natural wealth. Appalachia South purchased 2000 of these reprints for distribution last summer; it would not be unreasonable for SRC to want some for educational purposes. You could buy 5000 reprints for $2,500; our net after cost of the reprinting would be about $2,200.

4. Commission a report on:

Living and working conditions of agricultural workers in Southside Virginia.

Virginia's interlocking directorate in finance, industry, the press, and conservative politics.

The status of medical care in Southside Virginia.

Any of these reports will actually cost us money, but we want to look into these matters under any circumstances, and will be able to absorb the expenses during the coming year. The payment you make now, however, will help us past the crisis.

Again, thank you. Whatever SRC can do for Article One now will make the difference in whether or not our project succeeds. I believe quite deeply that the creation of a new journalism that responds to the people is one of the important keys to our work in the South. If Article One can get past this crisis, please call on me for help in any journalism projects you want to develop anywhere in the region.

Sincerely,

Arnold Bennett
Editor

ARTICLE ONE

A MAGAZINE FOR
THE NEW VIRGINIA

DEC 7 1970

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Arthur Schulman
David H. Scull
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William Thornton
Roy White
Murat W. Williams

2 December 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Article One, A Magazine for the New Virginia, is the most economical and most effective advertising medium for the publications of SRC in our market area.

While we are not a mass publication, we do reach a high percentage of your potential Virginia purchasers. Our readers are involved and influential activists whose eyes are on the New South.

Our basic page rate is $300 per insertion, black ink only. Additional inks are available at $100 per color per page. The back cover is available at $500 per insertion.

To put your message across, I would recommend a two page, two color advertisement in each of our four 1971 issues. By purchasing space ahead of time, you can make your purchases at our current low rates, even though circulation will be increasing. This advertising program would cost you $3200.

Our page is 8-1/2" by 11" with bleed available on four sides. Printing is by offset and of the highest quality.

Sincerely,

Arnold Bennett
Editor

December 21, 1970

Mr. Arnold Bennett
Editor
Article One
Clarendon Building, Suite 2
1408 North Fillmore Street
Arlington, Virginia 22201

Dear Mr. Bennett:

Enclosed is our check for $1,000 representing a consultant fee for you, for a study as outlined in the material you have sent me.

Please keep me informed on the progress of your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

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DEC 21 1970

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Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is my proposal for a study of living and working conditions among agricultural workers in Southside Virginia. Like R. Baldwin Lloyd and Barry Barkan's excellent study of Southwest Virginia--"Picking Poverty's Pocket"--published in Article One, I believe that this new study can prove a valuable educational tool for individuals and agencies involved in poverty programs (and related programs) in the South. Further, I hope that this new study might point the way to the development of new self-help programs in Southside Virginia.

The financial aid of the Southern Regional Council in this study would be greatly helpful. In addition to my time and work, the study will involve a considerable amount of travel expenses, some stenography, and other research costs. I would hope that one thousand dollars would cover most of these costs.

Your aid would permit me to begin this inquiry immediately.

Sincerely,

Arnold Bennett

PROJECT OUTLINE

I propose to undertake a study of living and working conditions among agricultural workers in Southside Virginia. This is an area of significant poverty, racial division, and apparent economic and cultural stagnation.

One of my first areas of inquiry will be the status of medical, dental, and psychotherapeutic care. Here, I shall relate health conditions with the degree of availability of medical care, with some emphasis on work-related diseases (such as biocide poisoning), infant mortality, and diseases traditionally associated with Southern rural poverty (such as hookworm, impetigo, nutritional ailments, and dental problems).

I'll also look into the potential for improvement that might be available through the development of para-medical programs.

Another area of inquiry will be housing and diet, in terms of the deficiencies and the cultural adaptation to traditional shortages in these areas.

Of fundamental importance will be inquiry into income structures, working conditions, worker-employer and tenant-landlord relations, cost of living, and the agricultural workers' life styles as they accommodate to the economic situation.

Another area of significance is the relation of the agricultural worker to the centers of political, economic, and cultural power in Southside, such as the local gentry, the church, and local, state, and federal governments--and, because of the intertwining of governmental operations with Democratic courthouse politics, the agricultural workers' relations with the Democratic Party.

Of particular interest will be a brief analysis of the public records of the state delegates, state senators, and congressmen who represent this region, as these records relate to the economic interests of Southside agricultural workers.

Also worth study is the agricultural workers' degree of identification with--or alienation from--these various power centers.

Much of this study will be within a framework of inquiry into the general cultural milieu in which the Southside agricultural worker conducts his life, and the growing impact of external cultural influences.

And I'll take a brief look at existing aid and self-help programs in the region, as they relate to the agricultural worker.

Now, all of the above sounds very cold and objective--and far too broad a range of inquiry to be treated comprehensively on an objective basis. My intention is to integrate objective data into a human portrait, not a statistical sketch. After all, neither the best nor the worst aspects of human beings can be tabulated.

My hope is that this study will be a human statement about the human condition on the farms of Southside. And that it will point the way to specific actions for the establishment or expansion of self-help programs where help is needed.

Columns

July 13, 1945

Sorry to be slow with this; hope it will do. You know I like the Modern Farmer.

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

Column

It looks as though for some years to come we are in for a good deal of public controversy about how southern farm land is to be owned.

Perhaps as many as half a million farmers, including tenants and croppers, left southern farms in the last four or five years. Nobody supposes that anything like all of them are going to go back to the land. That will lessen the pressure on the land a good deal.

On the other hand, it looks as though a very large proportion of the land now in cotton will in a few years be growing other crops, better for the land. Cotton has always used a lot of labor, and it is the mainstay of a great many small farms. And on the land that will stay in cotton new machinery will come in.

Many of the farmers displaced by a new cropping system and new machinery can find a living in the South if industry expands. In particular, we are getting more and more small processing plants that will use labor at good wages. Hundreds of southern communities are pulling for canneries and pulp mills, and packing houses and creameries. Each of these enterprises will offer town or city work for people now on farms.

All the agricultural planning you read about talks in terms of much bigger farms than we are used to having in the South. It is soon going to be harder than ever for the small man to get a farm big enough to compete with the farmers around him, and he will have to have a lot more capital to get machinery and higher labor and pay for services. People are not going to keep on living in the kind of tenant shacks that are still usual.

What I am afraid of is that in a few years times those who are now good-sized owners will still be owners and many, perhaps most, who are now

tenants or croppoers will be off the land or working as day hands for big farmers.

If small, struggling farmers now on the land want to leave and take better paying city jobs, that's all right, if the jobs are there. But the South would do well to make opportunities for those who love the land and want to stay on it to do so, whether they are rich or poor. Our democracy will have deeper roots - and it needs them today - if we get the land owned by medium-sized family-type farms.

If the little fellows do not get together to look after their own interests, a great many of them who don't want to lose out are going to lose out.

George S. Mitchell

column August 15, 1945

FARMER VETERANS

The next few months should see the release of millions of veterans who were reared on farms. In some southern states half or more of the men and women who went to the armed forces came from farms.

Will they go back?

The war has taught nearly all of them new skills. Boys who plowed with mules now know how to fix airplane engines. The Army and Navy needed clerks and assembly-line workers and warehousemen and laundry operators and bakers and builders, as well as riflemen and parachutists.

A great many of these young people, when they come home to Southern farm communities, will not want to line up their lives as an imitation of their father's lives. Many will go to town to industry and business. Many will go North.

For those who want to farm, GI rights are mighty important. A determined young fellow can borrow enough on reasonable terms to set himself up as a landowning farmer with a good house and good machinery and tools. A young man who would do this can stay in the running.

It looks as though the line will be drawn even more deeply in the future between those who have good places and knowledge of modern farming and those who work for somebody else and lag behind.

The country is rightly grateful to the veterans. The law entitles the veterans to borrow to get farms if they can be found at a workable price. It is up to the boys themselves and their parents in Southern counties to make the law work and to get good farms for those who can swing them.

Articles

TWO WAYS TO GET THINGS DONE

At least two-thirds of the farmers of the South need land that is richer, better stock, better tools, better homes, and better markets.

Until the last generation or two, the only way a man knew to get those things was to make them for himself on his own farm out of his own skill and sweat. Self-reliance is still one of the great virtues of the countryside. The habit is so deeply ingrained that it hinders farmers in using, in its due share, another way to get things they need.

When grandfather needed a house, he cut the timber, had it sawed on shares and put it up room by room himself. If grandfather was a cropper, he had a landlord who let a contract to a country builder who ran up forty two-room houses, and grandfather took the one they sent him to. Today, in most places, when you need a house, you begin talking about interest rates, and FHA, and wage rates. If you live in a progressive community where people have learned something about getting ahead together, you may be served by a Rural Housing Authority. It can put good three-bedroom houses with bathrooms onto owners' farms and tenants' farms for a charge of around one hundred dollars a year.

If your land is thin and washed, you can join a Soil Conservation District and get the advantages of heavy equipment to put your fields and your neighbors' fields in shape to bring the land up.

If your wife carries water from a well and washes clothes in an iron pot, and your kids won't study books by the light of an oil lamp, you can get pump water and electric lights by working hard and saving money until you can buy your own electric power plant. Most farmers can get these things quicker by forming a rural electrification cooperative and bringing in power from a central station. The cost will be less

and the service better.

If your farm fronts on a river and the river floods every year, you can try to keep your land dry by building a dike yourself. You will have more success and use less sweat, if you join with all the other farmers up and down the river to vote for a Congressman who will get a River Valley Authority that will do the job.

The new way is a self-reliant way too. Housing Authorities and REA Co-ops and Soil Conservation Districts and Valley Authorities only succeed because of the brainwork put into them by the citizens who build them and use them.

These things spell organization. It is not enough today to have grandfather's skill in tending crops. A farmer must have a modern man's skill in working with his neighbors to get the things all farmers need.

George S. Mitchell

THE NEW HOUSING BILL

Senators Wagner and Ellender have introduced S 1542 dealing with post-war housing. The bill has several interesting features on slum-clearance and rural housing not hitherto carried in bills of this importance.

(1) It provides for federal loans and subsidies to local communities for the purchase of slum or deteriorating areas and preparation of the land for residential development, such development to be done either by private enterprise or local housing authorities. The subsidies are $4,000,000 a year for the first five years, making a total annual subsidy of $20,000,000. Careful provision is made for responsible local approval of all such projects for conformity with general development plans. It also requires substantial local contributions to the cost of such projects.

(2) Federal insurance of private investments in rental housing for families of moderate income is regularized. The federal insurance will cover a minimum annual amortisation charge and a minimum return on the annual investment, not to exceed two and three-fourths percent. Rent schedules for such projects must be approved by the Government.

(3) The bill provides for annual subsidies of $22,000,000 each year for the first four years, making a total of $88,000,000 for additional low-rent public housing. This represents approximately 125,000 public housing units a year in addition to the 200,000 provided for under the earlier program. Public housing is limited by the bill to top rents at admission of at least 20 percent below the bottom rents at which private enterprise can reasonably be expected to provide enough good housing. Public housing aid must be requested by the local community. Veterans get a preference in occupancy.

(4) A new feature of this bill is one under which local Housing Authorities can get federal loans and federal subsidy for rehabilitating areas

becoming slums. In emighborhoods where a lot of soundly constructed houses are threatened by some that are badly run down, it would be possible under this proposal to improve a lot of housing at comparatively small cost. The plan calls for higher subsidy based on shorter life for rehabilitated dwellings. Especially while materials for new buildings are scarce, this would be worth exploring.

(5) Three plans are offered for rural housing. The Deaprtment of Agriculture would be authorized to make loans direct to farm owners for forty years at three percent, variable repayments permitted. The loan contract could include agreements as to keeping the farm in good condition. Agriculture may require payment to the seasonal workers of wages high enough to let them pay rent enough to pay for the housing.

Permanent provision is made by the bill for federal loans through the National Housing Agency to rural Housing Authorities to provide good homes for low-income families, again with preference for veterans. Owners of the farms on which the new houses are put would get a lease on each home with option to purchase. Repayment for the house could vary from year to year. Rural Housing Authorities could borrow at approximately federal interest rates, and in order to keep rents down, they could receive contributions each year from the Government. The appropriation authorized for such subsidies to rural housing is $5,000,000 a year for the first five years, or a cumulative total of $25,000,000. Rural Housing Authorities will be expected to get rid of one bad house for each good one put up.

Few bills go through Congress as introduced. This one will be no exception. It is noteworthy that the bill is in line at a good may points with the recommendation of a Senate Sub-committee on Housing, Urban and Redevelopment, of which Senator Taft is Chairman.

Fisk
Oct, 45

The Veterans Service Division of the Southern Regional Council plans a series of state surveys of the administration of the various programs of assistance to veterans. A small team will visit each state for some weeks, interviewing the officials concerned on a statewide basis, and then in sample communities appraising the effectiveness of the work under way. It is hoped that the best experience in this or that community can be readily passed on to others, and it may occasionally happen that weakspots here or there at the moment unknown to city and state officials can be strengthened more promptly than would otherwise have been the case.

Ultimately, a comparative analysis would be available state by state for the whole South. This is a service that the Federal Government under present arrangements would hardly assume and one clearly beyond the responsibility of any particular state.

The Council will be grateful for the cooperation of its friends as the survey team reaches each state.

Modern Farmer
Oct 45

In the modern world, problems seldom get solved until the facts about them have been laid out for the world to see. Putting out the facts does not bring the solution, but when a solution does come it generally comes after the facts are known.

Virginians have been complacent and too little informed about rural poverty in their State. A landmark in getting out the facts is a new pamphlet printed by the Virginia State College for Negroes at Petersburg. It is written by Dr. Harry W. Roberts, Professor of Sociology at the college. In boiling the matter down from a longer book, Dr. Roberts had editorial help from Professor William E. Garnett at VPI. The title is "Disadvantaging Factors in the Life of Rural Virginia Negroes"; printed as Volume 51, No. 1, of the Virginia State College Gazette, September 1945.

Dr. Roberts studied in typical areas the work and life of 420,000 rural Negroes in Virginia, around 1940.

Here are samples of the findings he prints.

Migration to other states has kept the Negro population level for a hundred years, while the white population has nearly trebled. Fifteen years ago two-thirds of the Negro farmers got less than six hundred dollars all-told from their farms. So did two-thirds of the white tenants but only one-third of the white owners. As late as 1938 a standard day's wage for farm labor was a dollar. After slavery, Negroes worked hard for farm ownership, but mostly got only poor land. Carelessness about land ownership records, among other things, lost them much of what they got, and from 1910 Negroe land ownership dropped. It is now more than one-fourth lower than it was thirty-five years ago. Tenancy has grown, but not rapidly.

Negro farms are too small. Corp yields are less than on white farms. Gardens are poor. Because so many tenants move frequently, few make a Fall garden.

Few keep the stock they should. Out of poverty, "they usually buy old, wornout horses and mules, and cows that die in a few years". Credit comes high and markets are poor. He found time price for overalls of $1.69; same brand, cash, $.98.

Tenancy or sharecrop contracts are verbal, and the weaker party often gets the bad end of the bargain. One percent of Negro farm houses had a good paint job. Half only had good chimneys. One-third had good roofs; one-fourth had good foundations. Shack houses are cold. They burn down and burn up children with them. In a crowded room with an oil lamp at night, children do not study schoolbooks. Rural Negro settlements are ill-served with busses, and "it is much harder for Negroes to pick up rides than it is for whites". Over one-third of Negro farm children have been getting less than half enough to eat. Colored children get poor shoes to begin with; trying to dry them at the school stove burns them and makes them worse. Health is bad, and medical care is scarce and dear.

He has some keen observations on family life. Even the small houses often contain three generations. One out of every six middleaged Negro farm women is a widow, but "generally speaking the Negro family is a closely-knit unit with highly developed loyalties and sense of responsibility for mutual aid. The parents often make great sacrifices to give their children advantages, and the children, even past maturity, frequently give their parents all of part of their earnings, especially if property is being bought as a family enterpirse. They also make sacrifices in order to care for parents or relatives in old age."

On the church, he says: "The increased understanding brought by increased education that many Christian principles are violated by the society in which they live, a society supposedly controlled by church members, also tends to weaken

the confidence of Negro youth in the church?" The average Negro country church has less than a hundred and fifty members.

Schools are poor and crowded. He found several schools with more than a hundred children per room. Negro country schools were worth a little better than $5,000 apiece; white country schools were six times as good. Over one-third of the white children are carried to school in ~~buses~~ busses; one-fifteenth of the colored. Teaching is still mostly "rote learning".

A reasonable standard of need for Negro farm agents would almost double the present twenty-six. The eight Negro Home Agents should be fifty-eight. Negroes can't join 4H clubs; they are not represented on official County Agribultural Policy Boards. "In 1940, not one of the Negro agents had a clerk or stenographer to relieve him of time consuming details. The most that he received was fifteen dollars a year from the State Extension Service for stenographic help in typing his annual report."

Rural Negroes are still largely excluded from the vote, and they suffer greatly from it in dealing with the law and with administrative bodies.

The pattern of slavery still shows. "Few things indeed are regarded by the ruling group as belonging to the Negro as a right. What is conceded seems to be generally regarded as an expression of magnanimity. ;....but more and more the Negroes are losing servile manners and assuming the dignity of free men. The general lack of appreciation on the part of the whites of the significance of the impact of changing cultural and attitude-molding forces on the Negroes is the basis of much racial bitterness and friction at the present time." The caste system puts an extra thought process into every act. "Thus, the Negro's mind which, in a normal situation would be concerned with economic, and other non-racial interests, is preoccupied with thoughts and feelings about what he considers the interracial aspect of his thwarted and restricted life.

This means a tremendously wasteful expenditure of vital energy in a non-productive manner, that, were the situation non-existent, could be turned to productive pursuits."

These are the darker facts, and Dr. Roberts cites the gains through various Government programs and the hope that better understanding between needy whites and Negroes will enable them both to climb out of their plight.

George S. Mitchell

WORK AND COLOR

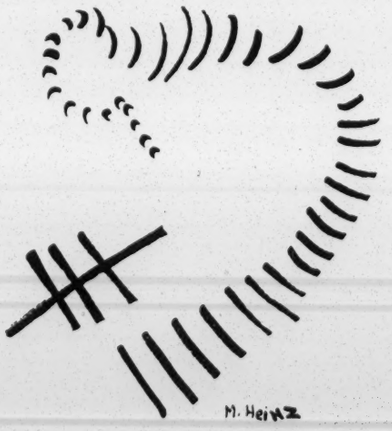
a sociologist points out a path

Wherever two or more races live in the same area the fact of difference has some effect on the way the work gets done. That's a simple way of saying that race is a factor in economics.

Also, economics is a factor in race; how the work is divided has a lot to do with how the races get along together.

Here are two examples: one of status and arbitrary discrimination; one of flexibility and reward to merit in partial disregard of the race factor. Both came from organized industries.

A Negro machinist's helper who had worked for thirty years in a railroad repair shop, said: "Three times in my work here the master machinist has come to me, bringing along a half-grown white boy. 'John,' the master machinist would say, 'I want you to teach this young fellow the trade.' I was a helper making forty cents an hour, and not allowed to do machinist's work. But I'd teach the young man the trade, and inside of a year he'd be a machinist, drawing his eighty cents, and I'm old John, still drawing my forty cents."



A white man running a complicated machine died. He had a Negro helper. The white man's job paid ninety cents. The helper's job paid forty-five. Running the machine had always been a white man's job. The helper talked with some leading Negroes in the union, and asked if they could help him get the job. They went to the white leaders and said:

"You know Mister Tom died."

"Yes, we're mighty sorry."

"John Williams (the helper) has been hoping he could get Mister Tom's job."

"Well, that's always been a white man's job."

"Yes, but John Williams can do it."

"Well, I reckon he can, but we don't know whether the white fellows will stand for it."

"Well, our fellows like the union and been paying along to it right good, and some of them are saying the union ought to do something about getting some of these better jobs for the colored. Don't you suppose you could bring it up in the meeting and see what about it?"

Before next meeting time the question had been talked over with the company and with many of the white members. The whites in the union realized that their bargaining strength depended on holding the Negroes with

them, and, on the whole, thought it only fair that a Negro capable of doing a well-paid job should get the job. When the meeting came off the matter went through with little discussion and John Williams got the ninety-cent job.

In the first situation, custom, prejudice and selfishness had put a ceiling on what Negroes could do. Many white people complain that a high proportion of Negroes show lack of ambition and improvidence. Why not, in a situation where ambition and skill and self-discipline get you nowhere?

In the second situation, by democratic and peaceful means, ability was rewarded. A single case like that spreads ambition to all the hundreds who discuss it. A habit of handling promotions democratically and fairly would be a powerful lever in improving the status and morale of any minority group.

Employers handle the matter with the same difference that unions show. Some insist on status; some open channels of promotion with little or no regard to color.

The unions affect race relations in other ways Even where they insist upon separate unions on a two-race job, some gain results. Where both races join the same union and go to the same meetings, two interesting things occur: among the rank and file members, acquaintance and respect grow; among the leaders of both groups, mutual confidence is often so highly developed that many forms of community progress can be built upon it.

Union meetings are schools in themselves. Many southern working people learn in them their first lesson in doing things together, in electing trustworthy officers, in managing a treasury, in their responsibilities as a group to other groups around them. Also, the members for the first time deal with members of the other race in terms of respect instead of terms of fear or contempt. You will hear interesting snatches of conversation in the talk-it-overs after the meeting. A white man will say, "I worked next to Bill Jackson (colored) for five years, but I never knew Bill had that much sense. Bill Jackson got up in front of that meeting tonight and made the best speech of any man, colored or white." Segregation and many minor forms of discrimination continue in the mixed union meeting, but each race is there because it needs the help of the other, and human courtesy shines through.

Each group pushes to the fore its abler men. Since the two groups have a common problem, their leaders naturally do a good deal of conferring. It is here that the confidence takes root.

I went once with a treasurer of a local union in Birmingham, Alabama, out to his home in the suburbs. He and his neighbors lived in neat, white-painted houses on a hill. We stood in his yard and looked down into a bottom where some unpainted black shacks were dotted around. He pointed to the settlement and said that was where most of the colored lived who worked in his shop. Then he said:

"Can you see a little path running through the bushes between those houses and this hill?"

Sure enough a close look showed a path. I asked him how it came to be there. He said before the union came there was no path, but it took so much talking back and forth to hold the colored and the white together in the union that many a night he and his friends went down that path and sat out with the colored people till ten and eleven o'clock; and sometimes if something

happened some of the colored would come up and talk at his place until they got everything straight. That path has its counterpart now in hundreds of southern communities. White working people and colored working people have found that by using the paths literally or figuratively, they can often obtain friendly instead of envious action from the other races. Most people will grant that in the South we need every such channel we can get.

Unions have their faults, certainly. They are human institutions, and they are in all stages of development. Democracy has its faults. Who would praise every county government or city government, or every branch of State or Federal government? And yet who would fight our American method of governing ourselves?

The war has emphasized the part that unions play in factory personnel management. The modern union has active machinery for handling grievances through committees and shop stewards. Draw together fifteen or twenty thousand workpeople at a mushroomed industrial site, and then start taking the heat of their complaints. You will need nearly as many personnel officers as you have employees, unless the employees combine to do the job themselves. No company personnel officer is half as useful at convincing an employee that his "grievance" is fancied or readily curable as is a committee of fellow employees elected by the people in the shop. Many employers who fought the unions bitterly came in a few months time to lean on them heavily for plant discipline and full production. That is a gain in industrial management that peace cannot take away. The same thing applies in handling problems of color.

Whether we like it or not, the dividing line between economics and politics becomes each year more blurred. Those who preached free and unregulated competition always admitted it would work only if investors genuinely risked their money, and workers and technical and professional people risked their investment in skill. Progressively, we have taken the risks on government shoulders. When mortgage companies faced bankruptcy, we made a Home Owners Loan Corporation that bailed them out. When the banks broke, the RFC took the load. We met unemployment with social insurance. We met competition from abroad with tariffs. When cotton dropped, we guaranteed the price. The next few years will probably see a settled policy of meeting deficits in employment with public provision.

All of these things mean that the ultimate deciding factor in prosperity is the will of the people. We get the will of the people expressed through democratic government.

Thus it becomes more important, if we are to have steady full employment in the postwar world, for the voice of all who want it to be effective in government.

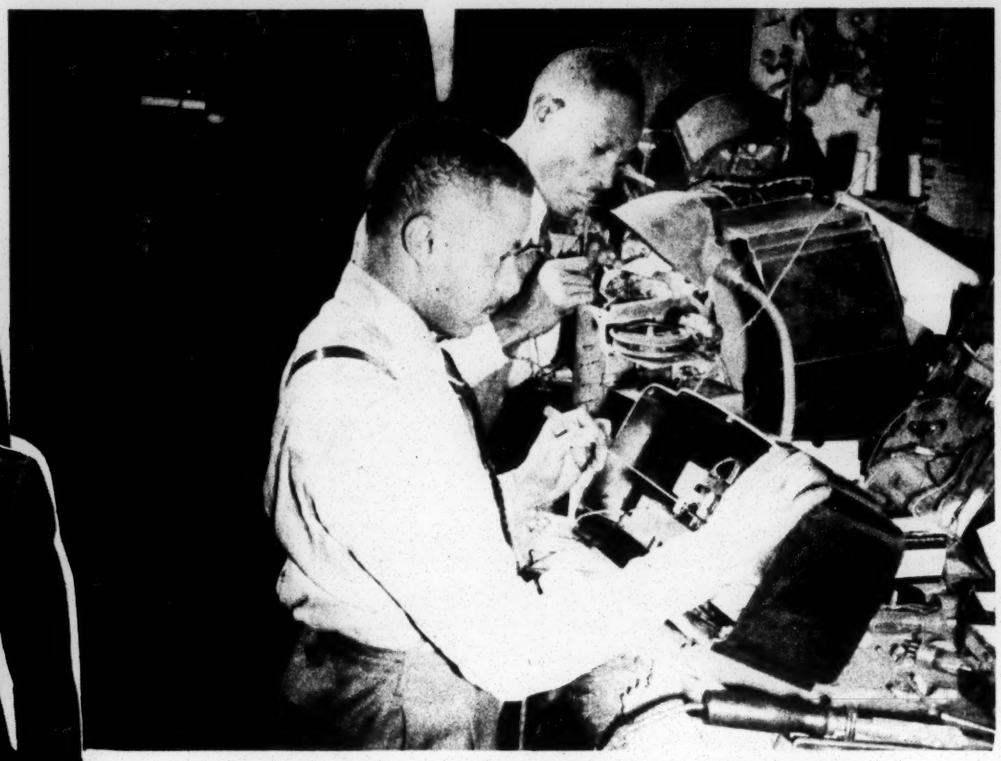
It has long been a growing custom for various economic interests to make their wishes known to government in an organized way. Lobbies are by no means pure vice. Any honest legislator will tell you that he gladly depends on the technical knowledge of lobbies as to the effect of this or that clause in a bill upon this or that matter. All lobbies urge their members to vote and to vote in an informed way which will further their interests. Unions now begin to do the same thing, for more people.

Many people look with fear on the work of pressure groups. What will happen, they say, if each economic interest pushes just for its own good? The answer lies partly in the fact that

each group tempers its drive somewhat in the public interest. It lies finally in common citizenship and the supremacy of the will of us all.

In the South, now that we begin to recognize the role of government in organizing prosperity through private enterprise and, if need be, public investment, it begins to be clear that we shall have to have means of consulting the democratic wishes of all our people, Negro and white.

In an era when the public's interest in government is the final guarantee of prosperity, we might remember again Booker T. Washington's famous sentence about the white man not being able to get up in the world if he spends all of his time holding the black man in the ditch. In this age we will all get further if we work for progress together, in agriculture, industry, and government.



• Learning radio and electric appliance repair at Sam Jackson's Radio Shop, James D. Elliott (front), and Montes Hill. Elliott was a corporal in the Army, Hill a private.

Veteran in Search of a Peacetime Future

By DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
Director of Veterans' Services
Southern Regional Council, Inc.

MANY VETERANS ARE MISSING out on their best way to benefit from the GI Bill of Rights. Everybody knows that under the GI Bill you can get help toward a college education or toward a high school diploma. A lot of veterans do not know, that they can also get help in learning a skilled or semi-skilled trade.

GI Benefits

Much more needs to be done to get all of the veterans who can, to finish high school or go on to college. But millions of veterans did not finish grammar school and are not interested in full-time education ,even with GI pay. The GI Bill benefit for these men is job training, or where they can get it, apprenticeship training.

How It Operates

The GI Bill leaves it to the states to plan the educational program for veterans. Job training is education. So the states are arranging for job training, usually through their Departments of Education. Thus job training differs from state to state, but the broad outlines are the same.

The veteran wants to earn as he learns. He must find an employer who will employ him and will agree to teach him and pay him at a learner's rate. The place where he goes to work must be approved by the right state agency. The employer has to arrange this approval. When he is taken on by an approved employer, he applies to the nearest office of the Veterans' Administration for a certificate which will start his GI pay. The GI allowance is drawn on, to raise the total pay to or near the rate for a man who already has the skill the veteran is learning.

Pay-Rate Relations

The rate of pay from the employer is subject to the approval of state officials. At the veteran's skill increases it should go up. Whereas the supplement from GI allowance will go down, but the total will usually hold at approximately the rate of a fully trained worker. For instance, if in a given town the going rate for a body and fender repairman is a dollar and a quarter an hour, a veteran who is learning this skill with an approved firm would draw, say, sixty cents an hour from his employer and as much of his GI allowance as would bring him up to total monthly pay at a rate of a dollar and a quarter an hour.

• Busy at the buzz-saw, making sandwich trays, is Willie Leon, Atlanta, who is learning the cabinet-maker's trade in Alexander's Craft Shop. A former private in the Army, with 33 months service.
Photographs Courtesy Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Job Training Skills

Job-training can be arranged for all sorts of skills. Each state has lists of business firms already approved. They include many kinds of metal work, automobile repair, printing shops, sign painting, shoe repairing, electric motor mechanics, upholstery, meat cutters, electric linemen, salesmen, policemen, bank clerks; indeed, they cover almost any job that takes months or years to learn. The length of time the veteran can draw GI pay depends on the length of time usually needed to learn the skill he wants and the length of time he is entitled to GI pay. If the veteran has a service-connected disability, the Veterans' Administration will often make special efforts to get him job training.

On-the-Farm Training

This kind of training-while-he-works is becoming available state by state for farming. Contracts to cover on-the-farm training are being worked out now between the States and the eVterans' Administration. The Veterans' Administration pays the States for their part of the teaching, so much per month per person, who elect on-the-farm training. Generally speaking, on-the-farm training will be open to farm owners, tenants, croppers, or hired hands. The farmer promises to teach the veteran. Also, the veteran will get a minimum number of hours a year of teaching in vocational agriculture at the nearest suitable school and teaching visits to him at the farm by trained people. In some states this is already available through the Smith-Hughes vocational agriculture teachers.

Things to Watch

There are some things to watch about job training and on-the-farm training. Rates of pay to the veteran by his employer are often not standardized and are open to abuse. Too little checking is done to see that the veteran is really taught the skill he seeks. Furthermore, many veterans who want job training have a hard time finding an approved employer who will take them on. And of course, nobody guarantees that after the veteran learns a trade, he can or will get a job that will use what he knows.

A More Assured Income and Future

Many veterans either have never had a job or have had only unskilled blind-alley jobs. These men want to get into better-paying jobs which have a future. They don't know enough now, to hold down the kind of job they want. Job training offers the chance to make the jump from common labor rates to the kind of income on which they can plan for homes and families.

It is up to the individual veteran to go after job training. The thing to do is ask about it at the nearest Veterans' Information Center, or at the draft board, or the United States Employment Service or any contact office of the Veterans' Administration. So far, few of those who could benefit by job training are asking for it. It's available, and it's worth pushing to get.

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AFFILIATED STORES
TERRACE VALET, 571 24th Street, N. E.
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QUAKER CITY CLEANERS, 1618 9th Street, N. W.
QUAKER CITY CLEANERS, 3201 Warder St., N. W.

FLYING FINGERS
TYPING
MIMEOGRAPHING
GENERAL SECRETARIAL SERVICE
1011 YOU STREET, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
MIchigan 2080
M. E. HARVEY, Mgr.

Sou Economic Journal
6-7-46

NEGRO LABOR by Robert C. Weaver (Harcourt Brace & Co.) $3.00

Few people are better qualified by training and experience than Dr. Robert Weaver for writing a study of the economics of race in World War II, which is the real subject of this book. It falls short of an inclusive history of how the nation dealt with Negro employment, but it gives coverage enough for the picture to come out clearly.

The Negro was losing ground before the war. Occupational changes worked against him in prosperity, and in the long depression white competition narrowed still further his field of choice. Many in administrative positions in the defence period foresaw the need that would come for use of all our manpower. The story of the effort to prepare for Negro expansion into new industries and new skills and new areas contains little to praise. Obviously, a great retraining effort was called for. Public and private resistance saw to it that comparatively little was done in preparing Negro labor for the jobs which it would find its way into. Weaver cites examples, including some in Alabama and Tennessee and Georgia and South Carolina, of gross discrimination in defence training for Negro workers. It was many months after Pearl Harbor before the tightening manpower situation pulled the Negro reserves into employment and even at peak demand the labor of Negro women was little used.

Wartime industries in which the problems of Negro employment are sketched include military construction, shipbuilding, the railways, and ordnance. The situation in aircraft manufacture and street transportation is explored at length.

In all of the industries studied Weaver is concerned with administrative measures, whether og government, of industry, or of the unions. His

conclusions is that firm intention and competent detailed administration on the part of either of these three agencies, at any rate in time of war, can eliminate the frictions and delays of prejudiced patterns. Timidity on the part of any of these agencies can cause prejudice to snowball. Convincing examples are given of each kind of treatment.

In the end he concludes that if the future of this problem is left to itself Negroes will lose much of their wartime gains. They were the latest hired; the seniority rules that they are willing toaabide by will work against them in many industries, and the jobs which pay them best and use them in the largest numbers are fast disappearing with the progress of reconversion. On the other hand, you perceive the resourves in enlightenment and in administrative technique for dealing justly with Negro labor in the whole matter of employment. This therefore is another of those fields in which laissez-faire fails to do the job. For full employment and full production, we shall need permanently a body of menpublicly and privately employed to apply in detail the best of the experience which during the war was associated with the FEPC.

George S. Mitchell

NEGRO LABOR: A National Problem, by Robert C. Weaver (Harcourt-Brace) $3.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, by Brailsford R. Brazeal (Harper & Bros) $3.

In an increasingly administered society one of the most interesting points for its study is the frontier at which the forces of the market and of social habit give way to organization and voluntary directive control. One such frontier is Negro employment. These two books concern themselves with what goes on at this frontier.

Weaver brings out mainly the effect of the war. Those who in the Defence period before hostilities had the task of making ready for maximum use of manpower foresaw the demands that total war would make on strength and skill and tried to prepare. Success was meager. Trhough administrative inertia, national, State and local, little was accomplished in the way of teaching the topbe-needed skill to Negro labor. A few industries, such as shipbuilding and construction, brought in more Negroes, but the great flow of Negroes into war work did not come until many months after Pearl Harbor.

In the end over a million Negroes took civilian jobs and in thousands of industrial plants got into the better grades of work which had been denied them before. Weaver tells the story of this change. His figures and his general story cover the whole field, but he goes most carefully into aircraft manufacture, shipbuilding, and street transportation. He works out also the role of Government through the successive agencies that became the FEPC; through efforts at trade education; and the helps and hindrances of management and of organized labor. He concludes that where manpower is needed, local habits of discrimination yield readily to firmness on the part of either Government, management or labor; but timidity on the part of any of these agencies yields bitterness,

dispute and delay.

For the postwar period the picture is not bright. The great Negro gains were in industries which have already been cut back sharply, and the usual sotry comes on of dropping the last one to be hired. Still, the lesson survives that clear purpose and intelligent foreseeing action by public and private agencies that administer employment can greatly speed integration.

Brazeal's is a facinating story. Here was a subservient job, staffed entirely by Negroes, performed for a company which accepted modern ideas of labor management with outstanding reluctance. When the porters began to organize twenty years ago, they were up against race prejudice, the jealousy of white craft unions which claimed but never exercised jurisdiction over them, a company union, and a hardboiled employer. They even had to do quite a lot of scrapping within their own race. Several leading Negro newspapers fought the Brotherhood. Various public characters among the Negro citizen body were trotted out to denounce the ingratitude of Negro workers for asking more from the hand that fed them. Brazeal clearly feels that the company footed the bill for these Uncle Tom efforts. For ten years Pullman refused to deal with the Brotherhood. The union grew from under 2,000 members to 4,600 by 1928, but by 1933 it had almost raveled out. Membership was 658. The New Deal and the new administration of the Railway Labor Act opened the gates. Pullman signed in 1937. Then the union was 6,000 strong, and it has since achieved almost complete organization of the job.

This is as good a case history as is to be found of the delays and obstruction which unwilling management can place in the way of self-organization of its employees. The book also reviews the interesting and difficult position which the Brotherhood has had inside the AFL. Lastly, he discusses the administration of seniority and wages, and the intricacies of lay-overs and rest periods and terminal waiting time. You get a good whiff of the

fresh air that democratic organization blows into a bargaining relationship which had been onesided before.

George S. Mitchell

Articles

For the people of Atlanta and perhaps for most Southerners, Atlanta is the Southern city foremost in the ways of modern life. Atlanta wants a sure base on which to build more business, more progress, and a better standard of living.

Today the world is learning rapidly that business expansion and a rising level of living for everybody go hand in hand. By an inner law, good business, good government, and civic accord live on each other.

In an early day, industry sought cheap labor which, because of its needfulness, did as it was told. Now the pattern has changed. Work in a modern factory is well done only by people who are alert, informed, ingenious, flexible, and cooperative. These qualities can be taught in part in schools. In greater part they are taught by the whole community. A community which knows the responsibilities of self-government and which respect[6] personality, trains men and women who can bukld a strong, many-sided, resourceful industrial and commercial life.

All of us have heard of factories which on a slack labor market pick only high school graduates as employees. percent only of Atlanta's youngsters finish high school.

I suppose if a man were thinking of starting a factory in the Near East, he would pick a place where women are comparatively emancipated and suffer least the discriminations in their life and work, which are traditional in those lands. He would want to be free to draw on the labor of both men and women. Similarly, he would be a daring and almost certainly a foolhardy enterpriser who undertook to make airplane engines in a city with a population half Hindu and half Moslem.

Similarly, again, who seeks a southern city as a location for a modern industry will choose a city where, as between black men and white men, educational opportunity is most nearly equal, and the spirit and machinery of interracial accord are most highly developed.

Atlanta is rightly proud of her commercial progress in the past. She faces now a community task of bringing her people to a level of civic accord upon which as a foundation she can build with modern industry the future worthy of her people's hopes.

Everybody knows that the veterans coming back after this war get a good crack at high school or college education. Hardly anybody knows that the veteran who can't or won't go in for full-time education under the GI Bill of Rights can get help from it toward learning a trade while he works. This is called on-the-job training. For farmer-veterans, it is called on-the-farm training.

Managing the training end of the program is up to the states -- usually the State Department of Education. For formal apprenticeship training, it is often the State Department of Labor. The GI pay, of course, comes through the Veterans Administration.

If a veteran wants to work and learn a trade, he has to find himself a job at a place of business which is or can be approved by the state officials for job training. The boss undertakes to teach the boy or girl the skill in question. Sometimes trade-school training on the side is required. The boss pays learner's pay; the Veterans Administration then can give the trainee enough extra per month from GI pay to bring the combined rate to or toward the rate for a skilled man. Veterans are beginning to take up this deal in all sorts of trades, learning to be everything from butchers to bank clerks.

For veterans who quit school early and who are ambitious to get above common labor rates of pay, this looks like the chance.

The local regulations are important. Each veteran who wants job training will have to find out what he can get. Many men who have applied have not been able to find an employer who would take them on and teach them the skill they want. Regulations about learner's pay are seldom tight enough. Inspection to see that the veteran is really taught the trade is seldom adequate. Still, an

ambitious fellow can often with the help of job training begin to make his future look a whole lot brighter than casual common labor.

Farm training is going along slower than job training. It will offer, state by state, GI pay to veterans who will be taught in schools and on the farm the new skills that make the difference between a good living and a poor living on the land.

In most cities and towns officials in the agencies servicing veterans will tell you that not many of the men and women are coming in to ask for this kind of training. The evidence is they don't ask for it because they don't know about it. If you are interested, the way to begin is to get in touch with one or the other of the veterans servicing agencies in your town. It may be the Veterans Information Center, or your draft board, or USES, or the Veterans Administration, or the State Veterans Agency, or any of the veterans organizations.

The surest way for a veteran to build security is to learn a skill that other people will pay for. If he can get to high school, trade-school, or college, he should. If he can't, he would be smart to try his best to work out job training.

Atl. Journal
April 30

NEGRO LABOR, A National Problem by Robert C. Weaver (Harcourt, Brace, and Co.) $3. 00

One of history's dramas being enacted all around us is the growth of Negro America from the status of laborers and farm hands to the many-sided abilities of participants in the modern economy. The war speeded this process. How, and within what limits and against what obstacles, is the subject of Dr. Robert Weaver's new book.

Though the first war had left the lesson that all our manpower would be needed, we were slow and awkward in using this time what had been learned before. In camp construction the color bar bent a little; in shipbuilding and ordnance, a good deal, but many months after Pearl Harbor we had no consistent pattern for tieing into the war effort the great reserve of Negro industrial labor.

State and Federal Governments, long accustomed to complaisance in matters of Negro trade education, muffed their chance to teach ahead of time the skills that would be needed.

As the labor market tightened between 1940 and 1944, Negroes did make their way into war work. In four years over a million Negroes entered civilian jobs. Those holding skilled jobs doubled. The changes were spotty, with Northern and Western cities showing the greatest growth in Negro employment, but a number of Southern boom cities changed their patterns perceptibly.

Weaver goes most carefully into certain selected industries; aircraft, shipbuilding, and city transportation, to bring out the roles of management, organized labor, and government in helping or hindering Negro participation.

As to all three, the conclusion is that firm intention, careful planning, and good administration can establish industrial practices under

which working people, regardless of race, get the chance to use their highest skills.

Although wartime gains for Negroes were considerable, they will not be easily held. The industries that made best use of Negro abilities are mostly not the industries that will expand in peace. Improved trade education and competent public and private administration in the field of employment will be needed if America is to enable ambition and ability to find reward in opportunity for all its citizens.

George E. Mitchell

Tonight I want to talk about some aspects of the trade union movement that ordinarily don't get talked about. They may not seem inportant to you, but they do seem important to me. I dabble a little in political science - my own kind of political science - and unions have a good deal to do with it.

Lets talk first about some of the educational things unions do to people who join them. How very lacking most people in the South have been in such simple habits as meeting together to solve a common problem, picking good officers and backing them up! I have seen many men in union meetings cast a ballot for the first time in their lives. When the slips are passed out, there will be a murmur - "What you do with this?" "What kind of mark they want?" "Take it up front or what?"

Selecting good officers takes a lot of learning. Often, ~~perhaps usually,~~ when a union is started for the first time in a plant, the wrong men are elected. The people are emotional; they have not clarified their grievances; it is easiest to personalize their troubles. The fellow who gets up and says the hardest things about the boss gets the biggest hand. He may be a particularly emotional person himself. And often he is a floater with few responsibilities. Indeed, when heading a local union is a risky business, it may be only the man with little to risk who will take the job. If such an ill-led local blows up

and you go back three years later to try to organize the people again, you are lucky if some wisehead says, "Now the last time we tried this, we put the wrong kind of guy at the head of it and we didn't get anywhere. And if we're going to do it this time, and I'm not saying I'm against it, let's be mighty careful who we pick to run it." That's a lesson everybody needs to learn. I don't know how a working population gets it except from experience.

People in unions put their schooling to use. Men and women who read little else will read every word of their union papers. I can't say their taste is always to be commended ~~always~~, for I have seen ~~a lot of~~ some union papers that I think are not worth people's poring over. But ~~union~~ people do read them ~~it~~, and ~~by and large the union papers are better worth reading each year.~~ they have a lot that's worth learning. by and large they are a pretty good use to put a knowledge of reading to.

Another thing ~~they~~ union people learn is a delicate but indispensible modern social skill - how to relate the work of ones own group to that of others. In simple terms, it comes up this way. A motion is on the floor in a local meeting to send fraternal delegates at an expense of two hundred dollars to the meeting of some other body. Many say, "I don't see any sense in it". Others say, "We'll all get ahead if we know what the other fellows are doing and work with them. Those other fellows are not in our bunch, that's true; but they are pulling for the same things we're pulling for; so, brothers, let's show them that we here in Snipetown stand with them."

Out of these ~~quite~~ unboasted processes of the union comes a sifting and testing of the membership. A hundred people or five hundred people learn who among them will work on committees and who will loaf, ~~who~~ what members know enough to see into matters most of the members only rarely trouble themselves about. Thus, amorphousness learns order and effective action.

Now, stop for a minute and think into the field of politics. These things we have described that individuals learn in unions are the things that distinguish a democracy. Your professor of government here at Fisk would tell you that the Constitution of Wisconsin and the Constitution of this or that Central American republic to come no nearer home than that — differ hardly at all. Each has ~~the~~ separation of powers, each has a bicameral legislature, each has an elected executive, universal suffrage, etc. But who will say that each is a democracy? The difference is in the habits that are in men's heads. If men know how to meet, to debate, to elect wisely, to work intelligently with other groups or against other groups, to concede, to agree to delay for some larger objective, they are a democracy. In the South where, after all, only a small percentage of our people have taken part in the processes of government, we have things to learn before we realize the promises of our Constitutions. And unions are teaching these things, rapidly.

In still another field unions do a job that goes unsung. I sat not

long ago in a meeting of heads of shop grievance committees in a large cotton mill. Sadie was from the cloth room; John was from the weave room; Bill's grievance committee was in the cardroom; etc. Each reported receiving an odd number of grievances, some with merit, some without. The most complicated ones were talked over by the committee heads. One man had a loomfixer who had left his proper work to take a loomfixing job, many months ago. Tiring of fixing he wanted a weaving job again. Though it was against company rules, no one had complained when he worked out a private swap of jobs with a weaver and got back to what he wanted. Query: What seniority had he as a weaver? The seniority he had as a weaver before he ever went to loomfixing? None at all? Or what? That called for an opinion of the regional director of the union, who happened to be present. "Obviously, he takes the seniority of the weaver whose place he took."

The point is that this self-administered handling of complaints and personnel adjustments within a factory takes a terrific load off management's hands. Particularly in new plants where thousands of people are drawn together, complaints and misunderstandings which would become grievances are beyond counting. An elected committee of employees has a peculiar ability at convincing complainants that their charges are groundless. Grievance pro-

cedure is doubtless considered by management officers to be one of their most burdensome problems, but I believe it could be established that for every grievance union officials push, dozens are weeded out or smoothed out before ever they go up to management. I have myself had experience with Government personnel procedure. It takes a lot of clerks to handle, ordinarily without unions, complaints of other Government clerks. A file on a personnel grievance case in the Government is often five inches thick! Enlightened management will tell you that the pace of our war production was speeded, not hampered, by the democracy and understanding that most unions put into solving complaints. I doubt whether it would be possible for modern industrial processes to be carried on for long without the degree of self-government by the workers that the union provides.

Now we come to race. It has been my experience that the newer unions in the South say very little about race. They deal with it every day in the shop and every week in the union hall. They take in colored and white. They don't agitate, but the silence conceals a real achievement. Time is short and I will give only one illustration.

Ten years ago when the mixed unions were just getting well started in Birmingham, I went out with the secretary of a pipe shop local to his home. He lived in a neat, whitepainted house up on a hill, side by side with other such

workingmen's homes. Down in the bottom a couple of hundred yards away was a sprawling of unpainted shacks. He said that a good many of the colored workers at his shop lived down there. Then he asked if I could see a little path running through the bushes between where the colored lived and up there where he lived. Sure enough, there was the path. "Before this union came", he said, "there wasn't any path there." "How came it to be there?" I asked. "Well", he said, "it takes a lot of talking back and forth to hold these two bunches together. Many a night I go down there and sit on those colored folks' ~~XXXXXXX~~ frontporch until ten or eleven o'clock at night, talking about this thing and working it out. And sometimes if something comes up in a hurry, some of them will come up that path and sit on my backporch, and we talk up here." That sort of crossover, just on straight matters of business, we had been losing in the urban South before the unions came. A moment's reflection will show you the uses of such a network of understanding and confidence in the multiple strains ~~and crises~~ ~~in many a~~ of any southern locality.

We mourn a lot our deficiencies in the South. We often forget that the South, to her credit, in the last ten or twelve years ~~the South~~ has acheived a broad labor movement. Steel and coal are tightly organized. Twenty to twenty-five percent of southern textile workers are in the union. The railways and the railway shops are ~~tightly~~ fully organized. Furniture and paper and glass, meat-packing and chemical ~~and packinghouse industries~~ industries have big unions. Autos and aircraft and shipbuilding have been almost one hundred percent union in the war.

We are even getting locals of farmers and farm laborers. No one disputes now the rights of the old established craft unions. The ~~new~~ southern labor movement has its faults and it ~~cannot~~ will not cure all our ills, but for it I feel safe in believing that we will somehow get through.

Radio Talk
B'nai B'rith
July 1946

Georgia and Veterans Education

minutes

Georgia will soon have back more than three hundred thousand veterans of World War II. These are the finest, the healthiest, the best travelled, ~~and~~ the most experienced and the most thoughtful of our young men and young women. They are already taking part in the life of the State in a way that foreshadows their leadership in the years to come.

It is plain sense, let along justice, to give them every ~~xx~~opportunity to build for themselves the lives and homes that will make their leadership full of promise for ~~the State~~ their communities and for the State. If their ambitions are blunted we shall all be the losers. We are all familiar with the general idea of the GI. Bill of Rights. It is a strong lever ~~offered~~ offered to veterans ~~and to their folks~~ ~~to~~ for getting opportunity. ~~to the men and women who have come back~~ It also happens to have in it some features which are peculiary fitted to the needs of Georgia and of the South. ~~xxxx

they got in the armed services, and much ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ effort is needed from businesses, from labor organizations, and ~~for~~ from public agencies to bring about an overall employment pattern in which practically all of the veterans will ~~xxxxxxxx~~ have the pride that comes from doing a job that challenges all the ability they have. In a mechanical age, we need skill, and we ~~xxxxx~~ shall be the richer for using all of it that the veterans have, or can get.

¶ It is on the getting of skill that Congress has done best. The theory hasbeen that as these men and women gave to the Services the very years of their lives when they would ordinarily have been learning a trade, or finding out how to farm well, or finishing high school, or going to college, they are entitled to Government help while they go back and pick up what they lost. The emphasis with the public has been on high school and college education. The great bulk of the veterans left school early, and it is my guess that only a trickle of them can be drawn into school or college. Most of the veterans that I hear about want trade training. They have family responsibilities or they soon will have. They learned something about electricity or about mechanics, say, in the army or the navy. They want good wages today while they learn a finished skill which will give them security in the future. Fortunately, just this offer is available. If a veteran can find an employer who will undertake to teach him a trade, he will get good pay and ordinarily good teaching. The employer pays at least learners pay, and the VA makes up the difference between that and the regular pay of the skilled job he is learning. Come direct, in Georgia, or

¶ Pretty much The same deal is available for men who are farming or working on farms. In industry or business, it is called on-the-job training; in agriculture, on-the-farm training. For any of these benefits, the nearest contact office of the veterans

begin by seeing Georgia has worked as hard as most of the other Southern states toward getting these two programs rolling. They are still not nearly large enough. It is doubtful whether as many as 2,500 veterans are getting on-the-farm

administration, or the Georgia State Veterans Service Board, or visit the veterans Information Center

training in Georgia, and apparently ~~far~~ thus far fewer than 20,000 are getting on-the job training. With the help of business~~nes~~es and with more activity by the State, by local communities, and by veterans and civic organizations, these figures can be very much stepped up - and should be.

Many veterans who do not want, or cannot get, training on the job or on the farm would like to get into a good trade or vocational school, where they would draw GI pay too. We simply do not have enough schools of this kind. I think it is safe to ~~predict~~ say that within the next couple of years the State ~~will~~ can have dotted over it a whole new network of good trade schools teaching electrical and mechanical and building and commercial trades, which so many of the veterans are asking for. Support for Smith-Hughes vocational education appropriations and for other federal aid to education will help in this.

Conservative economists figure that within the next six or eight years Southern farms will turn loose a million or a million and a half hoehands, whose work will be taken by the cotten picker and the flame thrower and other new farm machines. During these same years everything indicates that we will be going ahead with mills and factories and modern mechanical services. It is fortunate that the veterans who will bear the brunt of this ~~accelerated~~ rapid change can get the educational training they will need to enable them to make the jumps they are going to have to make to keep ahead of the game.

As a representative of the Southern Regional Council, which has a special interest in the progress of the least advantaged of the South's people, I would like to say a word in behalf of full participation by Negro veterans in these advantages. They learned some skill and want more. They held interesting and useful jobs in the armed forces and want jobs at least as good now that they are back in civilian life. They are starting families too, and they cherish for their future

~~the same~~ as much security ~~and respect~~ ~~that~~ as other veterans ask. Specifically, we ~~shall~~ ~~have to~~ should do much better on ~~giving~~ getting them their share of job training ~~opportunities~~ places and on-the-farm training opportunities and schools. We have not now got ~~XXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXX~~ anything like the network of Negro ~~trade~~ training schools that will be needed to ~~be fair~~ take advantage of our opportunities on this matter. Negro leadership counts today even more heavily than it has in the past. We have an opportunity to provide the future's leadership with good, modern training. And we owe to all our citizens every effort to speed their getting it.

About ~~half of~~ a third of Louisiana's young men between the ages of nineteen and thirty-five are now veterans of World War II. The State's population is a little over one-third Negro. 130,000 white veterans and 95,000 Negro veterans have returned to the State. ~~The women were white and Negro.~~

Check again

Of the Negro veterans two-thirds came from the country or from quite small towns. Of the from the city, were from New Orleans. These proportions are about the same as among the white veterans.

For many years to come the experiences as service men and as veterans of this ~~chosen half~~ selected third of this generation of young men will be a ruling factor in the life of Louisiana. If the veterans find or make places acceptable to them, the State's gain will have been great; if any large proportion of them in two or three years time feel that opportunity has been unfairly denied them, bitterness and heightened friction will be inevitable. There is still time for Louisiana to see to it that her very best is done in meeting the needs of all her veterans.

Their needs come under five main headings: medical and hospital care, housing, claims, employment, and educational training. The first two have not been particularly looked at and will not be treated in this survey. The remaining three have been gone into by interview and travel and conversation with a large number of veterans.*

~~(Note on January, Brazier and Moses)~~

* In this work the writer had the invaluable assistance of Mrs. Thurgood Marshall, Mr. Don January, of Tuskegee, and Mr. Brazier and Mr. Moses of the Urban League.

THE MACHINERY

A very considerable administrative apparatus, Federal, State, and local, has been set up for dealing with these needs.

The Veterans Administration has a regional office for the northern half of the State at Shreveport, and one for southern Louisiana at New Orleans. Between them they operate some seventeen full-time field contact offices, which in turn send out field personnel to reach many small points one day a week. The U. S. Employment Service (which returns to State management in November) and the unemployment compensation agency each cover the State either with settled offices or with itinerant service.

Educational training, including job training and farm training, is under the supervision of the Louisiana State Department of Education. Apprenticeship training is ~~operated~~ handled by the legislatively established State Apprenticeship Council in coordination with the Apprentice Training Service of the U. S. Department of Labor.

Appropriate Federal agencies administer farm loans, veterans preference on surplus disposal, and other particular services.

New Orleans and Shreveport are the only Louisiana cities that have provided a locally supported Veterans Information Center.

VETERANS CLAIMS

On matters of claims for pensions, record adjustments, payment for leave, and so on, Negro veterans have no strongly felt grievances. While they uniformly confront white contact men and claims officers, and thereby are exposed to the risk of minor discourtesies, the feeling is general that actual claims arising from service in the armed forces are impartially handled. The facilities are ample. The Veterans Administration will handle claims directly, or the American Red Cross or any of the leading veterans organizations or the Parish Service Officers will take them up for the veterans. It has been the practice of even those veterans organizations which do or did lately exclude Negroes from membership to service claims of Negro veterans upon request, and such channels have been used by many Negroes.

JOBS

On the ~~more important~~ vital matter of employment the picture is not so good. Prejudice can and does enter into the efforts of officials of the Employment Service. In Louisiana it is an all-white agency. Most of the full-time offices are divided into white and Negro sides with separate entrances, and even the Negro sides are entirely staffed with white interviewers and white clerks.

Jobs available have held up well. ~~New Orleans and some of the other~~ The State lost around 100,000 ~~cities lost heavily in~~ strictly war-production jobs, but offerings in service trades, in the oilfields, in lumbering, and in construction have taken up the slack. For Negroes the rub has come not in getting a job, but in getting a job with a future or that will use their best abilities. The Employment Service protests that under its procedures vacancies are notified without discrimination to the clerks who handle both the white and the Negro applicants, and it is claimed that it is the practice to send men out to vacancies without ~~discrimination~~ distinction of race. Many Negro veterans who have used the Employment Service laugh at this contention. It is their belief that the agency makes a reasonable effort to get white skilled and semi-skilled men in their proper jobs, and seldom exerts itself in the same way for Negroes claiming jobs better than common labor.

It is hardly to be supposed that with an all-white staff the situation could be otherwise. Even your occasional white Employment Service official who is fully informed about the capabilities of the Negro applicants and sympathetic with their wishes confronts in the body of the agency prejudice and practices that work against the perfectly fair arrangements that he might wish to make. Again one has only to stand by while the employment counseling is in progress to feel the difference between the interviews with white and Negro applicants. Your white

counselor in a matter of minutes is inside the mind of the white man who wants a job. In personal observation in Employment Service offices in the State, it is rare for the Negro applicant to give the appearance of being entirely at ease or to use in his replies the shades of meaning that effect understanding. For some Negro veterans the mutual barrier of prejudice is undoubtedly overcome in the interview, but for a broad group it remains, and leaves a wound. An ambitious veteran, Negro or white, when on the hunt for a job is watchful and sensitive; misunderstood and blunted here, a Negro veteran can hardly be blamed for a conclusion adverse to the effort being made on his behalf. Numerous offices of the Employment Service in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Oklahoma have met this situation by providing Negro interviewers or entire Negro staffs for servicing Negro applicants. Negro Employment Service officials, where used, have show ingenuity and diligence in opening for Negro applicants the kind of jobs they wish. Louisiana is without the advantage of this useful service.

In simple matters of housekeeping the Employment Service in Louisiana could do a good deal more to convince both white and Negro veterans that it is up-to-date and solicitous of their welfare. Many offices are crowded and dingy.

Some are dirty. In several the Negro entrance is from a back street or even from an alley, and no one has printed this special address in information handed out to veterans. In the large New Orleans office the white side customarily has its blackboard and walls plastered with notices from private employers appealing for workers to take desirable jobs ~~XXXXXX~~ or to enter trade schools, while on the Negro side in three separate visits no such notices have been seen. The explanation is said to lie in the rule of the Agency against ~~private~~ postings of jobs for which the files contain qualified applicants.

Employment, in good jobs and in poor jobs, is not made by the Employment Service. Nearly all of ~~It~~ is offered ~~in the main~~ by private firms, and the official agency is not to be blamed for the general difficulties that Negroes face in getting good jobs. Still a good deal could be done by the agency in mitigation, and it is a widespread complaint among Negro veterans that far less than might be expected is done by USES.

UNEMPLOYMENT PAY

Here and there in the State Negro veterans complain that they are cut off the readjustment allowance ($20 a week for up to 52 weeks) - while still actively seeking work at their highest skill, sometimes after only a few weeks, on the excuse that unskilled work is available and they should take it. There is little reason to suppose that Negro veterans have thus far in general been ~~devised~~ denied their ~~full~~ rights under this benefit. Many, ~~particularly~~ including many farmers, have had the advantage also of the compensation for ~~the~~ self-employed veterans. Figures are not available by race, but the State was the agent for paying the readjustmnet allowance in September to ~~something over~~ thirty two thousand veterans, and the self-employment allowance was reaching ~~over~~ nine thousand. Both figures were lower for September. ~~Unemployment pay to non-veterans did not reach anything like these figures.~~ The Division of Employment Security [over]

~~No observer can help feeling dubious~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~doubtful~~ of the ~~wisdom~~ public usefulness of ~~these~~ particular ~~veterans~~ ~~benefits as laid down by law.~~ Their existence ~~certainly~~ of these particular benefits challenges every community's ingenuity in finding promising work at top skills for the men who are drawing the readjustment allowance. Additionally, they ~~perhaps~~ add to the urgency of providing job-training and farm training, and trade training. At present in Louisiana, ~~Twice~~ over a fifth of the veterans of World War II are drawing one or the other of the unemployment allowance ~~and~~ twice as many ~~veterans are drawing one or the other of these benefits~~ are getting these as are getting ~~as are getting~~ educational benefits of all kinds.

when for years, one the veterans allowance permits has been dwelling for some reason.

which administers these benefits, has been
pressing to reduce the load of qualified claimants.
The Agency is currently reinstituting men who
have had the readjustment allowance for
thirty weeks or more. In a release of Sept. 8, 1946
it was stated that "we have found, that it was
possible in many instances to place the
working classification of claimants to one
where a job was available. Others have been
referred to a training program that will
fit them for other types of work. ... [only
1,881 claimants reinterviewed] "only 232
refused a referral to a job on the grounds
that the job to which they referred was
not suitable."

Veterans whose entitlement to the
unemployment allowance (52 weeks) had
expired numbered 625 in Sept. 1946, and
those who had used up the whole
of their self-employment allowance
(about eleven months payments) were 1,019.

THE EDUCATIONAL BENEFIT

Educational training is the master ~~benefit~~ opportunity of the GI legislation. As everyone knows, the ~~opportunities~~ offerings under it are broad. It not only provides tuition and modest subsistence pay to veterans going to college, but is available for high school work, regular or vocational, for correspondence courses, ~~for~~ and (subsistence only) for training in formal apprenticeship and for training on the job and on the farm. Louisiana has

hitherto ranked at or about the ~~XX~~ bottom among the States in percentage of population with five years of schooling or less, though she has lately been thirty-fourth in her educational effort. With ~~the~~ this handicap, ~~of this comparative backwardness,~~ ~~it is natural to suppose that~~ undoubtedly the great number of the Negro veterans stopped school somewhere between the ~~fifth~~ early grammar grade and the early high school years, and ~~that~~ therefore only a small percentage of them can be expected to get into college work.

The college-level men have crowded all avalable institutions. State-~~aided~~ operated colleges alone ~~have~~ had enrolled ~~in October~~ Sept 30, 1946, about 4,000 white veterans and ~~about~~ some 800 Negro veterans. The many private ~~institutions~~ colleges will carry these figures to ~~a total of perhaps 14,000 white and 1,500~~ a total of perhaps 14,000 or more white and possibly 1,500 with by Negroes. Nothing is heard in Louisiana of such a plan as North Carolina ~~and Virginia have~~ has begun, under which local high school faculties give the ~~XXXX~~ first year or two of college work in afternoon and night classes, in ~~the~~ many local communities, under the supervision of ~~city~~ established colleges.

Regular high school work is not inviting to any large number of veterans anywhere. In Louisiana only a few hundreds of white veterans and a smaller number of Negro veterans have gone in for it, although local school boards have offered ~~every reasonable~~ flexibility to meet the needs of the veterans.

The men who are not going to college, but are willing to take further training, are asking for other full-time vocational or technical instruction or are trying to hook onto apprenticeship or job or farm training.

APPRENTICESHIP

Apprenticeship training is open to only an occasional fortunate Negro veteran. In all but a few instances it is operated in agreement with craft unions. Better than 90% of the indented apprentices in Louisiana are believed now to be veterans. The unions which formerly set their upper-age limit for learners at twenty-five now admit veterans up to twenty-seven. The established low ratios of apprentices to journeymen are being held. The only opportunities for Negro veterans to get into apprenticeship training ~~is~~ are in a few cases where formal apprenticeship training ~~is in a few cases where formal apprenticeship~~ is operated by one or more employers in the absence of a craft union, or where a vigorous Negro local, in a craft that has traditionally had Negro journeymen, has had a green light from the other craft locals and has worked out apprenticeship training for a handful of Negro veterans.

The whole State has about 1,770 indented apprentices, of whom about 600 are in New Orleans. Negro apprentices in New Orleans numbered, in October, 1946, twenty-odd brickmasons, fifteen plasterers, sixty carpenters, fifteen painters; and four barbers. Baton Rouge has fifteen Negro brickmasons apprentices, and such

training is expected to be open soon in connection with Negro locals of plasterers and carpenters. Shreveport is said to have a few Negro apprentices in bricklaying, plastering, and cement finishing. Alexandria has 37 white apprentices and no Negro apprentices. Lake Charles has 64 white and no Negroes. All told, one hundred and seventy-five would be a high estimate for the Negro indented apprentices in the State; a ratio of ~~about~~ less than 1 to 10. It should be said that the proportion is improving a bit as additional Negro locals push apprenticeship through. The State and Federal apprenticeship agencies are aware of the disproportions in the present situation, and the officials appear ready to help Negro trade groups, but they understandably take the position that the conflict has to be settled in the sphere of private employemnt contracts.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Although Louisiana entered the field early she has been slow to unroll on-the-job training and on-the-farm training. For many months in 1945-46 the power to approve factories or business firms whose trainees might receive the GI pay from the Veterans Administration was held by the Baton Rouge office of the State Department of Education. That office employed little if any additional personnel for the work. Approvals were slow, inspection was not rigorous, and little was done to spread knowledge of this benefit among employers or among veterans. Beginning in March, 1946, the State Department of Education asked ~~asked~~ Parish

Superintendents of Educ ation to accept a duty of examining and recommending business and individual applicants for approval, ~~and the~~ This decentralization has speeded matters. As of October 1, 1946, about 2,250 training establishments had been approved. On-the-job trainees numbered close to four thousand. By comparison Georgia had on-the-job trainees as of that date, Arkansas about , and Alabama about .

It is of course up to the veteran to find an employer who will take him on and offer to give him the training toward a skilled or semi-skilled job under which, if the employer is approved, subsistence pay can be granted. Louisiana Negro veterans have had a hard time getting on-the-job training. A responsible New Orleans official estimated that not over 3% of the on-the-job trainees in that city were Negroes (October, 1946) and there is no reason to suppose that this percentage is exceeded elsewhere in the State.

This again is a field in which the use of Negro officials would quite probably step up the Negro veteran's chance to get the benefit. The State Department of Education uses no Negro officials in its supervision of job-training, and none of the Parishes which have put on additional personnel for the purpose are known in Baton Rouge to have added Negro staff. The Veterans Administration employs thirty-five training officers working out from its New Orleans regional office, in follow-up on job training, and none of them are Negroes. The northern

Louisiana region of VA has training officers, all white. The State Government and the Federal Government might well try whether the use of some Negro coordinators and training officers would not turn up directly additional training opportunities in Negro businesses and ~~perhaps indirectly~~, through contacts with the general staff of coordinators, in white businesses as well. It is to be noted that Alabama uses a dozen or more Negro coordinators for job training and about the same number for on-the-farm training, and that white officials in the State Department of Education have been pleased with the results.

(new program) o.j.t.

FARM TRAINING

On the farm training is fairly well developed. Under this program an owner or renter of a full-time farm may enroll with his nearest Vocational Agriculture teacher to work the farm in accordance with an approved plan, and to take a stated amount of classroom and farm instruction. He may then draw for a year or sometimes longer his full G.I. pay ($65, if single, or $90, if with dependents; more if disabled) in addition to his farm earnings. About 1,400 veterans are on this plan. Statistics by race are not collected, so there is no knowing exactly how many of these are Negro veterans. The writer's guess would be 350.

The program is available in ~~fifty-three~~ all but a very few of the Parishes. Presently employed ~~Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Act~~ regular State-Federal vocational agricultural teachers may take on up to eight on-the-farm trainees apiece. For larger loads (up to twenty) new teachers are employed with the proceeds of tuition money paid the State by contract with the Veterans Administration. Regular white vocational agricultural teachers in Louisiana number some 208; Negroes are 83. Some fifty-five additional (white) vo-ag. teachers have been taken on to teach veterans in on-the-farm training,

and one Negro teacher. Salaries are not high, and the State has present vacancies for a few Negro vo-ag. men which it has not been able to fill.

The program suffers in Louisiana, as elsewhere, from the availability of the self-employed allowance to ~~private operators, including~~ farmer~~s~~-veterans, who make less than $100 a month, and from the readjustment allowance as well. Officials expect on-the-farm training to grow considerably when the men have used up these benefits or decided to postpone their use till later.

Technically speaking, on-the-farm training is available to farmer-veterans who are not owners or renters. Such men would work under employer-trainers (established farmers) who would agree to teach the veterans some specialized skill, such as plantation management, dairy-farming, or truck-farming. Provision is made even for instruction in general farming. Officials in Louisiana have been reluctant to approve these arrangements, fearing exploitation of such veteran hired-hands. A few cases have been approved. The effect of this reluctance is to exclude from on-the-farm training men who are croppers or laborers, and in considerable areas ~~of Louisiana,~~ it is difficult to rent, and just now prohibitive to buy, a place on which to grow the prevailing crops. ~~(rice and sugarcane, for example).~~ ~~On the other hand, cases are known in which veterans who were share-croppers when they came in to ask about on-the-farm training return next day with~~

papers duly executed by their landlords making the veteran into an eligible tenant. On-the-farm training in Louisiana is least developed in the rice county, it does better in sugar, better still in the cotton and small farm country in the northern part of the State, and is furthest along in the mixed farming and truck farming area east of the Mississippi.

INSTITUTIONAL TRADE TRAINING

Where the earn-while-you-learn forms of veterans trade training are difficult to get, an extra pressure arises for full-time trade education. The return of the veterans caught Louisiana ill-equipped with such schooling for Negroes. For white students of about high school level the State has ten conveniently placed area trade schools. Around a thousand white veterans attend them. They offer such courses as radio, electricity, sheetmetal work, and automotive repair; in general, a good range of modern trade subjects. In addition, New Orleans has 350 white veterans taking full-time trade courses at Delgado Trade School (city operated), plus 650 apprentices who take their related part-time instruction in night classes. For Negro veterans of below-college level wishing trade teaching, the State offers work for 200-odd at Louisiana Southern University at Scotlandville, and for a smaller number at the Negro Normal and Industrial Institute at Grambling. Both these institutions also teach trades on the college level. Total veteran enrollment at both, including pre-college and college, trades and other

courses is ~~over~~ 800. New Orleans has a public high school for Negroes which while not formally a vocational school does offer a few trade subjects. Veteran enrollment Oct 1 was 121 in day courses and 21 in afternoon and evening courses. Three or four other parishes offer some vocational training for Negroes - notably Natchitoches, Caddo, and Webster. Five hundred is probably a generously high estimate of the below-college Negro veterans able to get full-time trade training in public institutions in the State; as against at least three times this number for white veterans. The white veterans have the advantages of schools nearer their homes, a much wider range of skills to be learned, better equipment, and easier access to apprenticeship and job training.

Something is being done privately to meet the demand by Negro veterans for such study. In New Orleans, Xavier University has started a radio course for 25 men (below college level), and a Negro machinist teaches auto mechanics to nearly 50 Negro veterans, in his own (State-approved) school. The State Department of Education has given approval for veterans' work to twenty-odd other private Negro training institutions. Most of these are barber and beauty schools, but several are business colleges, one teaches photography, and another battery work.

The State Department of Education offered unsuccessfully a measure in the 1946 legislature which would have greatly expanded Negro trade school opportunities.

Louisiana is a State into which industry is pushing, and it is also a State whose plantation agriculture is clearly in for a great deal of mechanization. Industrialization will ~~undoubtedly~~ offer its best opportunities to people with a background of trade knowledge. The crisis that many foresee on the land ~~plainly~~ could be softened if the present-day cotton choppers and sugarcane hands, as well as general ~~back-country~~ farmers, knew something about industrial materials, tools, machines, and measurement. ~~By a quirk~~ The Federal Government, at this particular juncture, stands ready to provide teachers' pay, surplus technical equipment, books and tools, and under some circumstances, buildings and housing for institutional education including trade education for veterans, and in addition will pay the veterans for taking the training. The main price of a network of good trade training schools over the State is ingenuity and local civic push.

SELF-ORGANIZATION

One of the problems that Negro veterans have in obtaining the benefits possible to them under the veterans legislation is the weakness of contact between the official agencies and the Negro veterans themselves. Notwithstanding a good deal of effort made in the past year by some white veterans service officers, Negro community leaders, and such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League, it is still perfectly possi-

ble to go into many a small Louisiana town and find that ~~many~~ a lot of the Negro veterans have not heard of job training or farm training, do not know where the Parish Service Officer or the nearest Veterans Administration Contact Officer is to be found, and have not given serious thought to the benefits they might obtain. Newspapers do not bridge this gap. In a great many localities the recognized Negro leaders know amazingly little about veterans' rights and benefits. The Veterans Administration and the State Department of Veterans Affairs and the other agencies involved take the position that their services are there for those who come for it, and they have no duty to beat up trade. The situation could be bettered if traveling Negro officials were put on by the appropriate agencies. In New Orleans and in the parishes adjacent to it Negro leadership has taken special steps to correct this by organizing a Citizens Committee on Veterans Affairs. ~~of which Mr. of Dillard University is~~

Negro veterans have latterly begun to find their way into the various veterans organizations. This promises them new and improved local leadership, as well as, in some cases, ~~valuable~~ access to influential white veterans' leaders. The Louisiana Department of the American Legion, which refused to accept Negro members for all the years between the wars, altered its rules in its 1946 convention, and offered to charter ~~(separate)~~ Negro posts wherever the local white posts would sponser them. Within a few weeks eight such posts were chartered and others

are said to be starting up. The Negro posts have the same rights as to convention delegates as white posts. The Veterans of Foreign Wars in Louisiana have long accepted Negro posts. ~~The New Orleans one has some 200 members, of whom 50 are veterans of World War II~~. The Disabled American Veterans in Louisiana admits Negro members, ~~but they are~~ with the required ~~to~~ that they join a Cincinnati post. AMVETS has about 20 local organizations in the State, several ~~chapters~~ of which are for Negroes. The American Veterans Committee has a mixed chapter of sixty-odd, of whom 25 are Negroes, in New Orleans, and one or two other chapters elsewhere in the State. The two strongest Negro veterans organizations - the National Council for Negro Veterans and the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America - each have some Louisiana membership. Additionally, a number of cities and towns have purely local clubs of Negro veterans, usually almost entirely World War II men. While organization has not gone far, it is now established that the old line organizations and the new ones are open to Negroes, and membership is growing steadily.

STEPS TO TAKE

(1) Negroes have a proper as well as a lawful place in the administration of veterans services. In Louisiana the Federal, State, and local agencies systematically exclude them. The Veterans Administration, whose Personnel Circular No. 165 says: "There will be no discrimination either for or against

individuals because of race, creed, color, national origin or other irrelevant factors", has employees in the State. Of these the only Negroes who are not janitors or porters are seven or eight clerical and professional persons used at the Guidance Centers at Dillard University and Louisiana Southern University. The most pressing need is in offices used by numbers of Negro veterans.

It ~~will~~ would be a welcome sign of recognition of the needs of the Negro group if the Veterans Administration would take on Negro contact officers and training officers, if the Employment Service would add Negro staff, and if the State agencies and the local Veterans Information Centers would do likewise.

The State Department of Education ~~would almost certainly~~ will improve its service to Negro veterans by the use of Negro personnel in job training, farm training, and trade training.

(2) ~~The State has an~~ Louisiana has now, because of the Federal assistance to veterans training, opportunity to provide itself with a rounded system of trade education. If job training and trade training were expanded to the fullest, at least a hundred thousand veterans could be taught skills. Citizens of both races will recognize the value of fairness in administering such a system. ~~a fair proportion of the men so taught are Negroes, a solid gain will result.~~

(3) One of the things that holds back understanding between the races is the paucity of legitimate everyday occasions for discussion, planning, and cooperation in the conduct of matters that the two races have in common. Almost

the only institution that today bridges that gap is the trade union. Veterans organizations offer another such occasion for working together. While it does not appear probable that the leading organizations will do much in the near future to build acquaintance between the body of their Negro and white memberships, the leadership of both groups already and customarily confer and plan together. The confidence so built can hardly fail in the future in many a local difficulty ~~and~~ to to act as a stabilizing force. ~~in the State.~~ ~~Therfore,~~ The growth of self-organization among the veterans of both groups might well receive even greater encouragement.

For Tuskegee Institute
See correspondence with Guzman (ala)

About 1, 150,000 Negroes served in the armed forces in World War II. More than 95% of these men have now been discharged as veterans. Around 650,000 of them are in the thirteen Southern states.

The problems faced by these veterans may be listed under claims, housing, medical attention, civil rights, employment, and educational training. Particularly in the Southern States, the efforts of the veterans to obtain their rightful benefits in these fields were hampered by the refusal of the various veterans servicing agencies to employ Negro personnel.

In the matter of claims for pensions, leave pay, insurance, record adjustments, etc., the rule of all-white servicing officers has been vexing but has not been a barrier to the unravelling of the services needed by the great bulk of the Negro veterans.

The Nation's effort in housing for veterans has been gravely disappointing for all veterans, and more so for Negro veterans.

Negro veterans, having fought in a war for democracy, returned in a spirit of quiet determination to improve democratic practices in their own communities. The personal courage and sense of strategy with which many of them have engaged themselves in this task is perhaps the most noteworthy feature of their return to civilian life. Their efforts have frequently been met with demagoguery and brutality, but nothwithstanding this they have in innumerable instances opened the way for broader exercise of the franchise and greater respect for the civil liberties of their people.

In the prevalingly good labor market of the postwar period thus far, Negro veterans in the South have not found it difficult to get employment, but it cannot be said that they have made any noteworthy advance in the fields of employment open to them. This is partly traceable to the complacency of the U. S. Employment Service, which is generally believed to have done less than it might have in the way of finding opportunities for Negro veterans to use their

highest skills. This again is partly the consequence of the refusal of all but a few Southern offices of the Employment Service to use qualified Negro personnel, who might have been expected, had they been employed, to exert themselves with diligence and successful contrivance on behalf of the Negro veterans. The Veterans administration itself might fairly have been counted upon by Negro veterans to use them in administrativework without discrimination, In point of fact, the Southern offices of the VA have been all but complete in their refusal to take on qualified Negro veterans, and the Northern offices have not been notably better.

Unemployment compensation, the readjustment allowance, and the self-employment benefit have been made available to Negro veterans in a somewhat spotty way. Field enquiry yields the view that while in most Southern areas these benefits have been available, they have often been less readily available to Negro claimants, and for shorter periods, than for white claimants.

The master benefit of the veterans legislation is educational training. In Southern communties Negro veterans have had a particularly hard time finding on-the-job training opportunities, and for many of those who are drawing the benefit the actual training is less desirable than that received by white veterans. The on-the-farm training benefit has been developed quite unequally in the various Southern States, but generally speaking, where developed, it has been open to established Negro farmer-veterans. The program may be criticised for the extreme caution with which it has opened itself to croppers and laborers wishing training in some specialized farm activity. Partly because of the difficulty in getting on-the-job training, Negro veterans have shown a particular interest in full-time trade school training, but this has been made available to them only in the most limited way. Negro vocational training schools offer only a narrow range of subjects, most of them in lines accepted as those in which Negroes most easily find skilled or semi-skilled employment. In many local communities Negro leadership has pressed successfully for additional full-

time trade training schools for Negro veterans. It may well be that out of the ambitions of these men to obtain the training that will fit them for secure employment, the South will equip itself with a network of trade training schools that will prove highly successful as the area pushes ahead with industrialization in the very decade in which mechanization of agriculture foreseeably will realease a million or more untrained laborers.

In the matter of self-organization, the Negroes who have come out of World War II have been more enterprising than the men from World War I. The American Legion in the States in the lower South refused to charter Negro posts for all the years until 1946, but with only one or two exceptions the various State departments of the Legion all over the country are now admitting Negroes in separate Negro posts. The Veterans of Foreign Wars has accepted Negro members on similar terms straight along, and they have had a substantial growth of Negro posts after World War II. It is generally recognized that the two most vigorous strictly World War II organizations are the AMVETS and the American Veterans Committee. The first has only here and there shown interest in Negro membership. The AVC has made it a rule to charter only chapters that agree to accept Negro members without qualification. Their chapters have already become influential in many Southern cities. The United Negro and Allied Veterans and the National Council of Negro Veterans have each put on organizing campaigns in the South, and local posts of each organization can usually be found in the large cities. In addition, many local clubs of Negro veterans have been formed. Many of these groups are currently negotiating with established national veterans organization for entrance into them.

The Howard University Scholarship Fund

Statement from the President
General Statement About the Fund
Special Gifts
Paid-in-full Report
Total Amount Paid and Pledged
List of Contributors
Needs of Howard University
Methods of Giving
Summary

Pledged: $92,432.67
Paid: 53,321.82

Washington
District of Columbia

HOWARD UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

VOLUME XXV DECEMBER 1, 1945 No. 6

Howard University News

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Howard University Press, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

A Statement from the President

The majority of our Negro citizens still live in seventeen southern states and the District of Columbia. Howard University is the one comprehensive publicly supported University Service available to Negroes in this entire area. By the help of increasing gifts from the Federal Government and private philanthropy this educational service is now being established on a first-class basis, in every department of its work. As this process has advanced, however, it has become increasingly apparent that the cost of education at Howard University is higher than the average student's family can afford to pay. Some able students with slender means work every year to the full limit of their strength. Many, we have found, are obliged to do an amount of work for the payment of their board, lodging, and fees, which is wholly incompatible with sound scholarship and good health. Moreover, through the medium of our National Competitive Scholarship Examination, hundreds of gifted Negro high school graduates have been discovered who cannot go to college at all because of a lack of funds.

These students have the mental capacity, character, and courage to do the work in the world for which universities exist. If the purposes of Howard University are to be fulfilled, these students must be brought to the University and must be able to spend the greater portion of their time in study and reflection.

For this purpose, universities throughout the United States have established scholarships and other forms of student aid. Howard University has begun this work and its alumni and friends have made inspiring contributions thereto; but, our funds for this purpose are greatly limited. We feel now that it is our immediate and urgent duty to expand these funds as swiftly as possible, until a comprehensive and adequate system of scholarships and student aid is established. To this end we seek your cooperation.

Those who help us to establish this system, through their gifts, will be making a creative and far-reaching contribution to the advancement of scholarships at Howard University and to the development of Negro life.

MORDECAI W. JOHNSON,

General Statement of the Scholarship Fund

Since the Howard University Scholarship Fund was inaugurated three years ago, 1164 Howard graduates and friends of the University in 201 cities in 34 states and the District of Columbia have pledged $92,432.67 of which a total of $53,321.82 has been paid in cash. This represents an average pledge of $79.21 and an average cash payment of $45.14. In computing these averages the gift of the Howard Alumni Association and the gift of the Medical Class of 1925 were considered as two pledges and two cash payments. On the other hand, there are 225 delinquent pledges of which there are 170 pledges for which no cash payment have been made. Subtracting 170 from 1164 gives us 994 pledges for which some cash payment has been made. The average cash payment for the 994 pledges is $52.95.

There is a total of $8,215.50 due on the 225 delinquent pledges totaling $17,477.50 or an average delinquency of $36.51. Pledges are considered current in this report if they have been revived this year by a cash payment even though the cash paid might not bring the pledges up to date. Of the 225 delinquent pledges, there are 170 on which no cash has been paid. On the remaining 55 delinquent pledges a total $1,965.00 has been paid or an average of $35.36.

$35,181.40 has been paid on the 537 pledges paid in full or an average payment of $69.34. There are 314 current pledges amounting to a total of $39,545.75 on which $14,910.77 has been paid in cash or an average of $47.51.

Special Gifts

I—Mr. A. E. Lichtman, President of A. E. Lichtman Theatres, Inc., has established the Annual A. E. Lichtman Howard University Scholarship of $2,000 which will be awarded to an outstanding high school graduate and will cover the cost of his four-year collegiate education at Howard University. This award is made on the basis of national competition to the student who best qualifies in terms of scholarship, general and special abilities, economic need, and personality (not intellectual traits).

II—Dr. C. E. Sumner, a very successful physician and businessman of Norfolk, Virginia, has established an annual scholarship of $150.00 in honor of his wife, Mrs. Beatrice H. Sumner, to be awarded each year to an exceptional but needy freshman in the College of Pharmacy.

III—Dr. Charles S. Syphax, Jr., a highly successful physician of Detroit, Michigan, and son of Charles Sumner Syphax, professor of mathematics, emeritus Howard University, has established a scholarship of $150.00 a year in the School of Music in the name of his brother, Wendell Carter Syphax.

IV—Dr. Norman L. Lee, an outstanding physician and businessman of Philadelphia, Pa., and his wife have established an annual scholarship loan fund of $800 to be repaid by the recipients to the University after graduation.

V—Dr. Howard McNeill, an eminent physician and civic leader of Pontiac, Michigan, has established an annual $315.00 scholarship in the College of Medicine in honor of his father, the late Thomas H. McNeill, Fayetteville, N. C.

VI—The Medical Class of 1925 made an initial gift of $4100.00 toward a scholarship endowment for Medical Students.

VII—The Washington Howard Alumni Association Incorporated contributed $1000.00 to the scholarship endowment.

VIII—Mrs. Mary Syphax, of Washington, D. C., gave $500.00 to establish a four-year scholarship for a girl of exceptional merit and good scholarship.

IX—Dr. Spenser, of Washington, D. C., established an annual scholarship to be awarded by the Bates High School of Annapolis, Maryland, to graduates of that school who plan to attend Howard University.

X—Atty. Raymond Pace Alexander, of Philadelphia, Pa., established an annual scholarship of $150.00 to be awarded to students of exceptional ability who are graduates of the Philadelphia High Schools and plan to enter Howard University.

Scholarship Fund

As of November 15, 1945

ALABAMA

	Pledged	Paid
Bessemer		
Matthews, H. O., Dr.	500.00	100.00
Birmingham		
Ballard, Edward H., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Shakespeare, Aubrey, Dr.	10.00	10.00
Swann, L. F., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Tuskegee		
Barker, Prince, Major (M. D. '23)	35.00	35.00
Dibble, Eugene H., Dr.	100.00	10.00
Dickson, L. A., Capt. (M. D. '39)	40.00	
Hall, Charles R., Lt.	2.00	2.00
Looney, Gordon C., Dr. (M. D. '32)	20.00	20.00
Pinderhughes, C. A., Lt. (M. D. '43)	5.00	
Richardson, Peter L., Capt. (M. D. '26)	100.00	
Walwyn, Cyril, Dr. (M. D. '28)	250.00	50.00
Williams, J. W., Capt. (M. D. '32)	100.00	

ARKANSAS

Little Rock		
Gilliam, I. T., Prof.	50.00	
Massey, S. P., Prof.	25.00	

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles		
King-Jones, Kathleen, Dr.	250.00	250.00
San Luis Obispo		
Ball, E. A., Lt.	5.00	5.00

COLORADO

Climax		
Robert, Walter O., Mr.	15.00	15.00

CONNECTICUT

Ansonia		
Davis, Melvin R., Dr. (M. D. '24)	100.00	25.00
Foeman, Samuel G., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	100.00
Bridgeport		
Gardiner, William O., Dr. (D.D.S. '27)	500.00	500.00
Gibbs, W. T., Dr.	25.00	25.00
MacCalla, R. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '16)	25.00	25.00
Hartford		
Dixon, Julius E., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	25.00	25.00
Furniss, Henry W. (M.D. 1891)	10.00	10.00
Hinkson, Fitz A., Dr. (D.D.S. '11)	25.00	25.00
Jackson, Allen F., Dr. (M.D., A.B.–'18–'22)	50.00	20.00
Mitchell, W. J., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	100.00	
Warring, Howard L., Dr. (B.S., M.D.—'25–'28)	50.00	25.00
New Haven		
Marshall, Carter, Dr. (M.D. '24)	100.00	100.00
Waterbury		
Hamilton, S. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	25.00	25.00

FLORIDA

Miami		
Davis, Ira P., Dr. (D.D.S.)	25.00	10.00
Epsy, Naomi A. (A.B. 23)	50.00	10.00
Farmer, A. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	100.00	25.00
Smith, Clarence M., Dr. (B.S. '25, M.D. '29)	100.00	20.00
Ward, E. A., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Jacksonville		
Butler, M. L., Mrs.	50.00	5.00
Broadnax, John, Mr.	100.00	100.00
Foote, L. H. B., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Orlando		
Hankins, I. S., Dr. (M. D. '25)	100.00	100.00
West Palm Beach		
Dyett, J. H., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Priestly, E. W., Dr. (P. H. C. '16)	25.00	25.00
Terrell, J. H., Dr. (D.D.S. '15)	150.00	

GEORGIA

Atlanta		
Anderson, B. F., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Billings, Richard, Dr.	25.00	10.00
Chamberlain, R. L., Dr.	100.00	40.00
Green, D. R., Dr.	100.00	
Henderson, Alleen, Mrs.	25.00	5.00
Hightower, George L., Dr.	500.00	300.00
Lewis, S. M., Dr.	50.00	50.00
McKissack, Moses (B.S. in C.E., '39)	25.00	
Milton, L. D., Mr. and Mrs.	500.00	300.00
Nelson, B. H., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Proctor, Mai, Mrs.	2.50	2.50
* Reddick, Richard M.	50.00	10.00
Spense, C. A., Dr.	100.00	
Younge, Henri, Miss	50.00	10.00
Augusta		
Josey, T. W., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Lockett, Robert, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Columbus		
Sconiers, Lillian, Miss ('39)	10.00	10.00
Fr. Benning		
Pitts, Robert B.	10.00	10.00
Macon		
Walton, Talmadge, Dr. (D.D.S. '26)	600.00	200.00
Savannah		
Belcher, F. S., Dr. (M. D. '01)	10.00	10.00
Eberhardt, J. H., Dr.	2.00	2.00
Foinville, J. E., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Gilbert, R. M., Rev.	10.00	10.00
Haynes, M. G., Mr.	10.00	10.00
Jackson, Wm. S., Atty. (Law '32)	25.00	25.00
La Fayette, A. S., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Moore, R. W., Dr.	25.00	10.00
Smith, Edward J., Dr. (M. D. '09)	100.00	60.00
Smith, Ruth, Mrs. (Ph. C '32)	100.00	20.00
Weaver, Harold, Mr. and Mrs.	50.00	15.00
Williams, Simeon L., Mr.	10.00	10.00
Wright, Mary E., Miss	25.00	5.00

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Ackiss, Smallwood, Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Adams, Beatrice M., Mrs. (A.B. '30)	10.00	
Adams, George L., Dr. (M.D. '29)	125.00	25.00
Allen, Gordon, Mr.	.25	.25
Allen, Maryrose, Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Atkins, Norris, Dr. (D.D.S. '30)	20.00	10.00
Austin, S. A. T., Dr. (M.D. '29)	25.00	25.00
Barbee, Fletcher, Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	10.00	10.00
Barnes, Percy, Dr.	30.00	30.00
Beckley, Edgar R., Dr. (M.D. '97)	10.00	10.00
Beldon, Harrison, Dr. (M.D. '33)	25.00	25.00
Blackburn, A. J., Mr. (A.B. '26)	100.00	10.00
Blackwell, Sylvester, Dr. ('96)	25.00	25.00
Board, W. L., Dr. (Ph. D. '05)	10.00	10.00
Bolling, J. S., Dr. (D.D.S. '30)	50.00	50.00
Brooks, Carroll A., Dr. (M.D. '02)	100.00	100.00
Brown, Kenneth G., Dr. (M.D. '38)	50.00	25.00
Brown, Schley, Dr. (M.D. '28)	250.00	10.00
Brown, William W., Mr.	50.00	50.00
Browne, Garey M., Dr. (D.D.S. '33)	5.00	
Burr, John, Prof.	100.00	20.00
Burwell, H. R., Dr. (M.D. '12)	100.00	
Calloway, G. N., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	10.00	10.00
Carmichael, C. P., Dr.	100.00	95.00
Carr, J. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '17)	25.00	5.00
Carter, John W., Mr.	300.00	
Clark, Roger, Dr. (D.D.S. '13)	100.00	10.00
Claytor, Wm. O., Dr. (D.D.S. '16)	75.00	30.00
Cole, Gilbert A., Dr. (D.D.S. '15)	25.00	5.00
Cole, Simeon J., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	100.00	25.00

Coleman, Frank, Prof. (B.S. '13)	100.00	
Coleman, Grace, Miss (M.A. '22)	10.00	10.00
Coley, Charles C., Mr. (L.A. '30)	125.00	125.00
Collins, Wm. K., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Clarke, Emma R., Miss	100.00	100.00
Cornley, Paul B., Dr. (L.A. '30)	5.00	
Cornish, Pinyon, Dr. (M.D. '27)	300.00	50.00
Daniel, A. Mercer, Atty. (LL.B. '09)	10.00	
Daniel, Walter G., Dr.	75.00	75.00
Davis, Edward, Dr. (M.D. '38)	5.00	5.00
Davis, Jackson L., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	50.00	10.00
Dixon, Russell, Dr.	150.00	
Drew, Charles R., Dr.	50.00	20.00
Dodson, Norris A., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Douglas, Henry, Dr. (M.D. '38)	50.00	
Downing, Lewis K. (B.S. '20)	25.00	10.00
Dudley, Samuel, Dr. (LL.B. '09)	25.00	25.00
Dun, Angus, Bishop	150.00	150.00
Dykes, Eva B., Dr. (A.B. '14)	5.00	5.00
Early, B. H., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	25.00
Edwards, H. Cicero, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	100.00	100.00
Elmes, A. F., Rev.	25.00	5.00
Fisher, Charles R., Dr. (M.D. '18)	50.00	50.00
Fitch, Mary A., Dr.	50.00	25.00
Fitzgerald, Percy, Dr.	20.00	20.00
Freeman, Charles W., Dr. (M.D. '26)	25.00	5.00
Gaskins, E. L., Dr. (D.D.S. '32)	5.00	
Giles, Daniel W., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	50.00	30.00
Gill, Coleridge, Dr.	50.00	50.00
Gill, Lee A., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Godden, C. S., Dr. (Deceased)	10.00	10.00
Goodloe, William, Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Grady, W. T., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	50.00	15.00
Grant, Jason, Prof.	5.00	5.00
Gray, B. A., Dr. (M.D. '32)	20.00	20.00
Graves, W. A., Mr.	25.00	25.00
Greggs, William R.	125.00	50.00
Groomes, R. O., Dr. (D.D.S. '31)	25.00	25.00
Hall, James L., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Hansborough, L. A., Dr. (B.S. '29)	25.00	5.00
Hardy, Addie M., Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Harper, Leonie B., Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Harper, Donald, Dr.	20.00	
Hayes, George, Atty. (LL.B. '18)	125.00	5.00
Hazen, Henry H., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Henry, Myrtle (A.B. '25)	25.00	15.00
Hightower, Richard A., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Howard Alumni Association	1,650.00	1,650.00
Howard, Darnley E., Mr.	37.50	37.50
Hughes, Albert R., Dr. (B.S. '20)	18.75	18.75
Jackson, Lawrence, Dr. (M.D. '19)	10.00	10.00
Jones, M. Casey, Mr. ('14)	15.00	10.00
Jason, Robert, Dr. (M.D. '28)	100.00	
Jenkins, Martin D., Dr. (B.S. '25)	5.00	
Johnson, Campbell, Col. (LL.B '22)	100.00	20.00
Johnson, George L., Dr. (M.D. '25)	20.00	20.00
Johnson, Henry L. (LL.B '29)	25.00	5.00
Johnson, Mordecai W (D.D. '23)	500.00	200.00
Johnson, Nathaniel, Dr.	5.00	5.00
Johnston, V. D., Mr.	25.00	25.00
Kelley, Charles H., Dr. (M.D. '29)	25.00	25.00
Lawlah, John W., Dr.	125.00	25.00
Lawson, Warner, Mr.	150.00	10.00
Lichtman, A. E., Mr.	2,000.00	500.00
Locke, Alain L., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Lofton, William G. (M.D. '32)	75.00	25.00
Logan, Rayford W., Dr.	50.00	20.00
Long, Howard, Dr. (B.S. '15)	25.00	25.00
Mavritte, Eugene, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	110.00	110.00
Marshall, Herbert, Dr. (M.D. '23)	10.00	10.00
Meenes, Max, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Miller, Carroll, Mr. (M.A. '30)	50.00	50.00

Miller, George F., Dr. (M.D. '26)	25.00	5.00
Murchison, John P. (M.A. '21)	25.00	25.00
Murray, Emma, Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Nabrit, James M., Mr.	20.00	20.00
Nelson, R. T., Dr. (D.D.S. '17)	300.00	
Nelson, Wm. F., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Nelson, William S., Dr. (A.B. '20)	125.00	75.00
Nicholson, Joseph, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	10.00	10.00
Parker, C. S., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Parks, Thomas W., Atty. (LL.B. '25)	100.00	100.00
Payne, Howard M., Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	25.00
Perry, Cereta E. (B.S. '41)	5.00	2.00
Lindsay, W. L., Mr.	5.00	5.00
Phillips, John, Dr. and Mrs.	150.00	50.00
Piper, Paul E., Dr. (M.D. '23)	100.00	100.00
Pinkett, John R., Mr.	100.00	80.00
Porter, James, Mr. and Mrs.	100.00	35.00
Price, J. St. Clair, Dr.	200.00	20.00
Ray, Elizabeth Ann	5.00	
Scurlock, Addison M., Mr.	25.00	25.00
Scott, James E. (LL.B. '24)	100.00	
Shereshefsky, J. Leon, Dr.	40.00	
Shippen, E. P., Dr. (A.B. '12)	10.00	10.00
Skinner, Wm. H., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	10.00	10.00
Smith, Alonzo, Dr.	100.00	
Smith, Julia, Miss	10.00	
Snowden, Frank M., Dr.	25.00	20.00
Spratlin, Valaurez, Dr.	40.00	16.00
Stanton, G. Frederick, Mr. (M.S. '42)	50.00	20.00
Suber, Bessie, Mrs.	10.00	10.00
Sumner, F. D., Dr.	50.00	25.00
Syphax, Mary, Mrs.	500.00	500.00
Tate, Merze, Dr.	2.50	2.50
Thomas, Nelson, Dr. (M.D. '21)	100.00	100.00
Trigg, Joseph E., Dr. (M.D. '24)	100.00	20.00
Trigg, Frank, Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	
Turner, Frank A., Dr. (M.D. '25)	25.00	5.00
Walker, James E., Dr. (M.D. '32)	25.00	25.00
Walton, Adolphus, Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	500.00	210.00
Watson, Edwin J., Dr. (M.D. '13)	20.00	20.00
Williams, Charles G. (M.A. '25)	5.00	
Willis, Dorothy, Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Williston, T. A., Dr. (M.D. '32)	50.00	25.00
Willoughby, Winston, Dr. (D.D.S. '33)	5.00	5.00
Wiseman, M. D., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	300.00	190.00
Woodward, Dudley, Dr.	100.00	50.00
Wormley, Stanton, Dr. (M.A. '31)	25.00	5.00
Wright, James T. (B.S. '41)	.89	.89
Young, Blake, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	100.00	100.00
U. S. Army (Dental School)	148.28	148.28
University Post Office	300.00	300.00

ILLINOIS

Cairo		
* Beatty, W. B., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Chicago		
Adams, George C., Atty. (L.L.B. '14)	50.00	20.00
Adams, Walter, Dr. (L.A. '23, M.D. '26)	25.00	25.00
Alexander, W. E., Dr.	75.00	75.00
Ashburn, L. Eudora, Dr.	50.00	50.00
Baker, Jesse, Atty.	50.00	
Bates, Alva L., Atty.	50.00	50.00
Barnes, George S., Atty.	20.00	20.00
Bellamy, A. H., Atty (L.L.B. '15)	25.00	10.00
Bertell, Ada, Mrs. '15	5.00	5.00
Blakely, George, Atty.	100.00	20.00
Brown, Oscar C. (A.B., B.S., L.L.B.-20, 21, 23)	50.00	10.00
Brown, Sydney, Atty.	100.00	100.00
Bryant, J. Edmond, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Clanton, Benjamin G., Atty. (L.L.B. '11)	50.00	20.00
Clayton, Benjamin, Atty (A.B., L.L.B., '15-'18)	35.00	35.00
Cole, Thomas J.	35.00	35.00

Colum, H. S., Dr. (B.S., D.D.S.-'19, '23)	50.00	50.00
Fleming, J. G., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Foote, D. D., Dr.	120.00	20.00
Giles, Chauncey, Dr. (M.D. '32)	125.00	125.00
Giles, W. D., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Gooden, Earl L, Dr. (B.S. '17-M.D. '21)	125.00	
Gough, William, Mr. (Eng. '22)	25.00	25.00
Graham, E. A., Dr.	15.00	
Harper, Eleanor	25.00	10.00
Hightower, Jenkins, Dr. (B.S., L.A. '24)	100.00	60.00
James, Louis, Mr. (B.S. in Com. '39)	50.00	
Jenkins, C. M., Dr. (B.S. '27-M.D. '39)	15.00	15.00
Johnson, David, Dr.	125.00	30.00
Johnson, Frederick D.	10.00	10.00
Johnson, Jessye E. (A.B. '42)	5.00	5.00
Johnson, Margaret, Mrs. (Phar. '12)	100.00	25.00
Johnson, E. Milton, Dr.	50.00	45.00
Kemp, Jayne, Miss (A.B. '41)	25.00	5.00
Kigh, I. B., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Langston, T. S., Dr. (B. S. '14)	100.00	20.00
Lewis, G. A., Dr. (M.D. 1899)	50.00	50.00
Locharo, Metz T. P., Dr.	100.00	
Longmire, Cleveland, Atty.	25.00	
Manney, Charles, Lt.	25.00	
Mason, I. M., Dr.	15.00	15.00
Morris, Spurgeon, Dr.	100.00	
Palmer, W. P., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Payne, Aaron H., Atty.	100.00	
Phillips, Haywood C., Mr. (B.S. in Com. '23)	5.00	5.00
Sanford, Edwin L., Mr.	30.00	30.00
Simmons, Roscoe, Col.	250.00	
Simmons, Tullie, Mr. (A.B. '26)	50.00	
Smith, Fische, Mrs. ('39)	100.00	
Smith, Reginald, Dr.	50.00	25.00
Spivey, Henry, Dr.	50.00	35.00
Tanner, Sarah, Mrs.	25.00	
Tavernier, Clifford H. (LL.B. '10)	100.00	25.00
Temple, W. H., Atty. (A.B. '16)	25.00	
Thompson, Charles, Dr.	50.00	20.00
White, William E., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Wimbish, C. C., Atty	25.00	20.00
Decatur		
Ellis, John C., Dr.	200.00	100.00
Freeport		
Davis, F. H., Rev.	10.00	10.00
Rockford		
Allen, E. S., Mr.	5.00	5.00
Jones, Lucille, Miss	5.00	5.00
Murphy, Gladys, Miss	5.00	5.00
Montgomery, Jesse, Mr. and Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Roberts, E. G., Dr. (M.D. '36)	50.00	50.00
Treadwell, Harry M.	2.00	2.00
Poston, J. D., Rev.	3.00	3.00
Wilson, Archie, Mr. and Mrs.	5.00	5.00
A Friend	10.00	10.00

INDIANA

Gary		
Alexander, Fritz, Atty.	50.00	25.00
Bingham, Kathleen, Mrs.	50.00	12.50
Bingham, Leroy, Dr.	50.00	12.50
Hyman, Earl R.	50.00	20.00
Johnson, L. B., Dr. (M.D. '26)	125.00	25.00
Murray, Milo, Atty.	100.00	
East Chicago		
Broomes, E. L. C., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Payne, Arthur C., Dr. (M.D. '22)	50.00	50.00
Indianapolis		
Brokenburr, Robert Lee (LL.B. '09)	10.00	10.00
Clarke, A. T., Mr.	1.25	1.25
DeFrantz, D. E.	125.00	50.00
Johnson, E. L., Atty. (LL.B. '15)	25.00	

Owings, Mary, Miss (B.S. in Ph.-Ed.)	50.00	
Pilgrim, Helen, Miss	10.00	10.00
Michigan City		
Graves, Tenola, Atty. (LL.B. '22)	50.00	50.00
Jones, Susie W., Mrs. (A.B. '25)	50.00	50.00
Jones, K. S., Dr. (B.S. '22-M.D. 25)	50.00	50 00
South Bend		
Curtis, Guy P., Dr. (D.D.S. '27)	100.00	100.00
Wills, Chas., Atty	100.00	10.00

IOWA

Des Moines		
Willis, L. R., Dr. (D.D S. '10)	10 00	10 00
Ft. Madison		
Harper, Harry, Dr. (M.D. '26)	200.00	200.00
Keokuk		
Harper, W. H., Dr. (B.S. '14-M.D. '18)	100.00	100.00

KANSAS

Kansas City		
Andrews, Wallace W., Dr.	25.00	25 00
Brathwaite, Harold, Dr.	25.00	15.00
Green, George, Miss	25.00	5.00
Hoffman, Edna, Miss	25.00	
Hill, Kenneth, Mr.	25 00	5.00
Love, Wm. A., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Soanes, J. G. N., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Washington, Emma, Miss	25.00	5.00
Topeka		
Jackson, Wm. E., Dr. (M.D. 1897)	200 00	200 00
Ransom, T. P., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	200.00	
Scott, Wm., Dr.	100 00	100.00

KENTUCKY

Henderson		
Jones, Lorenzo, Mr.	25.00	25 00
Hopkinsville		
Brooks, Brother	200.00	100 00
Lexington		
Hunter, Bush A., Dr. (B.S. '21-M.D. '25)	150.00	150.00
Sims, A. J., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Smith, R. E., Dr.	100.00	100 00
Louisville		
Anderson, Charles, Atty. (LL.B. '32)	50.00	
Brown, Maude E., Miss	10.00	10.00
Givens, Hattie W., Mrs., ('14)	25.00	25.00
Emerson, J. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '05)	25.00	10.00
Henderson, Dennis, Atty. (LL.B. '23)	10.00	10.00
Hubbard, E. M., Dr. (A.B. '32-M.D. '35)	50.00	50.00
Hubbard, E. M., Mrs. (L.A.)	50.00	50.00
Kean, Wm., Mr. (L.A. 22)	5 00	5.00
Morris, Horace, Dr. (M.D. '13)	100.00	
Nurse, John R., Dr.	25 00	25 00
Ross, Oliver A., Mr. (L.A. '20)	25 00	
Scott, B. Clarice, Miss (L.A. '26)	50.00	

LOUISIANA

Alexandria		
Spellman, Frank J., Dr.	12.00	12 00
Baton Rouge		
Butler, Leo S., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Christy, C. C., Dr. (Ph.C.'24)	100.00	100 00
Huggins, H. H., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Huggins, Marcella, Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Israel, L. G., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Joseph, H. C., Dr. (M.D. '30)	100 00	100.00
Monroe		
Sims, Emmett W. (B.S. '23)	50.00	

New Orleans		
Adams, Wm. R., Dr.	100.00	
Braden, Lester, Mr. (B.S. '28)	20.00	10.00
Cherrie, Ernest, Dr.	125.00	50.00
Devore, E. T. M., Dr.	100.00	
Duncan, Otto, Dr.	50.00	30.00
Haydel, Whitney, Dr. (Ph. C. '28)	25.00	25.00
Horton, Logan, Dr. (M.D.)	10.00	10.00
Hydell, C. C., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Jimson, Edward P., Dr. (A.B. '21)	25.00	25.00
Martin, B. J., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Segue, Taylor, Dr.	125.00	75.00
Richards, Julia, Mrs. '16	50.00	
Smith, A. J., Dr.	100.00	45 00
Tureand, Alexander, Mr. and Mrs.	50.00	50.00
Opelousas		
Terrence, A. C., Dr. (B.S. '24-M.D. '28)	100.00	25 00
Scotlandville		
Rogers, Kanata, Miss ('24)	25.00	5.00
Smith, Russell W., Mr. (M.A. '25)	10.00	
Shreveport		
Tate, Anna P.	5.00	5.00

MARYLAND

Baltimore		
Alleyne, Bruce H.	25.00	25.00
Avery, Bruce H. (D.D.S. '11)	25.00	25.00
Beamon, Wm. H., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	25.00	5.00
Beery, Leroy, Dr. (M.D. '22)	25.00	25.00
Bond, Roy, Atty. (LL.B. '14)	25.00	25.00
Browne, Rayner, Dr. (M.D. '29)	100.00	100.00
Baynham, D. Lindsay, Atty.	1.00	1.00
Browne, B. F., Dr. (D.D.S. '11)	50.00	50 00
Butler, Lucius, Dr.	125.00	25.00
Camper, John, Dr. (M.D. '20)	100.00	100.00
Carr, James D., Dr. (M.D. '35)	25.00	25 00
Christmas, Bernard, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	200.00	200.00
Conway, W. J., Mr.	5.00	5.00
Doles, Maurice, Dr.	25.00	10 00
Harris, Bernard, Dr. (M.D. '23)	50.00	50.00
Hawkins, James B., Dr. (M.D. '18)	25.00	25 00
Hughes, Hugh Price, Dr. (M.D. '17)	25.00	25.00
Kerr, T. Henderson, Dr. (Phar. '12)	100.00	100 00
LaForest, A. L., Dr. (M.D. '33)	50.00	50.00
Luke, Francis, Dr. (M.D. '31)	50.00	50 00
Mason, Wm. B., Dr.	150.00	150 00
McClarrin, Otto	25.00	5 00
O'Connon, Miles, Mr.	5.00	5 00
Page, George C., Dr., M.D. '19	25.00	25 00
Reesby, Delmonica, Dr. (M.D. '27)	30.00	
Reid, A. D., Dr. (D.D.S. '07)	100.00	100.00
Rhetta, B. M., Dr.	50.00	50 00
Rhetta, Clara, Mrs.	10.00	10.00
Saunders, F. A., Dr. (M.D. '20)	500.00	500.00
Sherrington, Ernest, Dr. (M.D. '34)	25.00	10 00
Sheppard, J. Douglass, Dr. (M.D. '27)	25.00	25 00
Smith, Albert A., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	50.00	10.00
Sykes, Frank J.	75.00	75.00
Watts, C. E., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	150.00	150.00
Watts, W. H., Dr. (M.D. '26)	50 00	50.00
White, James A., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	50.00	20.00
Williams, Anna E.	2.00	2 00
Wise, Ethel (A.B. '27)	5.00	5.00
Woodland, Charles T. (M.D. '29)	25.00	25.00
Young, Emma, Mrs.	2.00	2.00
Young, Isaac, Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	50.00	
Young, N. Louise, Dr.	10.00	10 00
Young, Ralph, Dr. (M.D. '19)	100.00	100.00

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston		
Brice, John J., C.W.O.	5.00	5.00
Orr, Angelique, Mrs.	60.00	60.00
Cambridge		
Gaskins, F. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	10.00	10.00
New Bedford		
Nelson, Wm. W., Dr. (M.D. '07)	25.00	25.00
Parham, J. Tunstall (D.D.S. '17)	100.00	75.00
Springfield		
Martin, Wm. H. (L.L.D. '13)	25.00	5.00

MICHIGAN

Detroit		
Alexander, Paul H., Dr.	200.00	200.00
Allen, Fred	100.00	100.00
Baker, Edward A. (LL.B. '28)	50.00	10.00
Barrow, Vunies, Miss	1.00	1.00
Bell, Haley, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Blanchet, A. B., Dr. (M.D. '30)	125.00	25.00
Blanchet, C. L., Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Bledsoe, Harold E., Atty.	50.00	50.00
Blount, Louis	10.00	10.00
Boothe, Harold	2.00	2.00
Burris, Lyman	15.00	15.00
Cheatham, Ethel	5.00	5.00
Constable, C. G., Dr.	210.00	210.00
Davenport, Elvin, Atty (LL.B. '29)	125.00	20.00
Dent, Francis, Atty.	25.00	
Edwards, G. L., Dr.	25.00	10.00
Ferguson, Harper S.	5.00	5.00
Goggins, James B., Dr. (D.D.S. '14)	20.00	20.00
Graham, J. A., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Graves, Wm., Atty.	10.00	10.00
Greene, J. V., Dr. (M.D. '35)	500.00	200.00
Harmon, Walter, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Holmes, Helen, Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Kelly, E. W., Dr. (M.D. '33)	250.00	50.00
Malone, T. N., Dr.	75.00	45.00
McNeill, Howard H., Dr.—Pontiac	2,000.00	315.00
Miles, John, Rev.	5.00	5.00
Mosee, W. Jones, Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	100.00
Patrick, Wm. T., Sr.	25.00	5.00
Patrick, Wm. T., Jr.	5.00	5.00
Piper, Atty.	1.00	1.00
Powell, Judson B.	25.00	5.00
Preston, C. W., Dr. (M.D. '25)	300.00	125.00
Randolfo, J. C., Dr. (M.D. '26)	125.00	50.00
Rowland, Mildred Y.	25.00	5.00
Rowlette, Cecil, Atty. (LL. B. '12)	55.00	25.00
Saulsberry, Guy O., Dr.	300.00	200.00
Seabrooks, B. F., Dr. (B.S. '25)	110.00	110.00
Simmons, Edward A.	25.00	10.00
Stuard, Samuel G., Dr. (M.D. '27)	500.00	200.00
Stitt, D. D., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Sweet, O. H., Dr. (M.D. '22)	100.00	100.00
Syphax, Charles S., Dr.	5,000.00	5,000.00
Thomas, J. T., Dr.	30.00	5.00
Thompson, H. E., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Ward, Cecil, Atty.	10.00	10.00
Watson, Mildred (A.B. '36)	50.00	

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson		
Hair, Antonio, Dr. (D.D.S. '34)	25.00	25.00
Redmond, S. D., Atty.	25.00	25.00
Vicksburg		
Dillard, J. B., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Edwards, J. W., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Owens, Lee, M., Dr.	10.00	10.00

MISSOURI

Kansas City		
Booker, L. W., Dr. (M.D. '17)	10.00	10.00
Cox, Henley L.	50.00	50.00
Dougherty, Madeline, Mrs. (A.B. '32)	10.00	
Hill, S. S., Dr.	50.00	20.00
Humbert, Charles R., Dr. (M.D. '15)	40.00	20.00
Jackson, L. R., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Johnson, Carl, Atty.	25.00	25.00
Johnson, Sidney, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Jones, Thomas, Dr. (M.D. '06)	5.00	5.00
Knox, L. Amasa, Atty. (Law 1898)	25.00	15.00
La Cour, V. B., Atty. (Law '41)	5.00	5.00
Lewis, Milton C.	25.00	15.00
Marsh, Frankie, Miss	25.00	10.00
McCain, Lydia B. (Ph. C. '27)	10.00	10.00
Montgomery, Louis W.	5.00	
Nolan, Rosetta, Miss (B.S. '25)	25.00	
Pouncey, James D., Atty. (Law '23)	6.00	6.00
Ritchie, James D. (D.D.S. '12)	25.00	
Rummons, Eugene H., Dr. (D.D.S.)	25.00	15.00
Sirles, Mary, Mrs. (B.S. '24)	25.00	5.00
Turner, L. W., Dr.	25.00	15.00
Wells, J. S., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Wilkinson, Vernon, Dr.	50.00	30.00
Williams, J. R., Mrs.	25.00	15.00
Williams, Luke, Dr.	50.00	50.00
Sedalia		
Maddox, A. R., Dr. (M.D. '26)	25.00	25.00
St. Louis		
Bledsoe, F. S., Atty.	15.00	15.00
Brooks, A. M., Dr. (D.D.S. '32)	10.00	10.00
Christian, Wallace B.	25.00	25.00
Davis, John A., Atty.	100.00	25.00
Epsy, Henry D., Atty. (A.B. '26—Law '28)	25.00	25.00
Evans, E. J., Mr. (B.S. '29)	25.00	5.00
Gibson, Walter S., Dr. (D.D.S.)	50.00	20.00
Giles, Thomas A., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	100.00	5.00
Gilliam, Hattie A. (B.S. '32)	50.00	
Grant, David M.	25.00	25.00
Harrison, James H. (Ph. C. '03)	5.00	5.00
Herriott, Charles E., Dr.	20.00	10.00
Howell, Hugh D., Dr. (D.D.S. '14)	5.00	5.00
Jenkins, Mildred, Miss	5.00	5.00
Jordan, Alice J., Miss (A.B. '31)	10.00	10.00
Kendricks, Mathew, Dr. (D.D.S. '16)	100.00	
Kenswil, Edwin F., Atty.	25.00	10.00
Miller, S. D., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	25.00	25.00
Morman, W. W.	100.00	10.00
Nash, Phillip, Mr. (B.S. '23)	25.00	5.00
Nofles, J. W., Dr. (B.S. '31—M.D. '35)	50.00	50.00
Payne, Vaughn, Dr. (M.D.)	125.00	25.00
Purnell, John H. (A.B. '13)	100.00	
Reams, H. T., Dr.	50.00	20.00
Reason, Arthur, Mr. (A.B. '13)	100.00	
Ruffin, Guy S., Mr. (L.A. '15)	100.00	10.00
Samuels, George L. (Ph. C. '27)	25.00	
Scott, Anna Lee	50.00	5.00
Scott, Robert M., Dr.	100.00	60.00
Sherard, Julius, Dr.	100.00	60.00
Sinkler, W. A., Dr.	25.00	20.00
Suter, L. S., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	25.00	15.00
Townsend, A. M., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Tucker, Harvey, Atty.	25.00	15.00
White, Russell, Dr.	20.00	
Winston, James F., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Witherspoon, Robert L., Atty. (Law '30)	25.00	10.00

NEBRASKA

Omaha		
Comans, N. H., Mr.	25.00	
McVay, Luther L.	10.00	10.00

Davis, Robbie T., Mrs.	10.00	
Lennox, G. B., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Myers, Robert L., Mr. (B.S.C. '40)	5.00	5.00

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Exeter		
Call, Arthur J., Mr. ('02)	15.00	15.00

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City		
Marshall, Henry, Dr.	125.00	50.00
Weddington, L. T., Mrs.	50.00	
Asbury Park		
Carter, Joseph, Dr. (M.D. '28)	50.00	
Bloomfield		
Sutherland, W. H., Dr. (D.D.S. '05)	10.00	10.00
Camden		
Primas, Howard E., Dr.	100.00	75.00
Vaughn, J. Maurice	25.00	5.00
Cranford		
Kincaid, P. L., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	100.00
East Rutherford		
Reynolds, Charles A., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	50.00	
Englewood		
Jenkins, Alvah R. (B.S. '31—M.D. '35)	50.00	
Nicholas, John (B.S. '18—M.D. '25)	100.00	25.00
Parker, C. M., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	100.00	
Smith Nehemiah (B.S. '31)	25.00	
Hackensack		
Taper, T. A., Dr. (Phar. '24)	50.00	10.00
Richards, Ernest W. (B.S. '29—M.D. '33)	100.00	
Jersey City		
Benson, Ulysses, Dr. (D.D.S. '17)	10.00	10.00
Carpenter, William, Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	25.00	
Carpenter, Marcus, Dr. (M.D. '32)	100.00	30.00
Furlonge, H. Rowland (M.D. '26)	100.00	50.00
Johnson, Archie W. (B.S. '30—M.D. '34)	100.00	
Madison, Lena F. (B.S. '21) M.D. '24)	100.00	100.00
Madison, Lewis K. (Acad. B.S., M.D., '17, '21, '24)	100.00	100.00
Martin, John A., Mr.	2.00	2.00
McLean, L. Deckle, Dr. (D.D.S. '28)	250.00	50.00
Sinclair, Paul F. (M.D. '36)	100.00	10.00
Magnolia		
Watkins, G. R., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Maplewood		
Michael, H. W., Dr. (A.B. '26—M.D. '30)	50.00	25.00
Merchantville		
Wilson, I. E., Dr.	200.00	200.00
Montclair		
Ballon, Edgar S., Dr. (D.D.S. '12)	50.00	25.00
Fitzgerald, John R., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	100.00	50.00
Palmer, Otto, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	100.00	100.00
Shirley, Fernandis, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	125.00	25.00
Thompson, Frank, Dr. (M.D. '12)	100.00	
Thornhill, Arthur, Dr. (M.D. '22)	100.00	50.00
Williams, F. D., Dr. (D.D.S. '22)	100.00	20.00
Morristown		
Graddick, Lester W. (M.D. '25)	50.00	50.00
Newark		
Cameron, Arthur E. (M.D. '33)	250.00	100.00
Carr, J. C., Dr. (B.S. '21—M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Darden, Walter T. (M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Dulaney, Theodore (B.S. '26—M.D. '30)	25.00	25.00
Ford, John W., Dr. (D.D.S. '07)	100.00	100.00
Gilbourne, Allen, Dr. (D.D.S. '31)	100.00	50.00
Hilton, C. O., Dr. (A.B., M.D. '27)	100.00	25.00
Hilton, Louis A., Dr. (M.D. '10)	100.00	50.00
Johnson, J. Bernard (LL. B. '22)	50.00	
Lee, James E., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	100.00	50.00

Massey, J. Bruce, Dr. (M.D. '31)	25.00	25.00
Morris, Andrew, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	100.00	50.00
Palmer, Henry S. (M.D. '16)	50.00	50.00
Parks, James B., Dr. (D.D.S. '17)	100.00	100.00
Phillips, Algernon, Dr. (M.D. '27)	100.00	100.00
Savoy, Leonard, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	50.00	25.00
Walker, J. W., Dr. (D.D.S. '12)	50.00	10.00
Washington, W. H. (acad. A.B., M.D., 1900, '04, '08)	100.00	
Williams, J.J., Dr. (M.D. '12)	50.00	12.50
New Brunswick		
Howell, E. Gaylord, Dr. (M.D. '24)	100.00	100.00
Lewis, Collins, E., Dr. (B.S. '29)	100.00	20.00
Passaic		
Andrews, A. G. K., Dr. (M.D. '28)	50.00	50.00
Gibbs, Jonathan, Dr. (A.B. '11-M.D. '17)	50.00	25.00
Paterson		
Maxwell, Andrew, Dr. (D.D.S. '16)	25.00	25.00
Norris, Fleming, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	50.00	50.00
Plainfield		
Cobbs, Allison C., Dr. (D.D.S. '32)	25.00	25.00
Langston, J. T., Dr. (M.D. '34—B.S. '30)	25.00	5.00
McNeely, George C., Dr. (D.D.S. '32)	20.00	20.00
Stuart, J. Earle, Dr. (M.D. '25)	25.00	25.00
Thompson, A. L., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	25.00	25.00
Orange		
Bunce, Vernon F., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	
Johnson, Walker A., Dr. (M.D. '12)	100.00	100.00
Longshore, Walter E., Dr. (M.D. '34)	100.00	100.00
Johnson, Charles, Dr.	100.00	100.00
Red Bank		
Parker, James W., Dr. (A.B. '11—M.D. '15)	25.00	25.00
Rahway		
Vanderhorst, J. Francis, Rev.	25.00	25.00
Roselle		
Polk, Charles C., Dr. (B.S. '17—M.D. '21)	50.00	50.00
Summit		
Hawkins, W. Lincoln (M.S. '44)	10.00	2.00
Sims, R. V. (M.D. '33)	100.00	25.00
Trenton		
Thomas, A. L., Dr. (D.D.S. '16)	100.00	
Vaux Hall		
Watts, John E., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	50.00	50.00
Westfield		
Brock, H. F., Dr. (M.D. '14)	150.00	150.00
Humphrey, Hubert, Dr. (B.S. '31—M.D. '35)	100.00	100.00
Jones, George, Dr.	50.00	50.00
Thompson, Robert H., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	25.00

NEW YORK

Albany		
Robinson, Joseph B., Dr. (M.D. '34)	25.00	25.00
Spencer, James L., Dr. (B.S. '26—M.D. '30)	100.00	100.00
Brooklyn		
Batson, G. Hudson, Dr. (B.S. '23—M.D. '26)	50.00	50.00
Batson, Louise L. (A.B. '28)	10.00	10.00
Batson, Percival, Dr. (D.D.S. '27)	15.00	15.00
Brooks, Phillip, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	200.00	50.00
Bynoe, George T., Dr. (M.D. '11)	250.00	100.00
Charles, A. Basil (B.S. '26—M.D. '29)	500.00	200.00
Cook, J. R. C. (B.S. '16—M.D. '19)	Insurance Policy	
Gilbert, Elisha (D.D.S. '23)	100.00	100.00
Harper, Wm. E. (D.D.S. '34)	25.00	25.00
Hamlett, Horace I. (D.D.S. '22)	25.00	25.00
Johnson, J.A., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	200.00	50.00
Johnson, Darnell (B.S. '31—M.D. '35)	50.00	50.00
Lee, Eulalie M. (B.S. '33—M.D. '36)	100.00	20.00
Merrick, Walter E., Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	20.00
Paige, Myles A. (B.A. '21)	50.00	25.00
Redmond, Stanley, Dr. (M.D. '36)	50.00	50.00
Soden, Hamilton, Dr. (M.D. '35)	40.00	20.00
Vassall, Lola N. (B.S. '32—M.D. '36)	25.00	25.00

Buffalo		
Scruggs, I. L., Dr. (B.S. '15—M.D., '19)	250.00	150.00
White, Luther (Acad. '19—B.A. '22—A.M., '25)	500.00	300.00
Corona		
Pinckney, Charles, Dr. (D.D.S. '15)	50.00	50.00
East Greenbush		
Brown, Wm. Fletcher, Dr. (B.S. '24—D.D.S. '29)	100.00	100.00
Flushing		
Lieberman, Maxwell, Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Ithica		
Galvin, G. A., Dr. (Phar. '24)	25.00	25.00
Jamaica		
Love, Edgar, Rev.	60.00	36.00
Molson, Merritt, Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	50.00	50.00
Nightingale, George, Dr. (D.D.S. '28)	100.00	100.00
Thompson, Maceo, Dr. (M.D. '26)	25.00	5.00
Young, J. Logan, Dr. (B.S. '23—D.D.S. '27)	25.00	25.00
New York City		
Absalom, Cyril, Dr.	5.00	5.00
Allen, Wm. H., Dr. (M.D. '21)	25.00	25.00
Anderson, S. S., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Anderson, J. Francis, Dr.	5.00	5.00
Bacon, W. J., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	5.00	5.00
Barrett, Leonard, Dr.	250.00	25.00
Bell, Hugh G.	50.00	20.00
Bennett, Robin I., Dr. (M.D. '36)	50.00	40.00
Best, Edward E., Dr. (M.D. '10)	5.00	5.00
Best, Judson, Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	50.00	20.00
Bowman, Jacob N., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	5.00	5.00
Brody, A. M., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Bright, Kenneth L. (A.B. '29)	5.00	
Brown, Maceo L.	10.00	5.00
Bruyning, Eustace, Dr. (M.D. '34)	5.00	5.00
Bryan, Leon A., Dr. (Col. '29—M.D. '35)	125.00	85.00
Craig, Santon H., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	100.00	65.00
Carey, J. E., Dr.	50.00	30.00
Carrington, A. Irving, Dr. (B.S. '32—M D. '35)	25.00	25.00
Carroll, E. E., Dr.	100.00	20.00
Challenor, Robert L., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	50.00	35.00
Cheney, Perry W., Dr. (M.D. '18)	100.00	
Cooper, Aston B., Dr. (D.D.S. '40)	5.00	5.00
Craft, Robert J.	30.00	30.00
Du Bois, Vernon H.	50.00	50.00
Donnelly, A. L., Dr. (Acad. '17)	5.00	5.00
Davis, Hyacinth, Dr. (M.D. '31)	125.00	20.00
Daley, A. G., Dr. (M.D. '25)	50.00	25.00
Dingle, Alan L. ('17)	25.00	25.00
Delph, Walter, Dr.	100.00	75.00
Davis, John A.	25.00	25.00
Davenport, Laurence J., Dr.	50.00	50.00
A Friend	500.00	500.00
Edwards, Conrad	100.00	
Espejo, P. A., Dr.	500.00	150.00
Faircloud, Lewis	25.00	
Freydberg, Max, Dr.	25.00	20.00
Garnes, A. L., Dr. (M.D. '37)	25.00	5.00
Granady, J. W. T., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Gray, Arthur, Dr. (M.D. '36)	9.00	9.00
Golding, John V., Dr. (M.D. '36)	25.00	5.00
Harris, Newton, Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	30.00	30.00
Hanson, T. E., Dr. (D.D.S. '15)	10.00	10.00
Lane, Layle	25.00	25.00
Littman, Samuel J.	500.00	300.00
Long, Clarence Wm., Dr. (D.D.S. '32)	20.00	20.00
Lucas, Herman, Dr. (M.D. '36)	10.00	10.00
Marquez, Cecil	200.00	90.00
Mason, E. S., Dr. (M.D. '10)	25.00	25.00
McCaskey, Daphne, Dr. (M.D. '41)	25.00	25.00
McKinney, Samuel	125.00	
Morris, Reginald, Dr. (M.D. '35)	10.00	10.00
Murray, Peter M., Dr.	100.00	20.00
Ollivierre, Cyril	25.00	25.00

Payne, S. Obrien, Dr. ('26—M.D. '29)	10.00	10.00
Petioni, Charles A.	125.00	75.00
Robinson, Julia, Dr.	25.00	
Roman, Stanford A., Dr. (D.D.S. '40)	25.00	25.00
Ross, Marshall, Dr.	100.00	60.00
Sidat-Singh, S. A., Dr.	250.00	75.00
Sinnette, H. Romulus (M.D. '32)	10.00	10.00
Swaby, Edward H., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	100.00	20.00
Thorne, George D., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Thornton, James W., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	50.00	10.00
Warner, Herman, Dr.	125.00	50.00
Wildman, O. K., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Williams, Joseph, Dr. (D.D.S. '28)	5.00	5.00
Williams, W. K., Dr.	100.00	20.00
Winters, W. A., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Newberg		
Branch, Robert H., Dr .(D.D.S. '28)	100.00	25.00
New Rochelle		
Gunthrope, N. D., Dr. (B.S. '26—M.D. '29)	125.00	25.00
Gunthrope, Uriel, Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	200.00	100.00
Niagara		
Hayes, Charles B., Dr. (M.D. '31)	250.00	100.00
Mount Vernon		
Lomax, A. F., Dr. (D.D.S. '44)	100.00	
Pair, Clarence, Dr. (B.S. '22—M.D. '26)	100.00	50.00
Poughkeepsie		
Morgan, R. W., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	125.00	25.00
Price, G. A. H., Dr. (M.D. '30)	100.00	25.00
Port Chester		
Ward, Roscoe, Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	100.00	100.00
Rochester		
Jordan, Anthony	100.00	10.00
Lindsay, S. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	100.00	25.00
Lunsford, Charles T.	100.00	100.00
Schenectady		
Tulloh, Joseph A., Dr. (M.D. '31)	50.00	50.00
Syracuse		
Johnson, A. P., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	5.00	
Yonkers		
Frazier, Wm. H., Dr. (B.S. '23—M.D. '26)	10.00	10.00
Rivers, Alexander, Dr. (D.D.S. '09)	25.00	12.50
Whiteplains		
Collymore, Errold, Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	25.00	25.00
Davidson, Clement H., Dr. (M.D. '30)	25.00	5.00

NORTH CAROLINA

Charlotte		
Adams, Marguerite	50.00	20.00
Boulding, Julia W.	25.00	5.00
Bowser, Jesse S., Atty. (LL.B. '31)	50.00	10.00
Brooks, M. S. (B.S. '24)	25.00	25.00
Greene, R. H., Dr.	55.00	55.00
Harris, L. P., Atty. (LL. B. '31)	50.00	
Hughes, S. E., Miss (A.B. '17)	25.00	
Isler, John, Dr. (Ph. C.)	25.00	5.00
Martin, J. F., Dr.	25.00	
Martin, J. D., Dr.	25.00	11.00
Moreland, Helen P., Mrs. (A.B. '36)	5.00	5.00
Pethel, J. A., Dr.	25.00	5.00
Tyson, Edwin F., Dr. (M.D. '11)	50.00	20.00
Watkins, Thomas, Dr. (D.D.S. '09)	50.00	50.00
Williams, Albert J., Dr.	100.00	60.00
Williams, Worth A., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Wyche, Rudolph M.	250.00	150.00
Wynn, Roy, Dr.	25.00	15.00
Clinton		
Merritt, William E., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Concord		
Baucum, Wm. C., Dr. (M.D. '24)	100.00	25.00
Durham		
Cordice, Marion	25.00	5.00
Cordice, John W.	10.00	10.00

Garret, Y. D., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Hubbard, J. M.	125.00	50.00
Hughson, J. S., Mr.	25.00	15.00
Lanier, A.C.	5.00	5.00
Lee, Mollie H.	10.00	
Norris, Edward P., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Owen, Hulda, Mrs.	25.00	
Russell, I. H., Mrs.	25.00	
Spaulding, C. C., Dr.	100.00	60.00
Swift, L. R., Dr.	75.00	75.00
Thompson, M. H., Atty.	50.00	25.00
Turner, Minnie, Mrs.	50.00	2.50
Turner, I. E., Dr.	50.00	2.50
Wheeler, Salina, Mrs.	50.00	30.00
Fayetteville		
Banfield, Marion, Mrs.	100.00	50.00
Maize, Wm. S.	25.00	15.00
Seabrooks, Mae, Mrs.	25.00	15.00
Travis, Nannie M.	10.00	4.00
Greensboro		
Barnes, B. W., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	25.00	25.00
Eccles, H. C., Dr. (Ph. C. '26)	25.00	5.00
Jenkins, Wm. M.	15.00	15.00
Mayfield, Floyd A. (School of Arch. & Eng. '30)	25.00	
Simkins, G. C., Dr. (D.D.S.)	50.00	50.00
Wynn, W. M., Dr. (Ph. C. '28)	25.00	5.00
Goldsboro		
Wright, J. B., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Henderson		
Beckford, Samuel	25.00	25.00
Hawkins, John D., Dr. (D.D.S. '31)	25.00	25.00
Johnson, Edwin D. (A.B. '23)	25.00	25.00
High Point		
Davis, Murray B.	100.00	
Martin, J. A., Dr.	25.00	
Morgan, J. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '21)	100.00	25.00
Kinston		
Harrison, Joseph P., Dr.	100.00	
Lumberton		
Smith, C. I., Dr.	25.00	
Newburn		
Mann, Wm., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Martin, Wm. R., Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	25.00
Smith, I. H., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Raleigh		
Barnes, B. W., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Bugg, M. B., Mrs.	100.00	50.00
Davis, Helen	25.00	5.00
Perry, Nelson L., Dr. (M.D. '28)	25.00	25.00
Watts, M. L., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Rocky Mount		
Armstrong, W. E., Dr.	25.00	12.50
Sessoms, Wm. M., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Rockingham		
Quick, F. D., Dr. (M.D. '09)	50.00	
Salisbury		
Coleman, W. A., Dr. (M.D. '10)	100.00	25.00
Wadesboro		
Massey, Clarence S.	25.00	
Wilmington		
Berry, Lisbon C. ('24)	10.00	
Brown, Annie R.	10.00	10.00
Chandler, H. W., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Gray, S. James, Dr.	200.00	200.00
Taylor, Nellie, Mrs. ('96)	10.00	10.00
Upperman, L. W., Dr. (M.D. '38)	50.00	50.00
Webber, Esther M.	10.00	10.00
Winston-Salem		
Cromwell, A. L., Dr.	25.00	10.00
Ewers, J. B.	50.00	30.00
Lee, Theresa W.	25.00	5.00
Malloy, H. D., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Meroney, W. F., Dr.	15.00	

Wilson		
Cowan, Joseph F., Dr. (M.D. '26)	50.00	10.00
Whiteville		
Mouldrow, Miriam, Dr. (M.D. '30)	250.00	50.00
OHIO		
Akron		
Fleming, Artee, Atty. (A.B. '09—LL.D. '13)	225.00	10.00
Foreman, H. H.	100.00	80.00
Riddle, B. N., Dr. (B.S. '24—M.D. '27)	125.00	25.00
Kelly, S. I., Atty (LL.B. '13)	100.00	5.00
Cincinnati		
Brown, Robert H.	30.00	30.00
Bush, W. B., Atty.	5.00	5.00
Cann, B. F., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Carroll, Charles H.	15.00	15.00
Colley, Gladys, Mrs.	100.00	40.00
Erwin, J. C., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Gillam, Dorothy, Miss	25.00	
* Gray, E. B., Dr.	25.00	5.00
Gladden, Quincey A.	50.00	50.00
Hurst, Althea, Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Jones, R. Kenneth	50.00	15.00
Leland, John E., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Locker, Jesse D., Atty.	25.00	25.00
McClain, R. P., Dr.	30.00	30.00
Ross, Mary E., Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Stone, E. B., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Wilson, H. I.	50.00	40.00
Canton		
Walker, J. B., Dr. and Mrs. (Prep. '12—B.S. '16 M.D. '19, (Mrs., A.B. '17)	100.00	100.00
Cleveland		
Baumgardner, L. O., Dr.	50.00	10.00
Cristopher, Nathan K.	50.00	30.00
Crawford, M. L.	25.00	25.00
Garvin, Charles H., Dr.	100.00	80.00
George, Claibourne	10.00	10.00
Gregory, Herman, Dr.	10.00	5.00
Harris, H. E., Dr.	25.00	25.00
McGhee, Norman L., Atty.	50.00	20.00
Riley, James A., Dr. (M.D. '30)	50.00	50.00
Spenser, E. B., Dr. (M.D. '25)	125.00	125.00
Washington, Josephine ('86)	8.00	8.00
Columbus		
Dyer, W. Henry	10.00	2.00
Garnes, H. W.	50.00	10.00
Godman, Leroy H., Atty. (LL.B. '06)	125.00	25.00
Jefferson, Harry J., Dr.	225.00	225.00
Jones, Lloyd L., Dr.	150.00	150.00
Lyman, W. S., Atty. (LL. B. '19)	25.00	5.00
Mosby, George W.	10.00	10.00
Smith, James K., Dr. (M.D. '32)	25.00	10.00
Smith, H. N.	15.00	15.00
Tribbitt, R. M., Dr.	250.00	200.00
Wheeler, H. T., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	50.00	10.00
Dayton		
Wiley, W. E.	25.00	5.00
Springfield		
Daniels, George W. (A.B. '14—LL.B. '17)	250.00	
Keller, C. F., Dr.	150.00	60.00
Robinson, Leo G., Dr. (M.D. '24)	100.00	100.00
Massilon		
Ballinger, R. J., Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	25.00
Toledo		
English, Leo V., Dr. (A.B. '11)	20.00	20.00
Heslip, Jesse S. (A.B. '17)	50.00	20.00
Pulley, Robert T., Dr. (D.D.S. '13)	50.00	10.00
Wooster		
Overholt, J. B., Mr. and Mrs.	300.00	300.00
Youngstown		
Armstead, A. D., Dr. (A.B. '14—M.D. '11)	100.00	20.00
Crumpler, Chester, Atty. (LL.B. '16)	50.00	10.00

Crumpler, Robert, Atty. (LL.B. '14)	50.00	10.00
Lander, T.A., Dr.	100.00	100.00

OKLAHOMA

Langston		
Harrison, G. L.	50.00	50.00
Oklahoma City		
Moore, Maurice B., Dr. (M.D. '27)	100.00	100.00
Thomas, B. E., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Muskogee		
Burt, J. H., Dr. (M.D. '24)	50.00	
French, D. A., Dr.	50.00	
Robertson, C. E., Atty. (LL.B. '29)	10.00	10.00
Muckleroy, Henry L., Dr. (M.D. '10)	500.00	100.00
Tulsa		
Bruner, Nannie	50.00	
Howell, Lula	25.00	
McCree, Samuel	50.00	20.00
Wade, Dorothea, Mrs.	10.00	
Waynes, Blaine, Dr.	50.00	50.00

PENNSYLVANIA

Ambler		
Smith, Sylvester B., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	100.00	10.00
Bryn Mawr		
Atkinson, Nolan N., Dr.	100.00	60.00
Coatesville		
Anderson, I. J., Prof.	25.00	5.00
Atkinson, W. C., Dr.	500.00	300.00
Craig, Pauline E.	100.00	
Stokes, Louis C.	125.00	25.00
Clairton		
Randall, Joseph A.	50.00	10.00
Connellsville		
McDaniels, R. A., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Harrisburg		
Carter, W. Justin, Atty	25.00	25.00
Brown, R. A., Dr. (M.D. '32)	50.00	50.00
Crampton, Charles H., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Lancaster		
Travis, John H., Dr. (D.D.S. '27)	100.00	
Media		
McKnight, Lancess, Dr.	100.00	
McKeesport		
Downing, Laurence, Dr.	100.00	10.00
Gittens, Wm. W.	100.00	100.00
Norristown		
Stanford, S. R., Dr.	100.00	20.00
Winters, O. Wilson, Dr.	10.00	10.00
New Brighton		
Cephas, Charles D.	100.00	50.00
Ford, John E., Dr.	100.00	100.00
New Castle		
Gillespie, James, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Philadelphia		
Anderson, Felix A., Dr.	150.00	150.00
Bailie, Vernon F., Dr. (D.D.S. '31)	50.00	25.00
Brown, W. Leon	125.00	
Berry, Leon A.	25.00	5.00
Christmas, Frank D.	100.00	100.00
Cooper, Oscar J.	250.00	100.00
Dingle, E. W., Dr.	200.00	125.00
Dorsey, Charles W., Dr.	250.00	100.00
Eaverly, Frank E.	20.00	20.00
Fennell, J. E.	100.00	25.00
Ford, Damacus	25.00	5.00
Gaskill, Sabien, Dr. (M.D. '33)	25.00	25.00
Grinnage, W. T., Dr.	25.00	5.00
Harlie, Chauncey, Dr.	10.00	10.00
Haskell, Henry A., Dr. (M.D. '29)	100.00	10.00
Hawkins, Earl F.	25.00	25.00

Henry, Edward W.	250.00	
Holloway, Edward, Dr. (31—M.D. '35)	50.00	50.00
Hosien, Mozan, Dr.	60.00	60.00
Howard, Charles B., Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	25.00
Irish, J. Theodore	25.00	25.00
Johnson, Horace R.	100.00	25.00
Jones, Voight, Dr.	25.00	5.00
Laurence, I. M., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Lee, Norman L., Dr. and Mrs. (M.D. '32) (Mrs., Col. '33))	800.00	800.00
Lockley, W. S., Dr.	50.00	
Mathews, Robert P.	100.00	20.00
Meekins, Harrison, Dr.	125.00	
Minton, Russell F.	25.00	25.00
Parks, S. Culin, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Presley, Edmund B., Dr. (D.D.S. '24)	100.00	75.00
Rogers, Charles, Dr.	50.00	25.00
Smith, Clarence, Dr.	100.00	
Smith, E. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '44)	5.00	5.00
Spaulding, Theodore	250.00	
Turner, John P., Dr.	5.00	5.00
Taylor, Daniel B.	100.00	
Sullivan, John W., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Williams, Thomas A., Dr. (M.D. '26)	50.00	10.00
Pittsburgh		
Henry, James F.	25.00	15.00
King, D. G., Dr.	25.00	
Levy, Allen, Dr.	25.00	
Nickens, C. G., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Sims, Earl S., Dr.	100.00	12.00
Smith, J. Shepard	30.00	30.00
Taylor, Royal W.	10.00	10.00
Waddy, Leon M., Dr.	100.00	75.00
Redding		
Goodwin, James F., Dr. (B.S. '28—M.D. '34)	310.00	110.00
Steelton		
Jones, George A., Dr. (M.D. '35)	20.00	20.00
Uniontown		
Lewis, Charles W., Dr.	150.00	150.00

RHODE ISLAND

Providence		
Gilbert, J. A., Dr. (A.B., '91—M.D. '94)	100.00	100.00
Gross, Carl R., Dr. (M.D. '37)	25.00	25.00
Jackson, Andrew, Dr. (D.D.S. '10)	125.00	25.00
Le Count, Joseph, Atty. (LL.B. '12)	25.00	
Stockett, James M., Atty. (LL.B. '14)	50.00	

SOUTH CAROLINA

Bennettsville		
McCollum, L., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Charleston		
Bell, Louise D. P.	50.00	35.00
De Costa, Julia, Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Hoffman, J. I., Dr.	100.00	75.00
Jackson, J. A. D., Dr.	250.00	250.00
Pickering, L. I., Dr.	25.00	15.00
Columbia		
Collins, A. J., Dr.	100.00	40.00
Higgins, S. R., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Johnson, Frank B.	25.00	25.00
Mance, R. W., Dr.	100.00	75.00
Rogers, Harriett, Mrs.	10.00	
Rutherford, Evaretta S.	20.00	
Stuart, J. G., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Thompson, H. G., Dr.	50.00	25.00
Vance, E. W.	25.00	25.00
Greenville		
Gibbs, Hiram, Dr. (Ph. C., 1924)	25.00	25.00
McClaren, E. E., Dr. (M.D. '31)	100.00	25.00

TENNESSEE

Chattanooga		
Craig, R. H., Atty. (LL.B. '23)	50.00	
Davis, T. R., Prof.	100.00	15.00
Williams, J. A., Dr. (M.D. '33)	100.00	10.00
Knoxville		
Cowan, C. A.	10.00	10.00
* Cloud, Mabel, Miss	25.00	
Henderson, N. A., Dr. (M.D. '27)	50.00	50.00
Memphis		
Hawkins, Rufus J.	100.00	60.00
Johnson, H. H., Dr.	25.00	20.00
Lewis, R. S., Mr.	50.00	
Perkins, Ethel J., Mrs.	25.00	
Roulhac, C. M., Dr.	125.00	50.00

TEXAS

Austin		
Ward, Henry M., Dr.	50.00	
Beaumont		
Charlton, Chas., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Lassiter, S. E. (D.D.S. '09)	10.00	5.00
Dallas		
Burke, Wm. A., Dr.	125.00	125.00
Culmer, H. H., Dr. (B.S. '30—M.D. '35)	25.00	10.00
Dixon, Viola, Miss	50.00	
Eubanks, John W.	25.00	10.00
Hamilton, Richard, Dr.	25.00	5.00
Henderson, Tillman, Prof.	100.00	20.00
Mason, Duane B. (LL.B. '22)	10.00	
Mason, R. A., Atty. (LL.B. '22)	5.00	
Rettig, Wilheminia, Mrs.	50.00	
Wilkerson, F. F., Mr.	10.00	7.50
Wilson, Helen, Miss	25.00	
McShann, M. H., Dr. (M.D. '29)	50.00	
Bragg, Charles R., Dr.	50.00	2.00
Ft. Worth		
Asberry, M. F., Dr. (M.D. '13)	10.00	10.00
Houston		
Barclay, D. F., Dr.	100.00	60.00
Bryant, Thelma S., Mrs.	25.00	10.00
Codwell, John, Prof.	100.00	
Henderson, Ramsey	10.00	2.00
Holmes, Nellie, Mrs. (A.B. '24)	5.00	
Law, Thelma Patton	500.00	300.00
Peacock, Jewell	10.00	
Peacock, Leon, Dr.	10.00	5.00
Perry, Eugene B., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Roett, R. O., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Shaw, Charles, Mr.	50.00	10.00
Young, Hazel, Miss	5.00	5.00
San Antonio		
Andrew, Charles C., Dr. (A.B. '26—M.D. '31)	50.00	50.00
United States Army Camps		
Coggs, Theodore, Lt.	1.00	1.00
Griffin, James, Major	20.00	20.00

VIRGINIA

Alexandria		
Young, J. C., Atty. (A.B. '23)LL.B. '27)	25.00	25.00
Blackstone		
Ward, Jayfus I., Dr.	75.00	75.00
Charlottesville		
Garrett, M. J., Dr. (M.D. '32)	10.00	10.00
Johnson, George F., Dr. (M.D. '11)	50.00	50.00
Jackson, Kathleen, Mrs. ('40)	5.00	5.00
Jackson, Ellard H., Dr. (D.D.S. '42)	10.00	10.00
Jackson, J. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '13)	5.00	5.00
Charlotte Court House		
Jeffries, J. M., Rev. (B.D. '16)	25.00	25.00
Lovelace, T. R., Dr. (M.D. '30)	25.00	5.00

Danville		
Cowan, C. S., Dr. (A.B. '09—D.D.S. '13)	110.00	35.00
Luck, Clyde, Dr. (B.S. '18—M.D. '22)	100.00	100.00
Luck, Jermiah, Dr. (B.A. '13—M.D. '19)	100.00	100.00
Williams, N. T., Mr. ('28–'31)	25.00	25.00
Hampton		
Bassette, A. W. E., Atty. (L.L.B. '06)	100.00	100.00
Bassette, Burl, Dr. (M.D. '12)	100.00	100.00
Davis, A. C., Dr. (M.D.v'28)	25.00	25.00
McAlister, H. A., Dr. (D.D.S. '12)	100.00	50.00
Scott, Andrew T., Dr. (M.D. '27)	100.00	100.00
Hopewell		
Robbins, C. A., Dr. (M.D. '30)	100.00	50.00
Kilmarnock		
Norris, Morgan E., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Laurenceville		
Nelson, C. F., Dr. (B.S. '24—M.D. '28)	100.00	100.00
Lynchburg		
Carey, Clarrisa, Mrs. (D.D.S. '26—B.S. '23)	300.00	50.00
Carey, L., Atty. (B.S. '26—L.L.B. '29)	150.00	25.00
Duigiud, W. S., Atty. (L.L.B. '37)	25.00	25.00
Jennings, H. P., Mrs. ('92)	25.00	25.00
Pendleton, M. F., Miss (A.B. '29)	25.00	
Pettis, K. M., Dr. (M.D. '09)	50.00	50.00
Reid, Harry W., Dr. (Phar. '87)	25.00	
Thompson, H. E., Dr. (D.D.S. '42)	10.00	10.00
Weeden, H. P., Dr. (D.D.S. '14)	50.00	50.00
New Port News, Va.		
Dabney, O. E., Dr. (D.D.S. '25)	100.00	50.00
Downing, Ernest C., Dr. (B.S. '25—M.D. '29)	100.00	100.00
Fisher, Timothy, Atty. (L.L.B. '23)	100.00	40.00
Fleming, D. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '23)	10.00	10.00
Fowlkes, Leslie A., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	5.00	5.00
McEachin, J. B., Dr. (M.D. '25)	100.00	100.00
Miller, Wm. A., Prof. (A.B. '16)	50.00	50.00
Poe, L. Marion, Atty. (L.L.B. '25)	50.00	
Rainey, J. L., Atty. (L.L.B. '20)	40.00	10.00
Stephen, George B., Dr. (B.S. '30—M.D. '35)	25.00	25.00
Tucker, Harry L., Dr. (Phar. C. '31)	50.00	50.00
Walker, R. Wendell, Atty. (L.L.B. '42)	10.00	10.00
Withers, James B., Dr. (B.S.—Phar. '41)	10.00	
Norfolk		
Alston, George T., Dr. (M.D. '40)	100.00	50.00
Archer, W. P., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Collette, W. P., Dr.	100.00	50.00
Collins, Alberta B., Dr.	25.00	5.00
Coppage, S. F., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Diggs, J. Eugene, Atty.	300.00	300.00
Fulford, W. C., Mr.	10.00	5.00
Howell, L. A., Atty.	20.00	10.00
Jones, Leonard S., Dr.	50.00	50.00
Jones, Cornelia R., Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Owens, J. H., Mrs.	5.00	5.00
Peace, George E., Dr. (B.S. '31—M.D. '37)	100.00	100.00
Seymour, John T., Dr. (M.D. '40)	50.00	
Summer, C. E., Dr.	750.00	150.00
Williamson, G. H., Dr.	10.00	
Young, P. B., Dr.	250.00	250.00
Winchester		
Poulson, John ,Dr.	50.00	50.00
Petersburg		
Darden, James B., Dr. (Phar. '05)	100.00	100.00
Greene, Wm., Dr. and Mrs. (B.S. '23)	50.00	
Johnson, O. R., Dr. (D.D.S. '09)	100.00	100.00
Logan, W. M., Dr. (D.D.S. '14)	50.00	50.00
Mathews, R. W., Dr. (Phar., 1908)	50.00	50.00
Moody, Moses L., Dr. (Phar. '31)	25.00	15.00
Shields, James E., Dr.	50.00	25.00
Williams, H. W., Dr. (M.D. '33)	50.00	50.00

Portsmouth		
Reid, Thomas H., Atty. (LL.B. '15)	25.00	
Phoebus		
Lloyd, R. A. B., Dr. (M.D. '07)	100.00	100.00
Richmond		
Blackwell, J. H., Dr. (M.D. '11)	25.00	10.00
Brown, Felix J., Dr. (M.D. '32)	100.00	100.00
Brown, James Leroy, Dr. (D.D.S. '35)	25.00	15.00
Calloway, S. D., Dr. (D.D.S. '12)	20.00	
Cooke, C. C., Dr.	100.00	
Davis, D. Webster, Dr. (M.D. '24)	20.00	20.00
Dillard, N., Dr. (M.D. '26)	25.00	25.00
Ealey, Ruland D.	50.00	15.00
Forrester, W. M. T., Dr. (B.S. '20—M.D.'30)	100.00	100.00
Gilpin, Zenobia, Dr. (A.C. '18, B.S. '20, M.D. '23)	40.00	40.00
Harris, Vernon F., Dr. (M.D. '25)	25.00	10.00
Hopkins, J. Byron, Atty.	50.00	
Jackson, James, Dr. (Phar. '04)	25.00	
Nelson, Thomas W., Dr. (A.B. '11—M.D. '18)	100.00	100.00
Reid, Leona A.	50.00	50.00
Roane, E. S., Dr. (Ac. '10—M.D. '14)	100.00	100.00
White, Everette, Dr.	75.00	30.00
Turner, J. E., Dr. (Phar. '31)	10.00	10.00
Wilson, J. C., Dr. (D.D.S. '29)	50.00	50.00
Williams, D. B., Dr. (D.D.S. '18)	20.00	20.00
Williams, Wm. M.	50.00	20.00
White, George W., Dr. (M.D. '13)	100.00	100.00
Roanoke		
Downing, E. D., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Downing, L. C., Dr.	10.00	10.00
Penn, H. T., Dr.	50.00	20.00
Paxton, L. E., Dr. (D.D.S. '26)	15.00	15.00
Roberts, James, Dr.	25.00	25.00
Staunton		
Chiles, John, Dr. (D.D.S. '22)	100.00	50.00
Marshall, O. W., Dr. (D.D.S. '09)	100.00	
Williamsburg		
Blayton, James B., Dr. (M.D. '30—B.S. '26)	100.00	100.00
WEST VIRGINIA		
Berkley		
Belton, A. D., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Butts, James, Atty.	15.00	15.00
Bluefield		
Higginbotham, P. R., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Wright, Wm. M., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Charleston		
Baskerville, Geraldine	5.00	5.00
Baskerville, Samuel J.	5.00	5.00
Brown, A. H., Dr.	50.00	
Brownley, B. P., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Campbell, J. C., Mr.	20.00	10.00
Carter, Lorenzo R.	100.00	20.00
Hall, Wm. M., Dr.	100.00	100.00
Jones, Robert L., Dr.	500.00	300.00
Mitchell, Thomas L., Dr.	25.00	25.00
Morris, W. D., Dr.	100.00	25.00
Norman, Ruth S. Mrs.	25.00	5.00
Nutter, T. G., Atty.	25.00	25.00
Payne, C. B., Dr. (D.D.S. '20)	100.00	25.00
Smith, D. E., Dr.	25.00	10.00
Martinsburg		
Fairfax, Berkley, Mrs.	25.00	25.00
Welch		
Capehart, Harry J., Atty.	50.00	50.00
WISCONSIN		
Milwaukee		
Gilmer, P. Jay, Dr. (M.D. '25)	50.00	20.00
Herron, A. L., Dr. (M.D. '1892)	25.00	25.00
Thomas, Edgar, Dr. (M.D. '22)	150.00	150.00

* Deceased.

Paid in Full

State	*Amount*
Alabama	$ 247.00
California	255.00
Colorado	5.00
Connecticut	835.00
Delaware	40.00
Washington, D. C.	8,788.64
Florida	375.00
Georgia	419.50
Illinois	545.00
Indiana	261.25
Iowa	310.00
Kansas	360.00
Kentucky	450.00
Louisiana	822.00
Maryland	2,090.00
Massachusetts	40.00
Michigan	5,874.00
Mississippi	80.00
Missouri	546.00
Nebraska	40.00
New Hampshire	15.00
New Jersey	2,090.00
New York	1,969.00
North Carolina	1,025.00
Ohio	963.00
Oklahoma	225.00
Pennsylvania	1,580.00
Rhode Island	125.00
South Carolina	300.00
Tennessee	60.00
Texas	411.00
Virginia	3,735.00
West Virginia	275.00
Wisconsin	25.00
	$35,181.40

* As of June 30, 1945.

TOTAL AMOUNTS PLEDGED AND PAID BY STATES

	Total Pledged	Total Paid	Approximate Number of Graduates	Number of Graduates Pledging	Per Cent Pledging	Delinquent Pledges	Paid-in-Full
Alabama	$1,462.00	$407.00	66	13	20	.....	5
Arkansas	75.00	.....	15	2	13	2	.....
California	255.00	255.00	50	2	5	.....	2
Colorado	5.00	5.00	9	1	11	.....	1
Connecticut	1,135.00	820.00	46	13	30	.....	9
Delaware	1,290.00	550.00	38	8	21	3	3
District of Columbia	18,087.17	12,543.07	3,000	156	5	57	69
Florida	800.00	445.00	68	11	16	4	5
Georgia	2,894.50	1,444.50	75	32	42	6	15
Illinois	2,675.00	940.00	158	58	37	2	28
Indiana	796.00	406.25	53	16	25	2	8
Iowa	310.00	310.00	7	3	41	.....	3
Kansas	685.00	390.00	20	11	55	4	4
Kentucky	905.00	580.00	61	17	28	3	10
Louisiana	1,727.00	1,087.00	65	29	44	5	14
Maryland	2,545.00	2,250.00	383	43	10	7	35
Massachusetts	165.00	95.00	47	5	10	.....	3
Michigan	10,749.00	6,834.00	96	48	50	8	27
Mississippi	80.00	80.00	14	5	35	.....	5
Missouri	2,381.00	1,081.00	131	66	50	19	24
Nebraska	75.00	40.00	10	5	50	2	3
New Hampshire	15.00	15.00	1	1	100	.....	1
New Jersey	6,152.00	3,116.50	280	80	28	2	37
New York	10,079.00	4,804.00	477	120	25	14	56
North Carolina	4,360.00	2,062.00	256	84	30	28	29
Ohio	3,563.00	2,235.00	140	56	40	8	24
Oklahoma	970.00	355.00	31	13	41	3	5
Pennsylvania	6,390.00	2,937.00	253	66	26	21	21
Rhode Island	325.00	150.00	9	5	55	.....	2
South Carolina	1,215.00	721.00	73	18	24	3	5
Tennessee	660.00	190.00	39	11	23	4	2
Texas	1,301.00	1,002.00	98	39	39	16	9
Virginia	6,980.00	4,590.00	341	107	31	4	63
West Virginia	1,135.00	510.00	101	16	15	4	8
Wisconsin	200.00	70.00	3	3	100	.....	1
* Total	92,432.67	53,321.82	6,534	1,169	17%	225	137

Total as of June 30th.

Methods by Which Gifts May be Made to Howard

Methods By Which Gifts May Be Made To Howard—Graduates and friends who wish to assist the University in its program may do so by gifts, bequests, the purchasing of annuities, the creating of trust funds, designating the University as beneficiary in Life Insurance Policies, and by the purchasing of Government Bonds in the name of the University. The cost of the gift made to the University can be substantially reduced through the tax provision that such gifts are deductible up to fifteen percent of the gross taxable income. Gifts by corporations are deductible up to five per cent of taxable income. Where maximum tax rates including normal and excess-profit taxes and surtax, are in effect, the net cost to the corporation may be as low as nineteen cents on each dollar of gift. A donor may establish with the University an individual Fund that bears his name or that of a loved one, and may provide that the annual income shall be used for the general purposes of the University or for a mutually acceptable specific purpose or many be temporarily added to the principal for a purpose to be designated later. Such a fund may be increased through annual gifts that are deductible from taxable income. By means of a bequest the donor may still further enlarge the fund to an amount sufficient to accomplish the designated use. If the purpose for which the income of the fund is to be established has not previously been designated, the donor may specify it in his will.

Information on opportunities in Philanthropy at Howard University may be secured from James M. Nabrit, Jr., Secretary of the University, Howard University, Washington 1, D. C.

Critical Needs of Howard

During the past three years admission requirements have been raised at Howard University while the enrollment at the University has more than doubled itself. This is a fact of major significance since the enrollment in other American Universities has declined during this same period. The University is developing and expanding in every area and is today at the high water mark in its more than three-quarters of a century of service to the American people. Nevertheless, additional funds are urgently needed to strengthen the program of the University and to enable it to reach its maximum efficiency. The following areas offer opportunities for gifts:

Professorships—Fifteen additional mature teachers will place instruction at the University on the highest plane. A gift of $150,000 to $250,000 will establish a professorship. $1,000 annually will assist in this area.

Books—An increase of $7,000 annually will supplement the gravely deficient book collection in Founders Library and may be provided by a gift of $200,000 to $300,000. Gifts of $500 will aid in removing this deficiency.

Equipment—Much needed equipment for teaching and research may be secured by the University with gifts from $1,000 to $10,000. Endowment for this purpose may be established with gifts from $500 to $100,000.

Lectureships—Eminent authorities in many fields may be brought to the University to lecture in their specialties through gifts to the University ranging from $250 to $5,000.

Scholarships and Student Aid—A gift of $5,000 to $20,000 will endow a scholarship for a gifted but needy student. Loan funds may be established by gifts of $1,000 or more. Prizes for special scholarships may be established with gifts of $1,000 to $5,000. Gifts to the Howard University Scholarship Fund of any sum from $1, $5, $25 and upwards annually will assist some student to secure an education who would otherwise be deprived of the benefits of college training.

Research—The meager funds available at the University for research may be increased by gifts from $250 up. Here is a fruitful field for benefactions.

Unrestricted Endowment—Howard University has approximately one million dollars in Endowment, a sum less than the annual operating costs of the University. Here is one of the greatest needs of the University. The income of the endowment is used to meet current needs that may arise anywhere in the institution. Gifts for this purpose may range from $1,000 up.

New Buildings—The University needs a building for the School of Engineering and Architecture, a building for the College of Dentistry, an auditorium providing housing for the School of Music, an administrative building, an armory for the ROTC, four additional dormitories and a building for the School of Law. Gifts ranging from $400,000 up will erect a building and provide equipment for it.

Edited by

THE OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

JAMES M. NABRIT, JR.
Secretary

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

December 23, 1954

Mr. Rodney Tillman
The Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development
1201 Sixteenth Street, S. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tillman:

I was about, with much reluctance, to turn down the kind invitation to be part of The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development meetings on Monday, March 7th, from 8:00 to 9:30 p.m., because of the problem of meeting travel expenses. But, happily, the John Dewey Society has offered to pay my railroad fare up and back for their session on Saturday, March 5th. Thus helped, I can certainly stay over for your occasion on Monday, and will do so.

Write me later on what you want me to do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

December 21, 1954

Not sent

Mr. Rodney Tillman
The Association for Supervision
and Curriculum Development
1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Tillman:

I do wish we could take part in the Chicago meetings March 6-10, but at that distance out of our own bailiwick we can't afford it.

Try us again sometime and we will hope to show.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . FRED B. ROUTH . . . .

To G.S.M.

George:

If you can't make this and think it is important that the Council be represented, I would be glad to go. Prue Bostwick, who is president of the organization, is an old buddy of mine from 'way back, and Mike Giles I know is the chairman of that particular assembly session.

GTH

I am inclined to let this one go unattended by anyone from here. If you agree, will you write them we can't?

Agreed

GSM. — GTH.

ASCD
A Department of the
National Education Association

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development

1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

December 8, 1954

RECEIVED
12/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

As perhaps you know, the tenth annual ASCD conference will be held in Chicago, Illinois, March 6-10, 1955. The theme of the conference is "Crucial Problems of Today's Schools." One of the new and exciting plans for this year is a number of assemblies on March 7, from 8:00 to 9:30 p.m. The Executive Committee and the Conference Planning Committee believe that a number of assemblies dealing with specific problems will be of more assistance to those attending the conference than a general session on this evening. Each assembly will be designed to raise issues and stimulate thinking on a specific topic and will have the same purposes as general sessions, differing only in that the topic for the assembly is more narrowly defined.

I am writing to you to extend a most cordial invitation to serve as a participant for the assembly on the topic, "Implementing the Supreme Court Decisions on Segregated Schools." The chairman of this assembly session will be Dr. H. H. Giles, Director of the Research Center for Human Relations, and the participants will include Harry Bard of the Baltimore Public Schools where integration has been under way this year; Dr. A. G. Richardson (Negro), Virginia State Department of Education (He wrote an article in this area in the November issue of Educational Leadership.); and Dr. Alvin D. Loving (Negro), Principal, River Rouge, Michigan. I contacted Dr. John Ivey, Jr. and asked him to suggest a person who would be familiar with the problem and who might be willing to participate in this assembly. He recommended you as the person who would be familiar with this problem and probably willing to participate in this assembly.

The planning of the assembly will be the responsibility of the chairman, and if you are able to participate, he will be contacting you regarding your responsibility.

We see the contribution of the assemblies to the total conference program as being quite different from the contribution of clinics and study-discussion groups. We see this session as a means for raising issues and stimulating thinking in areas which will be new to many. We believe the individual problems people bring to the conference will get attention in the clinics and study-discussion sessions.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1954-55: President, PRUDENCE BOSTWICK, Supervisor, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado • First Vice-President, ALICE MIEL, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • Second Vice-President, VERNON E. ANDERSON, Director of the Curriculum Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut • Field Secretary, MAYCIE K. SOUTHALL, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee • MARVIN BERGE, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Curriculum, Elgin Public Schools, Elgin, Illinois • STEPHEN M. COREY, Executive Officer, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • BERNARD LONSDALE, Consultant in Elementary Education, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California

STAFF: Executive Secretary, GEORGE W. DENEMARK • Associate Secretary, ROBERT R. LEEPER • Associate Secretary, RODNEY TILLMAN

Because of the large number involved in leadership responsibilities in ASCD conferences, no funds are available for honorariums or expenses of assembly participants.

Since we have an early copy deadline for the conference program, we would very much appreciate your prompt reply to this matter. The assemblies are a new venture for ASCD. I hope that you, too, see them as an important means for raising issues and stimulating thinking and that you will be able to accept this leadership responsibility.

Sincerely yours,

Rodney Tillman

Rodney Tillman
Associate Secretary

RT:gj
Enclosures:
1. List of Topics
2. Schedule of Time

A Department of the
National Education Association

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development

1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

February 4, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

FEB 7 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Some of the talks made at the John Dewey Society meeting last year are included in ASCD's publication Education for American Freedom. Since you are on the program of the John Dewey Society meeting this year, we thought you would be interested in seeing this pamphlet. A copy is being mailed to you in another envelope.

Sincerely yours,

George W. Denemark

George W. Denemark
Executive Secretary

m

cc: Dr. William Van Til

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1954-55: President, PRUDENCE BOSTWICK, Supervisor, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado • First Vice-President, ALICE MIEL, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • Second Vice-President, VERNON E. ANDERSON, Director of the Curriculum Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut • Field Secretary, MAYCIE K. SOUTHALL, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee • MARVIN BERGE, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Curriculum, Elgin Public Schools, Elgin, Illinois • STEPHEN M. COREY, Executive Officer, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • BERNARD LONSDALE, Consultant in Elementary Education, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California

STAFF: Executive Secretary, GEORGE W. DENEMARK • Associate Secretary, ROBERT R. LEEPER • Associate Secretary, RODNEY TILLMAN

A Department of the
National Education Association

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development

1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

February 24, 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The enclosed Conference Program gives information regarding the assembly with which you will be working on March 7, 1955. I hope you have received information from the clinic chairman regarding plans for the assembly.

I am looking forward to meeting you in Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Rodney Tillman

Rodney Tillman
Associate Secretary

RT:r

cc: Dr. Dan Dodson
Center for Human Relations Studies
New York University
New York 3, New York

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1954-55: President, PRUDENCE BOSTWICK, Supervisor, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado • First Vice-President, ALICE MIEL, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • Second Vice-President, VERNON E. ANDERSON, Director of the Curriculum Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut • Field Secretary, MAYCIE K. SOUTHALL, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee • MARVIN BERGE, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Curriculum, Elgin Public Schools, Elgin, Illinois • STEPHEN M. COREY, Executive Officer, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • BERNARD LONSDALE, Consultant in Elementary Education, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California

STAFF: Executive Secretary, GEORGE W. DENEMARK • Associate Secretary, ROBERT R. LEEPER • Associate Secretary, RODNEY TILLMAN

IMPORTANT

Registration Information

ASCD Tenth Annual Conference

Chicago, Illinois March 6-10, 1955

Pre-register NOW to save time at the conference and to insure your assignment to the study-discussion group of your choice. A few minutes spent NOW filling out the enclosed registration form will mean you need only exchange your registration receipt for a packet of materials at the time of the conference.

While fixed assignments will be made only for the study-discussion groups, we are anxious that you indicate both the assembly and clinic sessions which you will probably attend in order that topics for which greatest interest is evidenced during early pre-registration returns may be assigned to the larger meeting rooms. Assembly and clinic topics are listed below; study-discussion group topics on the reverse side of this sheet. Please be sure to indicate second and third choices for study group topics to enable us to proceed with your registration in the event that the group on your first choice topic is already filled to capacity.

No pre-conference registration can be completed without being accompanied by the proper registration fee. Be sure to enclose your fee to avoid delay in completing your registration.

Care in filling out the registration form will help us in making your assignment and will help your group leader better understand the interests of and resources in that group.

Pre-conference registration closes Friday, February 18. Do not mail forms to ASCD after that date but rather hold and complete registration at opening of conference.

REMEMBER, HELP ASCD AND HELP YOURSELF BY REGISTERING NOW!

Conference Theme: Crucial Problems of Today's Schools

ASSEMBLIES (Monday, March 7, 8:00-9:30 p.m.)

1. Teaching Social Studies in a Changing World
2. Language Arts and Today's Communication Needs
3. Resolving Conflicts in Supervision
4. Using Research to Point the Way in Curriculum Change
5. Guidance in the Curriculum
6. Meeting the Teacher Shortage
7. Organizing Schools and School Systems for Effective Instruction
8. Combating Crowding in Our Schools
9. Our Children's In-School and Out-of-School Teachers
10. Implementing the Supreme Court Decisions on Segregated Schools

CLINICS (Sunday, March 6, 2:00-4:30 p.m. and Wednesday, March 9, 2:30-4:30 p.m.)

1. Curriculum Directors, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Large County or City Systems (over 100,000)
2. Curriculum Directors, Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents of Smaller County or City Systems (under 100,000)
3. State Department Personnel
4. Directors of Elementary Education, Elementary Supervisors, Principals of Large County or City Systems (over 100,000)
5. Directors of Elementary Education, Elementary Supervisors, Principals of Smaller County or City Systems (under 100,000)
6. Curriculum Problems in Pre-Service Teacher Education
7. Professors of Supervision and Curriculum Development
8. Teacher Participation in Curriculum Development
9. Special Area Supervisors
10. The Community College
11. Core Curriculum
12. Supervision of Small Rural Schools
13. Helping Teachers Understand Children
14. Student Panel on Citizenship Education
15. Cooperative Research Tools for Instructional Improvement
16. Secondary School Principals, Supervisors, Department Heads
17. ASCD Publications (Wednesday only)

(over)

STUDY-DISCUSSION GROUPS (Monday, March 7, 2:00-4:00 p.m., Tuesday, March 8, 9:00-11:30 a.m. and 2:00-4:00 p.m., Wednesday, March 9, 9:00-11:30 a.m.)

1. Pros and cons on the teaching of grammar as an aid to communication
2. Pros and cons on workbooks as an aid to learning
3. Pros and cons on the value of homework
4. Pros and cons on foreign language in the elementary school
5. Pros and cons on TV as an aid to learning
6. Pros and cons on emphasizing competition in the schools
7. Pros and cons on special remedial teachers
8. Pros and cons on sex education
9. Pros and cons on ability grouping
10. Pros and cons on the pre-planned and emerging curriculum
11. Pros and cons on teaching religion in the public schools
12. Pros and cons on comparative marking of students
13. Pros and cons on parent-teacher conferences
14. Pros and cons on special classes for physically handicapped
15. Pros and cons on using drill in the teaching-learning process
16. Pros and cons on the ungraded primary
17. Pros and cons on the problem-centered curriculum
18. Pros and cons on self-contained classrooms in the elementary school
19. Pros and cons on state adoption of textbooks
20. Pros and cons on the separate junior high school
21. Pros and cons on teaching middle-class values
22. Pros and cons on the unit of work
23. Pros and cons on the twelve-month school
24. Pros and cons on large schools
25. Pros and cons on teacher rating
26. Pros and cons on automatic promotion
27. Pros and cons on the individual school as an autonomous unit in curriculum development
28. The role of the school in contemporary America
29. Providing schooling for migrant children
30. Increasing the supply of good teachers
31. Developing competent supervisors and curriculum directors
32. What do we mean by educational leadership?
33. Helping children learn how to make sound value judgments
34. Helping communities to integrate segregated school populations
35. Eliminating discrimination from school districting
36. Half-day and third-day sessions
37. Crowded classes
38. Method and materials for teaching world understanding in the elementary school
39. Method and materials for teaching world understanding in the secondary school
40. Providing for lay participation in curriculum development
41. Planning school buildings to fit a good educational program
42. Providing for the emotionally maladjusted
43. The influence of TV on children and youth
44. Guidance in the curriculum
45. Finding a desirable balance between general and professional education
46. Attaining a desirable balance between general education and provision for special talents and objectives in the secondary school
47. Juvenile delinquency
48. Explorations in culture study: Africa
49. Teaching the core curriculum: What and how?
50. Teaching the social studies: What and how?
51. Teaching science: What and how?
52. Teaching mathematics: What and how?
53. Teaching the language arts: What and how?

ASCD CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

10th ANNUAL MEETING, HOTEL CONRAD HILTON, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS MARCH 6-10, 1955

	Friday, March 4	Saturday, March 5	Sunday, March 6	Monday, March 7	Tuesday, March 8	Wednesday, March 9	Thursday, March 10	Friday, March 11
MORNING	10:00-12:00 Executive Committee	9:00-12:00 Board of Directors (standing committee chairmen, state presidents, regional chairmen, state contact people and members of Appraisal and Plans Committee as guests)	8:30 Registration opens Exhibits open 9:00-12:00 Work sessions of ASCD standing committees	8:30 Registration opens Exhibits open 7:30-9:00 Breakfast meeting of state presidents, regional chairmen and contact people 9:15-10:15 Orientation for conference newcomers Orientation for study-discussion group special personnel Discussion of ASCD purposes 10:30-12:00 Open meetings of ASCD standing committees	8:30 Registration opens Exhibits open 9:00-11:30 Study-discussion groups	8:30 Registration opens Exhibits open 9:00-11:30 Study-discussion groups	8:30 Registration opens 9:00-12:00 Annual business meeting	9:00-12:00 Board of Directors
AFTERNOON	12:00-5:00 Executive Committee	12:15-1:30 Board of Directors luncheon 1:30-4:00 Board of Directors 4:00-5:00 Coffee hour for exhibitors and advance tour of exhibits by Board of Directors 4:00-6:00 Special registration for standing committee members, Board of Directors, state presidents, regional chairmen, exhibitors, local committee chairmen	2:00-4:30 Clinics and demonstrations Work sessions of committees (optional) 4:30-6:00 Social Hour	2:00-4:00 Study-discussion groups 4:00-6:00 Exhibits of instructional materials featured	2:00-4:00 Study-discussion groups 4:00-6:00 Exhibits featured	12:00-2:00 Regional luncheons and meetings 2:30-4:30 Clinics and demonstrations Work sessions of ASCD standing committees (optional) 4:45-5:15 Report of resolutions committee	12:30-3:00 Annual luncheon and third general session 3:30-5:30 Work sessions of ASCD standing committees Executive Committee	1:30-4:00 Board of Directors
EVENING	7:30— Executive Committee	6:00-8:00 General "early-bird" registration	8:00-9:30 First general session	8:00-9:30 Assemblies	Free evening Recreation College dinners, etc.	8:00-9:30 Second general session	7:30— Executive Committee	7:30— Executive Committee

February 24, 1955

Mr. William Van Til
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Van Til:

I dictated what I suppose will have to pass for a speech for the joint meetings of the John Dewey Society and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development on the evening of March 5th.

Here's a copy.

I had a letter, February 16th, from Ivan A. Booker, Assistant Director, NEA Division of Press and Radio Relations in Washington, asking that I shoo on to him pronto the speech to be made that night March 5th for the John Dewey Society in conjunction with the other one. He went on to say that the matter involved "public questions of great importance. The newspapers should be more than usually interested. We can serve them most effectively by having manuscripts of speeches in advance of delivery." Your letter implies that the press is not going to like us. If you need to be in touch with Booker, I assume that Booker is to be reached for a few days more at the National Education Association of the United States, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington. He gave his address in Chicago as: Convention Press and Radio Service, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Conrad Hilton Hotel, marked Hold for Arrival.

Anyway, I have sent Booker a copy and you a copy, and I will be there in your room at 7:30 before the meeting.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

February 21, 1955

Mr. William Van Til
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Van Til:

I've dictated a speech, and will send it to you in a couple of days.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

GEORGE PEABODY COLLEGE FOR TEACHERS
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

February 14, 1955

FEB 16 1955

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The time has now come for you to begin thinking seriously about your talk at the meeting of the John Dewey Society with the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development in Chicago on March 5 at 8:00 P.M. in the Williford Ballroom of the Conrad Hilton Hotel. I would welcome a letter from you on any related questions.

As you may know the meeting is being billed as a series of reports from leaders in the human relations field on the status of integration and segregation in the United States today. Its shorter title is report on integration and segregation. While some of your listeners may expect you to stick closely to the school situation, this is not fundamentally our intention. Here is the line-up as we see it. Dodson opens with a report on how we are doing in the North with respect to a whole array of problems related to segregation and obviously including such areas as housing, health, education, etc. Mitchell follows with the same kind of report for the South. McSwain pulls it together with a talk on the status of integration and segregation as it looks to him as an educator with some emphasis on the moral issues involved, the international situation and with the inclusion of the inspirational note he can sound.

You can prepare a manuscript or talk from notes. Bear in mind that if there is any press it will probably be hostile to a John Dewey Society meeting. If you want to put your talks together as a pamphlet like the one you received on last year's meeting, this is a strong possibility.

Let's count on meeting at 7:30 in my room at the Conrad Hilton to warm-up.

With best personal regards,

Van

William Van Til, Chairman
Division of Curriculum and Teaching

WVT:em

February 24, 1955

Mr. Ivan A. Booker
Director
Convention Press and Radio Service
Ass'n for Supervision and Curriculum
Development
Conrad Hilton Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Mr. Booker:

Here is the copy of my speech for the John Dewey Society.

I don't praise it, but maybe it will do.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

By: George S. Mitchell

THE STATUS OF SEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS IN SOUTHERN STATES TODAY

I am supposed to talk about how far the Southern states have gotten toward an unsegregated public school system. Shortly put, the answer is, hardly any distance at all. But so complicated a question deserves a longer answer.

To begin with, the matter of opening the public schools is merely the central issue upon which turns a much larger controversy. The broader matter is recognition of equal human dignity in the Negro population wherever that quality has been denied. This is the issue which influences disadvantaged peoples in the great torrid belt all the way around the earth. Most of them have been under Colonial administration, and in throwing that off they assert national independence.

The Negro citizens of the United States, reflecting this same upsurge toward equality of status, advance a different demand: A demand for full equal constitutional status within our republic. Fundamentally, that is a demand for recognition of equal human dignity. There is no clause in the Constitution of the United States which says that states shall not deprive citizens of equal human dignity, but there is a Fourteenth Amendment which says, "Nor shall any state deny to any person the equal protection of the law." And by wise and competent application of the principles of constitutional law, in an effort stretching over many years and brilliantly led by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, that implication of the Fourteenth Amendment has been unanimously recognized by the Supreme Court. May 17th was the thunderclap of decision by these United States that equal human dignity would have to be recognized now, equal well-

being achieved or not yet achieved, and recognized via the public school system.

All of which poses a lot of problems. Many parts of the United States, including almost all of the South, have a hard time making school facilities of any sort keep pace with the rising tide of young'uns. In practically all of the Southern states, one main political issue today is how to build more schools and pay more teachers more money without so far raising taxes that the crowd in office will lose out. It may be said glibly that the matter of school money is irrevelant because segregation is expensive and if it is dropped the money is automatically saved. Unfortunately, it does not work out that way. Segregation is expensive in thinly Negro areas, but the children are there and they need so many cubic feet of classroom space and so many teachers per hundred pupils whether they are educated together or in separate systems. Anyone would hesitate to offer a figure on the financial saving involved in the desegregation of the schools in the South. But I should be surprised if in more than two or three of the Southern states the saving involved would be as much as ten per cent of school expenditures. And this in most of the states would be more than balanced by the cost of providing for all the children school facilities which, politically speaking, would be acceptable for the children of the politically dominant white majority. So, except in the Appalachians, and Ozarks, and High Plains areas, and in scattered patches elsewhere, I don't see that ending segregation saves a lot of tax money. Still, the fact that it will save some money is a helpful argument toward early ending of segregation in the areas where it is patently an expensive arrangement.

irrelevant

Another large segment of the South is predominantly industrial. Here good earnings in everybody's britches pockets provide the basic

equality which will sustain desegregation in the schools. In hourly earnings, in dress, in autos, in televisions, in refrigerators, in all the trappings of the American standard of living except housing, the white and Negro populations in most of the industrial cities of the South are nearly level. Not yet in housing and that is a great barrier. The white people live in decent painted houses and they own far more than half of them. The Negro people live in slum shacks and somebody else owns two-thirds or three-fourths of them. But there are signs that with a high level of earning power, private enterprise will at long last tackle the re-housing of the Negro population of the major Southern cities. Opening the public schools is most unlikely to await Negro slum clearance, but one can hope that the two changes will go together.

The next thing to see is a matter that nobody ever talks about. When you leave the industrial belt of the South and get into the old plantation country, you are up against something tough. Usually, the politician when he speaks of this just says that in his county the Negro population is 50, 60, 70, or 80 per cent and that, therefore, opening of the public schools is anathema maranatha. Unspoken is that in those areas the great bulk of the Negro population occupies a cripplingly dependent status. The old economy of the big plantation is breaking up -- though the bigger holdings remain, and even grow. And no one knows out of books exactly what the present picture is, nor where it is going. But as lately as ten years ago it was much as it had been for a long time before. The Negro was a tenant, a hand, a cropper. He and his family were one of eight or twenty or thirty families "on the place," of Mr. Tom. They had no lease, they depended from year to year on Mr. Tom's feeling as to whether in the next year they would have his roof over their heads, his acres to plow, or someone else's. And because they were poor and

dependent they didn't vote, and they took orders and spoke wheedlingly to white folks. The survival of that pattern adds the difference of caste to the difference of color. And that makes a double barrier to desegregation. The truthful thing to say is that we ought as a nation to tackle responsibly and carefully and earnestly the problem of assuring tenure and opportunity and skill and stability for the rural Negro population of the old plantation South. We aren't doing it. And by a queer twist, it is the political figures from those old plantation counties who are predominant in the legislature of the states in the lower South. So that the screams of objection which come from Governors and Legislators express the objections at their most troubled and wrathful.

Ordinarily, a society undertaking a process as eventful as the desegregation of the public schools has a choice. Either it can proceed during a period of years toward a clear objective of high economic and human status for each member of the minority discriminated against; or it can say that public discrimination ceases as of such and such a date and people can adjust themselves as best they may to the change. The United States on May 17th said it was going to do it the second way.

I expect the Court in its decrees this Spring, or whenever they come out, will provide a little time. The Court has been most tender with objectors already and has provided three full years of delay. A little more latitude I suppose is to be expected. But clearly the Court is not going to say: "Take plenty of time to achieve individual well-being for all persons affected and then put the children together." The Court has trusted to the dynamism of American society to find the welfare needed to sustain integration. I think the risk was small and that it was wise to take it. In a few more years as we are going, the two populations in all but the most backward parts of the country will be so near a basic equality in matters

economic that consequent objection to desegregation of the schools should sharply diminish.

In any case, we have now before us a period of months or maybe a year or two in which to prepare for the job. I know perfectly well that many of the Southern states give almost no indication of preparing for the job and some of them make noisy demonstration that they "aint'a gonna do it." But I discount the demonstrations as within the traditional propensity of Southern politicians to mislead. Still, we are stuck with the lack of any planning.

As to that planning, there is a simple secret. I have called it the principle of joint responsibility. Absurd that anybody should have to fetch out this principle in American society in this day and time. But fetch it out we still must do. And the rule is that the only possible way to get this job done is for responsible and courageous white and Negro persons working together in simple equality to figure it out.

Under present circumstances, in all except a carefully catalogued dozen of Southern communities, Negroes are excluded from school boards and city councils and state legislatures and what have you. Having none of their members in where the papers are puzzled over and the figures are set, they mistrust every public action about the schools. Does anybody blame them? I never have any trouble getting this point across to white audiences in the South. I ask them how they would like it if everybody on the school board were colored? They groan! Well, Negroes feel exactly the same way. As long as they are not in on all of the planning, they don't trust a jot of it. And trusting no one, they feel that the daily grind of sending the children to school is consent to a fraud and a cheat. And that is not a

happy way to get the new generation educated. The reverse of this principle of responsibility holds. And therein lies the hope.

Wherever Negro opinion is freely admixed with the planning of the whole community for the conduct of the schools, those who stand up for the wishes of the Negro part of the community will be determined, and will be practical, reasonable, and constructive. There will be an occasional situation in which these qualities won't show. But, by and large, the principle will hold. And the fact that it will hold is the saving grace.

So the right thing, for every community that has segregated schools now, is to see to it that by appointment or election, able, courageous, representative Negro persons come on to the official deciding bodies. I could name you ten or a dozen Southern places in which that has been.

Unfortunately, this ten or a dozen is all so far. And I don't see signs that open honorable public recognition of Negro opinion is going to proceed at a rate rapid enough to make much difference. So I fall back on a next device.

Try to work it out so that, in communities having the job of desegregation of the schools to do, there will be some small neighborhood meetings of white and Negro citizens meeting in an atmosphere of friendliness and equality. It will take a meeting or two for the white people to find out that the NAACP hasn't got horns. After that they can get down to brass tacks. A map of the town. Where the white people live; where the Negroes live; where the school buildings are located; where are the school district lines? How many Negro children go how far to what schools, and how many white children go how far to what schools? How many ride? How many teachers have what experience and what pay and what tenure? If they put the two sets of schools together and make one set out of them, how many white children would

be in 3-B over in this school? Who teaches 3-B in this school and who teaches 3-B in that school? Would it be John Williams or Sadie Elizabeth? If so, would it be all right? The upshot of it is a plan. And the duty comes sooner than most people expect. When the superintendent of schools in that town gets a Federal court order to put the two sets of schools into one, he is going to go combing through that town to find some people that have a plan about how to get it done.

Note, also, that because some people met ahead of time and made friends on the issue and found the facts and got a plan, those people will trust each other in the later modifications of the plan that experience will dictate are needed. No meetings, no understanding, no friendship -- law suit. Hatred, mistrust, uncooperativeness, nobody gives an inch, nobody feels neighborly. So by all means the next step is community effort to work the thing out ahead of time. And these months in which the Court withholds its final decrees are being misused as months of tranquility and inactivity. They should be months in which parents in any segregated community are busy trying to find how to comply with the principle behind the Court's decision.

There is another funny thing about these little meetings. Automatically, unobstrusively, they sop up race prejudice. The way to do something about race prejudice is to get people of similar cultural and educational background in different groups to work together on matters of common interest. Now, mind you, <u>similar</u> cultural and education backgrounds. Nobody says <u>high</u> educational and cultural background. Not talk together, but work together on something in which they are both interested. Two drops of that and any amount of race prejudice disappears. Still another thing appears. Wherever a Southern or Northern or Western segregated community does bring its citizens

together for open and equal consultation, it gets a look at the end of the whole problem of racial mistrust.

I once heard a wise man say that the only thing immortal on this earth is a community idea. And when a community gets that idea, it never turns it loose. It can't and it won't want to.

***

March 10, 1955

Mr. William Van Til
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Van Til:

A round trip first class ticket with a roomette each way, Atlanta to Chicago and back, costs $78.77. Actually, I performed the last lap of the journey somewhat differently, but I think it is reasonable to bill you for that amount.

I had a grand time with the John Dewey Society and with the other big outfit too.

Please let me come again.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
cc: KS

A Department of the
National Education Association

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development

1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

April 4, 1955

APR 6 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

In behalf of the ASCD Executive Committee, I would like to thank you for the very valuable contribution which you made to the recent ASCD Conference in Chicago. We have had many complimentary comments about the assembly on Monday evening. The assembly provided those who attended a most stimulating and profitable experience. For me, the assembly was one of the highlights of the Conference.

When we returned from Chicago we found that our scheduled move for April 18 had been changed to March 18, so as a result we are now a bit tardy in getting those things completed which we had planned to do immediately following the Conference. I hope you will understand this long delay in thanking you for participating in the assembly.

Sincerely yours,

Rod

Rodney Tillman
Associate Secretary

RT:gj

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE 1954-55: President, PRUDENCE BOSTWICK, Supervisor, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado • First Vice-President, ALICE MIEL, Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • Second Vice-President, VERNON E. ANDERSON, Director of the Curriculum Center, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut • Field Secretary, MAYCIE K. SOUTHALL, Professor of Elementary Education, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee • MARVIN BERGE, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Curriculum, Elgin Public Schools, Elgin, Illinois • STEPHEN M. COREY, Executive Officer, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. • BERNARD LONSDALE, Consultant in Elementary Education, State Department of Education, Sacramento, California

STAFF: Executive Secretary, GEORGE W. DENEMARK • Associate Secretary, ROBERT R. LEEPER • Associate Secretary, RODNEY TILLMAN

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

GSM ✓
FBR ✓
H&F

THE PLACE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN EDUCATION

Opie L. Shelton, Executive Vice-President
Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce
Before Southern Association
of Chamber of Commerce Executives
Shreveport, March 20, 1956

Traditionally, this subject of the place of the Chamber of Commerce in the field of education has concerned itself with B-E Days, E-B Days, Career Opportunity Days, Teacher Welcomes and all of the dozens of worthwhile programs such as you and I have been helping to sponsor over the years. We took our cue from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which, in my opinion, has done more to encourage an interest in our educational processes than has any other single American group.

All of our efforts have placed an important role in helping to stimulate better education in the various communities we serve.

The basic justification for most of our efforts in the field of education has been the economics involved. We proved to ourselves that good education is good business. And since a chamber's prime purpose is the strengthening of the economy of the area it serves, education has occupied a leading position on most chamber's program of work.

But the Supreme Court's decision concerning the integration of our schools may have knocked our time-honored programs into a cocked hat.

Fifteen years ago no one would have thought of picking up a magazine or a newspaper and reading a mention of syphilis or gonorrhea. Talk of such things just wasn't proper. To much the same degree we in chambers of commerce

over the South have avoided any mention of the words segregation or integration.

We may as well meet the subject head on. The South faces a crisis such as it has not met in its lifetime. Paramount in this complex situation are our schools. The question: where do we go from here?

Leave the sociological aspects of this situation to the trained sociologist and anthropologist. We are not qualified in that field. Let's explore for a few minutes, however, the economic aspects which are presented.

Over the years we have described our job as being one of creating new dollars for our community, with no particular interest in who were the principal beneficiaries. We have said that our job was that of upgrading the economic level of all of the people of our area in which we labored. And, for the most part, we have been successful in our efforts.

Incidents already left in the wake of the Supreme Court decision makes it crystal-clear that it is the business man of the South, such as you and I represent, who is to be the one caught in the economic squeeze that threatens.

Already there have been cases of boycott, Negro against white, white against Negro, and even white against white. Falstaff beer lost a large part of its business in Mississippi when it was publicized that in April of 1945, before the Supreme Court decision, Falstaff bought a $500 life membership in the NAACP for one of its Negro salesmen in St. Louis. A similar boycott hit Philip Morris cigarettes because of that company's purported assistance to interracial causes. Ford Motor Company has felt the heat. Ford's offense, in the eyes of many Southerners, is its indirect contribution through the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic to interracial groups. Hart's Bakeries, of Memphis, suffered a 6% to 10% loss of business when an anti-integration group accused the company of donating $50,000 to the NAACP. The

bakery denied the accusation, but the harm was already done.

One Coca-Cola bottler is being boycotted by Negroes because of his refusal to service a Negro retailer while the whites of the same community are urging a boycott of the same firm because Coca-Cola employs Negroes in its TV programs and advertising. The boycott of the Montgomery bus system by Negroes is one of the most publicized of the current boycotts. A similar boycott in my own city of Baton Rouge some three years ago all but broke the back of our bus company.

It may be true that these are but isolated incidents. But what guarantee does your local business man member have that the malignancy won't spread and that eventually he too will become a victim? He may not be saying this out loud, but naturally he is apprehensive.

Extremists on both sides have been those most quoted in the press during all of this internecine warfare. It is rare that a calm voice has emerged from the turmoil. Because this is a subject which reaches deep into the hearts and minds of men and because it appears to be so absolutely devoid of solution it isn't easy to interject dispassionate thinking.

But think we must. Failure to find a solution to the present chaos presents alternatives which threaten our very future. Failure of solution can bring about such catasthropic events as the very abandonment of our public school system. Failure could even lead to bitter bloodshed and economic collapse.

So why pretend any longer that we can merely continue to stage an occasional B-E Day or an E-B Day and thereby discharge our responsibility to our educational systems. The tempo of present day events demands that,

distasteful though it may be, we look and look well for the best possible solution to the present and omnipresent turmoil.

When any other matter of extreme importance faces our community to whom do we turn for counsel and advice? Why, to the best thought leaders of our community, of course. To the type of men who make up your board of directors and mine. It is they who are always charged with coming up with a solution to the many vexing problems which beset community life. Why, then, should he now have them abdicate their community responsibility because of the explosiveness of this problem?

It is my sincere belief that the greatest single contribution we who serve Southern Chambers of Commerce can make is to work at the individual community level to help ameliorate a situation which so far has been pretty well left up to the extremists of both sides.

I say on the local level because it is obvious that the same solution doesn't pertain to any two cities. That which will work in Baton Rouge would probably never serve as a guide in Greenville, Mississippi. Nor would the Greenville solution serve as a model for any other city.

I use the word solution because of the lack of a better word in my vocabulary. There is really no solution, but there has to be a BEST WAY to do everything.

The time to decide upon that BEST WAY is not when incidents occur which will impair the best thinking of our community leaders. It is now, before your city and mine feels the full impact of that which promises to lie ahead. I can't help but believe that there are men of both races in every community who are men of reason and who abhor that which has resulted from the

Supreme Court's decision on the integration of schools. But if they are reluctant to speak out then we must accept that which follows without protest.

Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements--these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location, each to varying degrees.

Do you not agree, then, that the economics involved require that these are matters worthy of consideration by our boards of directors? Are we to look upon this serious situation believing that it will disappear if only we pay it no heed? Or are we going to: first, admit that an economic threat exists, and second, face up to the problem, using the best brains our community affords.

That to me, in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-six is the place of the Chamber of Commerce in Education.

April 13, 1956

Mr. Opie L. Shelton, Executive Vice-President
Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Shelton:

Yesterday I happened to see a copy of the speech which you delivered on March 20th before the Southern Association of Chambers of Commerce Executives in Shreveport. I was greatly impressed with the soundness of what you said and the persuasiveness with which you said it.

Would you be kind enough to advise me whether this address is to be published in any generally available publication. If not, might we have your consent to print it in our monthly publication New South? We will be most grateful for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

April 25, 1956

Mr. Opie L. Shelton
Executive Vice President
Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 1868
Baton Rouge, La.

Dear Mr. Shelton:

I don't want to fail to thank you for your prompt and favorable reply to my request for permission to publish your paper. I certainly understand your wish to see the address published in full and would want to do so in any case. We shall promptly send you copies of the issue in which it appears.

With every good wish.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

April 16, 1956

OFFICE OF
THE GENERAL MANAGER

444 FLORIDA
P. O. BOX 1868

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

If you find merit in my remarks made in Shreveport you may use the paper as you see fit, providing it is used in its entirety and not quoted from context. The reason for this reservation is, I believe, quite obvious. May I have copies of the issue in which this material is used.

I was both gratified and amazed at the favorable reaction which was accorded the paper at Shreveport.

Sincerely,

Opie L. Shelton

Opie L. Shelton
Executive Vice President

OLS:tf

September 20, 1963

"Sh" Gen. Corresp

Mr. Opie Shelton
Director
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Chamber of Commerce Building
Marietta Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shelton:

Because Nat Welch is a friend of mine the attached speech of his caught my attention. It occurred to me that you might find it of interest.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

WW
pass
pass
my file

file
"Sh" - gen. corresp.

February 19, 1964

Dr. Lee R. Shelton
Suite 403, 250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Shelton:

That was a powerful and right letter you wrote to Mr. Opie Shelton. He is a man as good as any of us, struggling hard with some very intractable problems, and needing himself to learn new ideas and attitudes in order to do so. Like the rest of us, in other words, he is a learner. My own acquaintance with him makes me believe that he is very teachable; so I suspect your letter will help him.

I hope you won't mind if I feel free to share your letter with a couple others.

Most of my speeches haven't been printed; two that were are enclosed.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 2.
NEW SOUTH, November-December/62
Mimeographed remarks for the panel on "The Impatient One-Tenth" (NCLCH Conf., March 29, 1963)

LEE R. SHELTON, M. D.

SUITE 403, 250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA 3, GA.
688-9680

February 12, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five-Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a letter sent to Mr. Opie Shelton which I hope you will read and consider in your efforts to eliminate racial discrimination from Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Lee R. Shelton

Lee R. Shelton, M. D.

LRS:mb

P.S. Are copies of your speeches available?
L.S.

February 6, 1964

Mr. Opie L. Shelton
Executive Vice-President
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Shelton:

I am sorry that our telephone conversation ended unpleasantly. Let me remind you, however, that you are a member of a community organization which is being criticized. And to make certain that this criticism is clear to you, I have taken the liberty to confront you myself. Now, you have to be a big man, Mr. Shelton, and pay heed to what I have to say.

You must control the usual tendency toward arrogance when confronted by a colored member of this community bearing a grievance. I bear no malice toward you. But it is true that I am hostile toward racial discrimination and segregated organizations. It is a shame that you are a party to these evil institutions.

Why haven't you invited Negro businessmen into the Chamber of Commerce to demonstrate your belief in morality and the merit of desegregation ? Why did you publish so widely your noble resolutions on desegregation while you maintained it in your own organization ? Your organization is hollow, morally. Your resolutions are pure hypocrisy. They are like the Dallas plan of hotel desegregation - strictly to pad the image of the city.

And you say I am hostile toward you and your organization. I'm not hostile.....I'm insulted. Every Negro with any dignity and self-respect is insulted.

Now, we are still beseeching you to let us join you. We encourage you to rid yourselves of evil segregation. And we hope that you realize that now is the optimum time.

And please don't confront me with the recent demonstrations as reasonable reason for your hesitation. Why didn't you invite us out of a feeling of human decency long before we began to speak up and prod you ? We are not prodding you for fun; we intend to remind you of our dissatisfaction until you have dropped your racial barriers.

And we don't intend to protest, forever, either. We hope that you will rise to this challenge and implement our recommendations. We will surely be content when we have what you have.

You have nothing to lose except your feeling of superiority by accepting us. You will be a better citizen if you do. And if you don't, ther will be no rest for you.

We have decided that segregation is too expensive, and too degrading, to tolerate longer. The city is too small for us and segregation; so segregation must go.

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

We don't hold you accountable for what the restaurants do. We hold you responsible for what you do.

It may not have occurred to you, but there are men in this community who could run the Chamber of Commerce, include Negroes, and increase this city's prosperity, also. Segregation is not essential to your success.

And why be concerned about losing members ? Do you think you can afford to nurse segregation ? Don't you realize that good Negroes outnumber evil white men ? We can pay dues and promote this city as well as they can, and probably better than they can.

Hear us, Mr. Shelton ! We know that segregation and white supremacy are the basis of the Panamanian revolt, the Cuban revolt, and Berlin's Niggerstrasse. We know that white Americans have insulted colored people all over the world.

We object just as they object and we are going to use every American measure to shake you off our backs and persuade you to drop these barriers to our full participation in the affairs and prosperity of this city.

Yours for a Better Atlanta, Rich or Poor,

Leo R. Shelton, M. D.

P. S. My curriculum vitae is enclosed. May I suggest a visit or luncheon ?

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Make folder:
Atl. Chamber of Commerce
file in
"A"

February 22, 1966

Mr. Charles E. Crowder
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
1300 Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Crowder:

Enclosed are the lists you provided us. We are very grateful for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

C.o.C.

238 TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO "FORWARD ATLANTA"

April 5, 1965

Company

X John J. McDonough
Georgia Power Company
P.O. Box 4545 30302

X Charles L. Davis
City Comptroller
City Hall 30303

X Mills B. Lane, Jr.
Citizens and Southern National Bank
P.O. Box 4899 30302

X Edward D. Smith
omit First National Bank of Atlanta
P.O. Box 4148 30302

Richard H. Rich
omit Rich's Inc.
P.O. Box 4539 30302

Lucien E. Oliver
Sears, Roebuck & Company
675 Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E. 30308

X Ben S. Gilmer
Southern Bell Tel. & Tel. Co.
P.O. Box 955 30301

Jack Tarver
Atlanta Newspapers, Inc.
P.O. Box 4689 30302

A.H. STEVENS
~~George S. Craft~~
omit Trust Company of Georgia
P.O. BOx 4418 30302

X Gordon Jones
Fulton National Bank of Atlanta
P.O. Box 4387 30302

X James H. Aldredge
Chairman, Fulton County Commissioners
Fulton County Courthouse 30303

W. L. Lee
omit X Atlanta Gas Light Company
P.O. Box 4569 30302

Wallace W. Dreyfoos
Davison-Paxon Company
180 Peachtree Street, N.W. 30303

X William D. Harris
Ivan Allen Company
P.O. Box 1712 30301

Company

W. Lee Burge
~~Preston G. Upshaw~~
omit Retail Credit Company
P.O. Box 4031 30302

X R. Howard Dobbs, Jr.
Life Insurance Co. of Georgia
P.O. BOx 6207, Station H 30308

J. C. Mixon
Georgia Railroad Lines
4 Hunter Street, S.E. 30303

Arthur L. Montgomery
omit The Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling Co.
864 Spring Street, N.W. 30308

X W. O. DuVall
Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Assn.
22 Marietta Street, N.W. 30303

R. D. Massey
Central of Georgia Railway Company
99 Spring Street, S.W., Room 808 30303

Wilton Looney
Genuine Parts Company
P.O. Box 6006 30308

F. C. Toal
Southern Railway System
99 Spring Street, S. W. 30303

X Brince H. Manning, Jr.
DeKalb County Commission
Courthouse
Decatur, Georgia

Howard Johnson
~~W. T. Watson, Treasurer~~
Atlantic Steel Co.
P.O. Box 1714 30301

Hollis E. Morris
Fulton Federal Savings & Loan Assn.
21 Edgewood Avenue, N.E. 30303

Pollard Turman
omit J. M. Tull Metal Supply Company
285 Marietta Street, N.W. 30313

Joseph E. Birnie
The Bank of Georgia
P.O. Box 1234 30301

Arthur L. Harris
Mead Packaging & Mead Containers
950 W. Marietta St., N.W. 30302

238 TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO "FORWARD ATLANTA"
(Continued)

April 5, 1965

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Atlanta Transit System, Inc.
125 Pine Street, N.E. 30308

Carl J. Reith
Colonial Stores, Inc.
2251 Sylvan Road
East Point, Georgia

omit

E. P. O'Brien, Chairman
Ford Motor Company
Community Relations Committee
1122 Milledge Drive
East Point, Georgia

Robert H. White
Southern Wood Preserving Co.
1745 Connally Drive
East Point, Georgia

Matthew Connor
Tucker Wayne & Co.
1175 Peachtree St., N.E. 30309

Marvin O. Byrd
Eastern Airlines, Inc.
34 Peachtree St., N.W., Suite 1111, 30303

John O. Chiles
Adams-Cates Co.
Hurt Building 30303

John C. Portman, Jr.
Atlanta Merchandise Mart, Inc.
240 Peachtree Street, N.W. 30303

H. R. Lilley
Frito-Lay
4950 Peachtree Industrial Blvd
Chamblee, Georgia

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Georgia Marble Co.
11 Pryor Street, S. W. 30303

W. C. Lea
McDonough Construction Co.
1958 Monroe Drive N.E. 30309

Albert Bows
Arthur Andersen & Co.
27th Floor Bank of Georgia Bldg 30303

omit

Company

Dillard Munford
Atlantic Company
106 Washington St. Viaduct, S.E. 30303

E. T. Barwick
E. T. Barwick Mills, Inc.
5025 New Peachtree Road
Chamblee, Georgia

William A. Parker
Beck & Gregg Hardware Co.
217 Luckie St., N.W. - P.O. Box 984 30301

omit

Joe B. Hutchison
Henry C. Beck Co.
612 Fulton National Bank Bldg. 30303

Charles E. Landreth
Carling Brewing Co.
3599 Brown's Mill Road, SW, 30315

Claude H. Poindexter
Coastal States Life Insurance Co.
1459 Peachtree Road NE 30309

C. E. Woolman
Delta Airlines
Atlanta Airport 30320

Thomas K. Edenfield
General Electric Co.
1860 Peachtree Road N.W. 30309

Rawson Haverty
Haverty Furniture Co.
22 Edgewood Ave., N.E. 30303

omit

Oby T. Brewer
George Muse Clothing Co.
52 Peachtree N.W. 30303

George W. Kennedy
Phoenix Investment Co.
19 Edgewood Ave., S.E. 30303

C. D. Collins
Rhodes, Inc.
P.O. Box 1694
10 N. Rhodes Center, N.W. 30309

Richard P. Smith
W. R. C. Smith Publishing Co.
1760 Peachtree Road N.W. 30309

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Adair Realty & Loan Co.
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Ernst & Ernst
717 First Natl Bank Bldg 30303

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Carithers-Wallace-Courtenay Inc.
17 Houston Street, N.E. 30303

Horace W. Ray
WAGA Television
1018 W. Peachtree N.W. 30309

Sartain Lanier
Oxford Manufacturing Co.
151 Spring Street, N.W. 30303

D. W. Brooks
The Cotton Producers Assn.
P.O. Box 2210 30301

C. S. Akers
Akers Motor Lines Inc.
723 Forrest Road N.E. 30312

W. N. Wilkins
Allstate Insurance Company
3585 Northside Parkway, N.W. 30327

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Alston, Miller & Gaines
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Kiliaen Townsend
Atlanta Motor Lodges, Inc.
120 North Ave., N.W. 30313

Robert R. Snodgrass
Atlas Finance Co.
262 Spring Street, N.W. 30303

H. English Robinson
Chattahoochee Brick Co.
Chattahoochee, Georgia

Harry B. Thompson, Jr.
Conklin Tin Plate & Metal Company
225 Moore Street, S.E. 30312

Company

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Draper - Owens Company
521 Grant Building 30303

H. Griffith Edwards
Edwards and Portman
818 Atlanta Merchandise Mart 30303

J. H. Finch
Finch, Alexander, Barnes, Rothschild & Paschal
70 Fairlie St., N.E. 30303

Albert Love
Foote & Davies, Inc.
764 Miami Circle, N.E. 30324

E. Smythe Gambrell
Gambrell, Harlan, Russell & Moye
825 Citizens & Southern Bank Bldg 30303

J. F. White
Gulf Oil Corporation
1375 Peachtree Street, N.E. 30309

Herman J. Haas
Haas & Dodd
Haas-Howell Bldg 30303

John H. Harland
John H. Harland Company
P.O. Box 13085, Station K
655 Lambert Drive, N.E. 30324

Moreton Rolleston, Jr.
Heart of Atlanta Motel
255 Courtland St., N.E. 30303

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1293 Lois, N.W. 30318

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H. W. Ivey Construction Co.
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J. A. Jones Construction Co.
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1405 Hurt Building 30303

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2581 Piedmont Road, N.E. 30305

Francis A. Williams
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1239 Oakleigh Drive
East Point, Georgia

E. E. Noble
Lenox Square, Inc.
3393 Peachtree Road, N.E. 30326

Rutherford L. Ellis
Lipscomb-Ellis Co.
90 Fairlie N.W. 30303

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Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith Inc.
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National Service Industries
1180 Peachtree Street, N.E. 30309

S. Russell Bridges
Piedmont Southern Life Ins. Co.
1197 Peachtree N.E. 30309

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J. Regenstein Company
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Rice Coal Company
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96 Poplar Street, N.W. 30303

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2000 Rhodes-Haverty Building 30303

Company

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Hayes Dever
United Air Lines
Bank of Georgia Bldg 30303

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H. M. Patterson & Son
1020 Spring Street, N.W. 30309

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F. W. Woolworth Company
1740 Peachtree, N.W. 30309

Inman Brandon
Hansell, Post, Brandon & Dorsey
First National Bank Building 30303

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A. L. Zachry Co.
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267 Marietta Street, N.W. 30303

L. D. Milton
Citizens Trust Company
212 Auburn Ave., N.E. 30303

Roy A. Blount
Decatur Federal Savings & Loan Assn.
250 E. Ponce de Leon Ave.
Decatur, Ga.

Hix H. Green
Hix Green Foundation - for:
Hix Green Buick Company
41 North Avenue, N.E. 30308

G. H. Yancey
Yancey Brothers Company
1540 Northside Drive, N.W. 30318

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Courts & Company
11 Marietta St., N.W. 30303

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Hirsch's
79 Peachtree St., N.E. 30303

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King Hardware Company
53 Peachtree Street, N.E. 30303

C. K. Liller
Liller, Neal, Battle & Lindsey, Inc.
1371 Peachtree Street, N.E. 30309

O. Wayne Rollins
Orkin Exterminating Co., Inc.
P.O. Box 647 30301

E. L. Pearce, Jr.
16 S. Rhodes Center, N.W. 30309

W. B. McKenzie
Plantation Pipe Line Company
Lenox Towers 30326
P.O. Box 18616

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Western Electric Company, Inc.
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Carter Horne
Horne-Wilson Company
163 Peters St., S. W. 30313

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303 Palmer Bldg 30303

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Ira H. Hardin Co.
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Robert Durkee
Zayre Department Store
1919 Stewart Ave., S.W. 30315

A. R. Abrams
A. R. Abrams, Inc. & Abrams Fixture Mfg. Corp.
P.O. Box 1969 30301

Thomas E. Addison, Jr.
Addison-Rudesal Inc.
1425 Ellsworth Industrial Drive N.W. 30318

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W. D. Alexander Co.
1225 Chattahoochee Avenue N.W. 30318

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Harold P. McDonald
Ballenger-McDonald Urology Clinic
272 Ivy Street N.E. 30303

Alvin Barge
Barge & Company
290 - 14th Street, N.W. 30313

Theodore B. Bean
W. R. Bean & Son, Inc.
4800 Frederick Drive, N.W. 30311

M. William Breman
The Breman Steel Co. Inc.
329 Decatur Street S.E. 30312

Company

R. W. Allison
Brooks Allison Co.
987 Chattahoochee Avenue N.W. 30318

W. K. Rivers
Creomulsion Company
345 Glen Iris Drive N.E. 30312

Frank Kempton
Daily Report Co.
133½ Pryor Street S.W. 30303

Rufus M. Darby
Darby Printing Co.
215 Central Avenue S.W. 30303

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T. T. Flagler, Jr.
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Fulton Supply Company
342 Nelson Street S.W. 30313

Lee J. Ross
Gaylord Container Division
Crown Zeller-Bach Corp.
1470 Blashfield S.E. 30315

Mathew W. Spearman
Georgia Blue Print Co.
119 Luckie Street N.W. 30303

H. D. Winship
Georgia Highway Express Inc.
2090 Jonesboro Road S.E. 30315

Otto C. Frei
Georgia Light Weight Aggregate Company
1625 Northside Drive N.W.
P.O. Box 19781, Station N 30325

Claude Grizzard, Jr.
Grizzard Advertising, Inc.
342 West Peachtree N.W. 30308

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April 5, 1965

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401 Haas Howell Bldg. 30303

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30 Pryor Street S.W. 30303

Frank D. Nichols
MacDougald Construction Co.
1625 Northside Drive N.W.
P.O. Box 19855, Station N 30325

E. J. Kelley
MacDougald Warren Inc.
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P.O. Box 19695, Station N 30325

John A. Morris
Marquette Cement Mfg. Co.
1724 Fulton Natl. Bank Bldg. 30303

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McFadden Business Publications
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James A. Stanley
McKesson & Robbins
181 Armour Drive N.E.
P.O. Box 13107, Station K 30324

Edwin F. Goodman
Milton Bradley Co. of Ga. Inc.
384 Forrest Avenue N.E. 30312

Guss Tolleson
J. J. Newberry Co.
37 Whitehall Street S.W. 30303

Chet Campbell
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Noland Company, Inc.
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Company

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Peek, Carr, Whaley & Blackburn
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A. M. Pullen & Co.
1230 Candler Bldg. 30303

K. H. McCullough
Pure Oil Company
S.E. Marketing Division
P.O. Box 4147 30302

John G. Deery
R. E. A. Express
1401 Peachtree Street N.E. 30309

O. V. Scott
O. V. Scott Electric
641 Stewart Avenue S.W. 30310

Archie D. Yawn
Southern Airways Inc.
Atlanta Airport 30320

Thomas L. Cooper
Southern Photo Process Engraving Co.
730 Bluff Street S.W. 30310

W. Cameron Mitchell
Southern States Inc.
Hampton, Georgia

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James L. Starnes
Spratlin, Harrington & Thomas Inc.
74-78 Marietta Street N.W. 30303

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April 5, 1965

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71 University Avenue S.W. 30315

Mendel Segal
Stein Printing Company
2161 Monroe Drive N.E. 30324

H. E. Sheats
J. P. Stevens Engraving Company
45 Pryor Place N.E. 30303

Mrs. Florence N. Stokes
D. L. Stokes Company
1789 Peachtree Street N.E. 30309

Herbert R. Elsas
Sutherland, Asbill & Brennan
1516 First Natl. Bank Bldg. 30303

H. H. Chambless
Swift & Company
244 Peters Street S.W. 30313

Raymond B. Nelson
United Family Life Insurance Co.
494 Spring Street N.W. 30308

Vernon Kyle
Vulcan Materials Co.
Concrete Pipe Division
3030 Peachtree Road N.W. 30305

Roy D. Warren
Roy D. Warren Co. Inc,
New Title Bldg., 30 Pryor S.W. 30303

J. D. Scott
Winn-Dixie Stores
2581 Piedmont Road N.E. 30305

Holland H. Haynie
Krispy Kreme Doughnut Shop
447 Ponce de Leon Avenue N.E. 30308

W. H. Maddox, Jr.
Standard Oil Company
Fulton National Bank Bldg. 30303

Joe M. Ausere
American Foods, Inc.
1154 Oakleigh Drive
East Point, Georgia 30044

Company

Joel H. Cowan
Bessemer Properties, Inc.
78 Marietta Street 30303

Ben Windham
Cities Service Oil Company
P.O. Box 3258 30302

A. B. Robertson
Crawford and Company
131 Ponce de Leon Avenue 30308

A. Thornton Kennedy
Davidson-Kennedy Company
P. O. Box 2427 30318

Eldon L. Wolf
Florida Steel Corporation
Tri-State Steel Division
1195 Victory Drive S.W.
P.O. Box 10859 30310

R. D. Ison
Ison Finance Corporation
1784 Peachtree Road N.W. 30309

Robert J. Freeman
Lithonia Lighting Company, Inc.
Conyers, Georgia 30207

J. E. Love
Printpack, Inc,
4335 Wendell Drive S.E. 30315

D. S. Kerr
Allis-Chalmers Mfg. Co.
3390 Peachtree Road N.E. Suite 240 30326

Clint Morton
Nalley Chevrolet Company
2555 Stewart Avenue S.W. 30315

Aaron Thal
J. P. Allen & Company
215 Peachtree Street N.E. 30303

Berrien Moore
American Discount Co. of Ga.
677 Spring Street N.W. 30309

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Sam Finley, Inc.
576 Trabert Avenue N.W. 30309

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Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.
480 Lindbergh Drive N.E. 30324

John W. Whatley
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J. Hicks Lanier
The Lanier Company
155 Spring Street N.W. 30303

Irving C. Hitchcock
Maxwell & Hitchcock, Inc.
191 Simpson Street N.W. 30313

Mrs. Ruth Thweatt
Medical Building Company, Inc.
204 Medical Arts Building 30308

Guy W. Rutland, Sr.
Motor Convoy Inc.
Box 187
Decatur, Georgia

H. G. Pattillo
Pattillo Construction Co.
250 E. Ponce de Leon Avenue
Decatur, Georgia

Luther H. Randall
Randall Brothers
665 Marietta N.W. 30313

S. H. Bobzien
Simmons Company
353 Jones Avenue N.W. 30314

William D. Ellis
Southern Mills Inc.
585 Wells Street S.W. 30312

Frederick G. Storey
Storey Theatres, Inc.
307 Peachtree Palisades Bldg.
P.O. Box 7055, Station C 30309

Joseph M. Higgins
WAII TV
1611 West Peachtree Street N.E. 30309

Company

Russell P. Shomler
Haskins & Sells
700 C & S Bank Building 30303

Harrison Clarke
Johnson, Lane, Space & Co. Inc.
1000 Commerce Bldg. 30303

Arthur C. Hueners
Georgia International Life Ins. Co.
615 Peachtree Street N.E. 30308

L. L. Williams
Armco Steel Corporation
Metal Products Division
1874 Peachtree Road N.W. 30309
P.O. Box 1343 30301

David Goldwasser
Atlanta Envelope Company
1700 Northside Drive N.W. 30318

Bolling Jones, Jr.
Atlanta Stove Works, Inc.
112 Krog Street, N.E. 30307

B. D. Leuty
Colonial Pipeline Co.
3330 Peachtree Road N.E. 30305

James F. Daniel
Daniel Construction Co. of Ga.
P.O. Box 6165 30308

Carling Dinkler, Sr.
Dinkler Plaza Hotel
98 Forsyth Street N.W. 30303

Max E. Kahn
Empire Distributors, Inc.
1700 Marietta Boulevard N.W. 30318

Reed A. Blackwell
Gordon Foods Division
Sunshine Biscuit Inc.
P.O. Box 1278 30301

Langdon C. Quin
Hurt & Quin
Standard Building
95 Fairlie Street N.W. 30303

W. A. Roughton
Morrison's Cafeteria
1025 Virginia Avenue
Hapeville, Georgia

238 TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO "FORWARD ATLANTA"

Company

Abe Goldstein
Prior Tire Co.
458 Peachtree Street N.E. 30308

J. M. Hertz
United Distributors
2135 Defoor Hills Road N.W. 30318

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Opie Shelton

REGARDING

Shelton's piece in the Atlanta Magazine for May
"Patience, Punks and Pinks".

Lettr from Les Dunbar, Field Foundation,
5/20/66

DATE

5-20-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Field Foundation

Same ltr and a copy of the ATLANTA MAGAZINE article of May 1966 to: Ray Wheeler, Josephine Wilkins, Harold Fleming, Fred Routh, James Dabbs, David Freeman Jane Lee Eddy, Chris Edley, Jane Hinchcliffe, Deborah Cole, Vernon Eagle, Carl McCall, and Bob Baker. Article by Opie L. Shelton: "Patience, Punks, and Pinks"

May 25, 1966

Dear John:

Thought you might like to see the enclosed written by the Executive Vice President of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce; an interesting indication of the thinking of the leadership of the city of great reputation. It summarizes, I think, much of the current thinking of the "moderate" white South.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Mechanics and Farmers Bank
Durham, North Carolina

OFFICIAL MONTHLY PUBLICATION OF THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

ATLANTA MAGAZINE

Editorial Office, Subscription Office, and Advertising Office, 1104 Commerce Building, Atlanta, Georgia 30303; Telephones: JAckson 4-1311, JAckson 1-0845 (Area Code 404) ■ Printing Offices, Stein Printing Company, 2161 Monroe Drive, N.E., Atlanta Georgia 30324 ■ Typography, Typography Shop.

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ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OFFICERS—President: W. Lee Burge; Vice Presidents: Edwin I. Hatch, Arthur L. Montgomery, Augustus H. Sterne; Treasurer: Jack Burton; Executive Vice President: Opie L. Shelton; Directors: Dr. Sanford S. Atwood, O. G. Benson, Albert J. Bows, Oby T. Brewer, Jr., Samuel A. Buckmaster, Jr., Frank Carter, Herbert J. Dickson, James R. Golden, Allen S. Hardin, Rawson Haverty, W. L. Lee, Frank M. Malone, Paul E. Manners, Eugene C. Patterson, W. A. Pulver, J. Leonard Reinsch, Carl J. Reith, Richard H. Rich, Robert R. Richardson, Edgar E. Schukraft, Cecil S. Semple, E. D. Smith, Wallace H. Stewart, Pollard Turman, Robert M. Wood.

CHAMBER STAFF: Opie L. Shelton, Executive Vice President & General Manager; William H. Parr, Administrative Assistant, Expressways; Joseph L. Bonner, Business Manager; Linda Choate, Tourist Bureau; Charles E. Crowder, Membership; Curtis H. Driskell, Urban Affairs; M. Dale Henson, Assistant Manager, Economic Development, Research, World Trade; James D. King, Jr., Governmental Affairs; Jamie R. Holmes, Agriculture; Paul W. Miller, Manager Economic Development; Frank K. Shaw, Aviation Consulting Engineer; James L. Townsend, Publications.

Make Joe see Shelton Opie L. & free there

Patience, Punks, and Pinks

Opie L. Shelton

SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE the civil rights movement became untracked. It has now gone off on a tangent sufficiently off course to make some of us question the roles we have played in the drama in the past.

"Opportunity, Equal Opportunity" was the banner under which the original civil rights leadership marched. And that is a goal that no fair-minded person can fault. We all want our chance to compete on an equal footing.

Somehow the "opportunity" facet has been lost in the shuffle. When the Negro leadership finally won the right to compete they turned to other pursuits designed to equip the Negro to battle for his place in the job market. A new leadership group moved into the picture. This new group bears little resemblance to the character of the pioneers in the race struggle. This new crowd seems to seek struggle for the sake of struggle alone. They, for the most part, are a motley group of protesters who care little or nothing about the new opportunities which have been made available to them. This new group seems to believe that only through continued violence and agitation can they stay in the limelight and thus retain their questionable roles of leadership. Even those of their number who have been elected to responsible elective offices are often found playing the role of demagogue.

No one – Negro, white, Indian, yellow, polka dot – deserves anything more than equal opportunity, the original goal.

It is also evident that many of the mature Negro leaders are afraid to call a halt to this new wave of misdirected efforts. They are afraid of being labeled "Uncle Toms." Their memory is short. Just an awful lot of white moderates subjected themselves to all sorts of epithets in recent years when they stood up and were counted on the side of fair play. Many did so at the sacrifice of business, of friends, and of personal tranquility. "Uncle Tom" is a mild sobriquet to those which were hung around the necks of these moderates by their fellow whites.

There is a bitter reaction now beginning to gain momentum among those who have made major contributions to the cause of minority groups. They are unable to associate themselves with this new wave of suspicious irresponsibility which today dominates the Negro leadership.

As one who has been sympathetic in the past, let me pass along a word of advice to the older and more mature Negro leaders who have now retired to the sidelines. You had better get back on your horses and recapture the reins from this crowd of punks and pinks who took over once you relaxed your vigilance. If you don't, you stand to lose much of that which you have fought to gain. Quite frankly, a hell of a lot of people have lost their patience and have become fed up to here with the irresponsible trend which the Civil Rights efforts have taken. (Are you listening, U.S. Government?)

"Equal Opportunity" should mean just that, nothing more. Let's not allow reverse demagoguery to spoil all of the legitimate gains that have been made by those leaders of the past by asking for more-than-equal treatment. Remember that while we may all have been born equal, some of us overcome adverse circumstances more rapidly than others through private initiative.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Tennessee Council on Human Relations

REGARDING

Financial support from Field Foundation to
Appalachian Volunteers thru Tenn. Council

DATE

May 27, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

The Field Foundation
Leslie W. Dunbar letter 5/27/66

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Opie Shelton

REGARDING

column on civil rights leadership. Letter from Jane E. Hinchcliffe 6/1/66

DATE

6/1/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Foundation

~~[illegible]~~

Atl. Chamber of Commerce

June 28, 1966

Mr. James Townsend, Editor
The Atlanta Magazine
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
Chamber of Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Townsend:

This is to call to your attention, for possible book review, Best Magazine Articles: 1966, edited by Gerald Walker and published this month by Crown Publishers, Inc. Among the twenty articles appearing in it is one from our magazine, New South, written by an Atlantan, Pat Watters of our staff.

Thank you for your consideration.

Yours truly,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file
Atl Chamber of Commerce

August 15, 1966

Mr. Charles E. Crowder
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
1300 Commerce Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Thank you again for the opportunity of visiting you recently. I look forward to further occasions of this sort.

Enclosed is a copy of the speech I mentioned.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1 (Marion Wright's Chicago Speech)

521-0845

ODIE L. SHELTON EXEC. VICE PRES.

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
1300 COMMERCE BUILDING • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

521-0845

CHARLES E. CROWDER

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
1300 COMMERCE BUILDING • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

MJ – send each I have 1st 3 issues
of New South, have Janet enter them
for a one year complimentary
subs – + enter on mail list,
"Research"

DA. fyi
file - Atl. Chamber of Commerce

TO:

New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Please make a change in your mailing address as follows:

Please mail to : New Atlanta Chamber Membership Director

Mrs. Sarah P. Cole
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 1740
Atlanta, Georgia 30301

Noted change in my records
my

Please mail to Charlie Crowder, former Membership Director as follows:

Mr. Charles E. Crowder
Executive Director
Columbus Chamber of Commerce
P. O. Box 1200
Columbus, Georgia 31902

Noted ✓
my

Thank you for handling the above.

New South Regional Council, Inc.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

1966 BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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Pres., Retail Credit Company
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Pres., Trust Company of Georgia
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588-7124

Edwin I. Hatch - Vice President
Pres., Georgia Power Company
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521-3400

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872-7791

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Opie L. Shelton - Executive Vice Pres.
Atlanta Chamber of Commerce
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524-1734

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Arthur Andersen & Co.
Bank of Georgia Bldg. - 30303
688-5838

Oby T. Brewer, Jr.
Oby T. Brewer, Jr. Insurance Agcy.
41 Pryor Street, NE - 30303
525-6446

Samuel A. Buckmaster, Jr.
3680 Peachtree Road, NE
Apt. D-6 - 30319
237-6251

Frank Carter
Pope & Carter Company, Inc.
230 Houston Street, NE - 30303
522-9491

Herbert J. Dickson
The Citizens & Southern National Bank
P. O. Box 4899 - 30302
588-2241

James R. Golden
Civic & Governmental Affairs Dept.
Ford Motor Company
1616 Rhodes-Haverty Bldg. - 30303
524-6213

Allen S. Hardin
Ira H. Hardin Company
174 Mills Street, NW - 30303
525-5336

W. L. Lee
Atlanta Gas Light Company
P. O. Box 4569 - 30302
522-8051

Frank M. Malone
Southern Bell Telephone & Telegraph Co.
1740 Hurt Building - 30303
529-7277

#2. 1966 BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Paul E. Manners
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588-6649

W. A. Parker, Jr.
Beck & Gregg Hardware Company
P. O. Box 984 - 30301
521-2010

Eugene C. Patterson
The Atlanta Constitution
10 Forsyth Street, NW - 30303
522-5050

W. A. Pulver
Lockheed-Georgia Company
Marietta, Georgia - 30061
424-4101

J. Leonard Reinsch
Cox Broadcasting Company
1601 W. Peachtree Street, NE - 30309
875-7221

Carl J. Reith
Colonial Stores, Inc.
P. O. Box 4358 - 30302
767-7411

Robert R. Richardson
Hurt, Hill and Richardson
614 William-Oliver Bldg. - 30303
524-7946

Edgar E. Schukraft
Schukraft's Florists
1050 Cascade Avenue, SW - 30310
758-2684

Cecil S. Semple
Rich's, Inc.
P. O. Box 4539 - 30302
522-4636

Wallace H. Stewart
IBM Corporation
1439 Peachtree Street, NE - 30309
872-0731

Pollard Turman
J. M. Tull Metals Co., Inc.
285 Marietta Street, NW - 30313
525-3871

Robert M. Wood
Sears, Roebuck and Co.
Department 766 S
675 Ponce de Leon Avenue, NE - 30308
875-8211 - Ext. 245

EX-OFFICIO

Rawson Haverty
Haverty Furniture Companies, Inc.
22 Edgewood Avenue, NE - 30303
688-4000

Richard H. Rich
Rich's, Inc.
P. O. Box 4539 - 30302
522-4636

E. D. Smith
First National Bank of Atlanta
P. O. Box 4148 - 30302
588-6404

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . EMILY H. CLAY . . . .

October 10, 1944

The name of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce committee is:

Race Relations Committee of the
Chamber of Commerce

Chairman-
Cherry L. Emerson

Other white members-
Frank Carter
Baxter Maddox
Weaver Marr
Frank McCallister
Dean S. Paden
R. H. White, Jr.

Negro members-
C. L. Harper
L. D. Milton
Alonzo Moron (until his recent removal from Atl.)
A. T. Walden

Several others are being added, but their
names could not be obtained today.

DARBY-ATLANTA

Notes on the Atlanta and Fulton County Bond Election

In the Atlanta and Fulton County bond election which was held August 14, 1946, the issues were divided as follows:

City:

Schools	$ 9,000,000
Traffic	4,100,000
Airport Improvements	3,000,000
Libraries	1,700,000
Sewers	1,000,000
Auditorium Improvements	600,000
Parks	500,000
Fire Station Improvements	300,000
Garage Improvements	200,000

County:

Traffic	$12,500,000
Courthouse Annex	2,500,000
Sewers	2,000,000
Auxiliary Airports and Parks	2,000,000 ~~each~~
Health and Community Centers	500,000
Garbage disposal facilities and Police and Fire Department Improvements	500,000 ~~250,000 each~~

The total amount voted in the bond election was $40,400,000 - $20,400,000 for the City of Atlanta and $20,000,000 for Fulton County.

The program was designed to eventually provide more than $100,000,000 in improvements for the metropolitan area of Atlanta.

School improvement included: (1) replacing of many portable and temporary structures with modern structures; (2) the elimination of double sessions; (3) the contemplation of a schedule of kindergarten, seven-year elementary schools, five-year community high schools, and two area vocational schools (one for white, one for colored students).

Building and facilities improvements included the following: 444 classrooms, 34 shops, 18 home economics laboratories, 27 auditoriums, 27 cafeterias, 13 cafeteria extensions and renovations, 11 physical education buildings, six building revisions, and 12 libraries. These improvements included white and colored elementary and high schools.

Of the total of $9,000,000 in the City bond issue voted for school improvements, Negroes were to be allotted $3,531,150. A stadium is to be provided for Negroes at a cost of $200,000; shops and equipment for $132,500; and a library for $50,000. The amount allotted for Negro parks was not available.

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8/20/46

THE CHATTANOOGA TIMES: CHATTANOOGA, TENN., TUESDAY,

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GEORGIA NEWS ROUND-UP—

Fulton Voters Back Bond Issue; University Raises Tuition Fees

ATLANTA, Aug. 19—Atlanta and Fulton County voters gave overwhelming support last week to the joint $40,400,000 bond issue in an election which piled up majorities of about 7-1.

Each of 17 items of the joint proposal had indorsement from voters.

The victory was hailed by Mayor William B. Hartsfield and Robert L. McDougall as a "mandate from voters to keep metropolitan Atlanta the business, cultural and educational center of the South."

It paved the way for a public improvement program for metropolitan Atlanta estimated in excess of $100,000,000, including expected supplements by state and Federal grants.

* * *

Following a trend of colleges throughout the nation, the board of regents has raised tuition fees for nonresidents and all veterans attending schools in the Georgia University System.

Increases amount to $100 a quarter for senior and $50 for junior colleges, although a corresponding decrease in other fees brings the total raise to a maximum of about $40 a quarter.

* * *

Bright leaf tobacco sales in Georgia to date have already passed the total 1945 sales, U. S. Department of Agriculture reports have disclosed. A reported 114,004,057 pounds were sold at Georgia markets through the middle of this week at an average price of 44.37 cents per pound.

Total season sales for 1945 were 113,291,882 pounds at an average of 39.61 cents per pound for the state of Georgia.

* * *

A personable Czechoslovakian who lived through six years of Nazi rule looking forward to marrying a Madison, Ga., girl whom he had never seen arrived here this week with nothing but the grave of his fiancee to greet him.

Before the war, Milton Mikolasek had wooed and won Harriet Carter, Madison musician, by correspondence. Foreseeing the catastrophe confronting his homeland, he assured her that as soon as peace reigned he would fly the Atlantic to her home.

Last week he fulfilled his promise, but Harriet was not here to welcome him. Harriet died following an appendectomy several months ago, and her parents were unable to get letters through to her fiancee.

The 26-year-old Czechoslovakian plans to make his home with the Carter family and commute to near-by Athens, where he will attend the university.

* * *

Georgia enlisted veterans apparently will be the first ex-servicemen in the nation to draw their terminal leave bonds as the result of a move by the Veterans of Foreign Wars to print 100,000 of the necessary application forms.

Mayo C. Buckley, VFW commander, said the idea of having the forms printed locally has been approved by Government office in Washington. They will be available to veterans at VFW posts throughout the state by Aug. 23.

* * *

Judge Edgar E. Pomeroy of Fulton superior court has issued an order validating the appointment of J. Hugh Rogers as judge of the civil court of DeKalb County to take the place of Augustus M. Roan, the incumbent.

Judge Roan, disqualified because of residence outside the jurisdiction of the court, refused to give up the seat on the bench. He now has 10 days in which to file notice of an appeal to the supreme court.

* * *

A new radio station, WFOM, is nearing completion at Marietta and will go into operation between Sept. 15 and Oct. 1. It will operate on 250 watts at a frequency of 1,230 kilocycles and will cover Marietta and Cobb County.

December 16, 1946

MEMORANDUM FOR FILE

CC: Dr. Trigg & Mrs. Tilly

Re: Housing Tension

On Wednesday, December 11, Mr. C. L. Harper called me about twelve o'clock and said that a colored family was about to move in a house which they had rented at 348 Ashby St., S.W. Police protection had been promised but he was not sure how much it would amount to. He suggested that it would be a good idea to try to get some white church women to get to the above address as soon as possible so that they could observe and lend some moral support if necessary.

I called Mrs. W. B. Sudderth, Mrs. Edward Mackay, and Mrs. F. P. Drake. The first two were just leaving for other engagements which they could not break and Mrs. Drake was temporarily without her car but promised to get to Ashby Street as soon as she could get her car back from the shop.

As soon as I was free from a luncheon engagement I drove out to Ashby Street and went by 348 several times. The house was apparently still vacant and no one was around. Later in the afternoon Mrs. Drake reported that she and a friend had gone out about two o'clock and had spend about an hour and a half in the neighborhood. Several people stopped in front of 3348 and talked, and one white man took down the license number of Mrs. ~~Trigg's~~ Drake's car.

Mr. Harper informed me later that the move was attempted soon after he first called me and before any of us got to Ashby Street. Mrs. Lucas, the Negro woman who had rented the house, had a delivery truck to bring some furniture which she had purchased. A small crowd, including one policeman and Mr. Wallace, the white man who has been active in trying to keep Negroes from occupying homes they have bought or rented in that area, had collected.

Mr. Harper said that the policeman simply said that he didn't want any trouble, and that he was leaving Mr. Wallace in charge. The policeman went away and Mr. Wallace urged the woman not to move in. She was sufficiently frightened to postpone her moving and she sent the delivery truck away.

We should get in touch with Mrs. Lucas and find out her story and whether she has moved in or not. She has been living at 961 McDaniel Avenue, phone Ja. 3119. Will Mrs. Tilly please look into this matter? Wouldn't it be a good idea to get several women, such as Mrs. Chester Martin, Mrs. Sudderth, Mrs. Mackay, and Mrs. Drake, to meet Mrs. Lucas up here sometime soon?

Guy B. Johnson

Mrs. Inez B. Tillison
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

FACTS

RECEIVED
DEC 30 1946
Southern Regional Council

Published by
ATLANTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Vol. XX JANUARY, 1947 No. 1

ANNUAL MEETING

Wednesday, January 8

Ansley Hotel

10:00 — Call to Order.....Mrs. John Bredfeld, President
10:05 — Treasurer's Report.....Mrs. Stephen C. Hale
10:15 — Adoption of Budget.....Mrs. Carmen Dobbs
10:30 — Membership Report.....Mrs. Calvin Sandison
10:40 — State President's Message.....Mrs. Leonard Haas
11:00 — Adoption of Program:

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Alan Ritter
Mrs. Robert MacDougall
Mrs. Stephen Hale
Mrs. Wm. E. Reynolds
Mrs. Frank Kanthak
Mrs. Wm. J. Creighton
Mrs. Chas. R. Liebman
Mrs. Emmett Quinn
Mrs. Walter Paschall
Mrs. Brittain Pendergrast

Luncheon, 1 P. M.

Speaker: MR. GEORGE C. BIGGERS, President *Atlanta Journal*
"Problems of Metropolitan Atlanta"

Call Walnut 6111 for Reservations—$1.65
(This will be your only notice. Please call early.)
BRING THIS ISSUE OF FACTS TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

FACTS

Published Monthly by the Atlanta League of Women Voters

Gertrude Perkins } Editors
Mrs. Charles R. Liebman }
Mrs. John Bredfeld ... President

Publishing Headquarters
316 Church St., Decatur, Ga.
317 Trust Co. of Ga. Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.

Subscription price is membership in League, $2.00

Entered as second class matter January 28, 1928, at the post office at Decatur, Ga., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The League has just seen the completion of its 26th year of existence. Perhaps the greatest part of its activity was spent on preparation of pre-election information, for 1946 was truly an election year. In February there was a special congressional race; in June, the Fulton County primary; in July, the state primary; in August, the city-county bond issue vote; in November, the General Elections. The League published in FACTS and in the newspapers its usual non-partisan information on candidates and issues. Candidates luncheons were staged, and get-out-the-vote campaigns held. Voting machines were purchased by Fulton County and used for the first time in all elections. This was the culmination of many years of League effort in promoting use of the machines in order to insure accurate count and a simpler, more dignified means of ballot-casting.

The League continued its routine attendance at all meetings of City Council, the County Commission and the two Boards of Education. Summaries were kept of the public records of these bodies and were later used in preparation of pre-election material.

A County Government Booklet was prepared by the League in cooperation with the Atlanta public school authorities and published as a companion to the book on city government printed in 1945. Both are being used in the ninth-grade civics classes of all Atlanta public schools and numerous private schools.

The Speaker's Bureau continued to function, furnishing speakers to civic, church, school and miscellaneous groups. Over 5,000 persons were reached in talks made before 60 groups.

When the county Coroner's office became vacant because of resignation of the incumbent, the League waged an intensive campaign to either have the office abolished entirely, placing in its stead the more modern Medical Examiner system, or to have the law changed so that the Coroner could henceforth be appointed by the Commissioners instead of elected by the people. This is in line with the principle of the Short Ballot, by which only policy-determining officials are elected by the people, and administrative heads are in turn appointed by the elected officials. It centralizes responsibility, results in better qualified personnel, and relieves the voter of having to choose minor administrators from long lists of candidates. Although the Coroner's office was filled by special election, the commissioners passed unanimously a resolution requesting the legislative delegation to change the law so that, at the expiration of the present term, the Coroner will be appointed. The delegation has announced its intention of complying with this request when the 1947 legislature convenes. Plans are also under way to change the law making the County Surveyor appointive, as well as the City Attorney and the two City Recorders.

Some progress may be reported in the field of Civil Service since a few employees in the city attorney's office were placed under the merit system during the 1946 legislative session. The city Personnel department continues to give examinations for new recruits in the Police Department, but the department still remains outside the Standard City Civil Service law and promotions are still not made on a merit basis. The League will continue to work for inclusion of the Police and other departments under the Standard law.

In the field of education, marked progress may be noted. A vocational school director has been named to set up a joint city-county program for both white and Negro students; a committee has been appointed to revise the curricula of the city and county schools, leading to a uniformity which will make transfers easier; plans are also under way to install the K-7-5 system in all schools (kindergarten, 7 elementary grades, 5 high school grades). These changes will make eventual consolidation of the two systems easier of attainment. There is some indication that a consolidation bill may be introduced at the coming legislative session. The League urges its members to watch developments in this and other fields when the legislature convenes on January 13.

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1947

THE ATLANTA LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS WORKS FOR EFFICIENT AND ECONOMICAL GOVERNMENT IN ATLANTA AND FULTON COUNTY.

Duplicating services in this area are expensive and inefficient. Therefore, THE LEAGUE ADVOCATES eliminating these duplications by

ONE UNIT OF GOVERNMENT.

HOWEVER, public services under the existing set-up could be made more efficient and economical by:

I. **Consolidation of Governmental Departments, especially as noted under II below.**

II. **Joint Programs In:**

A. PLANNING—Joint Planning Body for the Metropolitan Area.

B. HEALTH.

1. Joint Health program for Atlanta, Fulton and DeKalb counties under a non-political board; a program to include tuberculosis, venereal disease, and typhus control, to be administered by a professional staff chosen on the basis of experience and ability.
2. Psychiatric care to be added to present hospital program; hospital for convalescents and chronically ill to replace present almshouse; both to be under the jurisdiction of the Hospital Authority.

C. EDUCATION.

1. Merging of the Atlanta and Fulton Schools under a sound plan safeguarding high standards.
   a. Board of Education to be elected by the people at large.
   b. Superintendent to be elected by this Board.
2. Equal educational opportunities for all white and Negro children.
3. Separation of school finances from general finances.

D. RECREATION.

1. Joint recreation program for Atlanta, Fulton and DeKalb counties.
2. Adequate financial support to insure a more complete program.

E. WELFARE—Since 1937 Atlanta and Fulton County welfare services have been administered by the county. The present program should be strengthened by:

1. Permanent county-wide program giving adequate financial support commensurate to a decent standard of living and health.
2. Non-political Board, chosen on the basis of experience, ability and interest in welfare work.
3. Sufficient professional staff to insure adequate services.

III. **Improvement in Public Administration in Both Areas.**

A. Manager Principle for City and County.

B. Short Ballot for County (this would mean election of policy

(Continued on Page 4)

PROPOSED 1947 BUDGET

RECEIPTS:	
Dues	$ 2,000
Contributions	14,025
	$16,025
EXPENDITURES:	
Salaries	$ 5,600
Running Expenses	1,100
FACTS	700
State Dues and Donation	7,000
Membership Committee	200
Finance Committee	300
Miscellaneous	150
Men's Council	50
Get-Out-Vote	75
Conventions	100
Rent	600
Monthly Meetings	100
Equipment	50
	$16,025

PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR 1947—(Continued)

determining officials only. These officials would appoint the administrative heads to carry out their policies.).

C. Extension of Civil Service to cover all Departments in Atlanta and Fulton County governments.

D. Pensions—One scientific system for city and county employees.

IV. **Improvement in Election Machinery in Both Areas.**

A. Primaries and Elections.

1. Trained and instructed personnel at the polls.
2. Polling places in public buildings.

B. Democratic Executive Committees.

1. Exclude governmental officials and employees from membership.
2. Smaller and more representative committee for Fulton County.

In furtherance of the above program, the LEAGUE WORKS FOR:

I. Increased registration of voters.

II. Greater participation in Elections.

STUDY PROGRAM

1. Simplified County Financial Reports and Statements.
2. Reduction in size of City Council.
3. Conditions in Local Jails.
4. Housing.
5. Elimination of Fire Hazards.

July 31, 1947

Mrs. R. Taylor Jackson
Atlanta Metropolitan Assoc.
for Colored Blind
600 Beckwith Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

Since you gave me the material about the Atlanta Metropolitan Association for Colored Blind some months ago, I have tried approaches with quite a few people with a view to getting them to go to one of the Atlanta foundations for financial assistance for the Association.

I am very sorry to report that I have not been successful in getting anyone to do this. As I am leaving the Council today, I wanted to give you this report. My successor as Executive Director is Dr. George S. Mitchell. You may wish to pursue the matter further with him.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Consultant

Kendall Weissiger brought this back 5/5/47 with comment that

1. that he doubts whether any local foundation would give money to it,

2. that he doubts wisdom of putting much money into this sort of agency, which does work that ought to be done by public agencies.

I have also talked to Floyd Hunter and several other people about this.

The best thing for the Association to do is to get into the Community Fund. It has tried, but so far it has apparently not been able to convince the Fund people that it is giving services which should not be given by other agencies.

GBJ

METROPOLITAN ATLANTA ASSOCIATION
FOR
COLORED BLIND, Inc.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

600 Beckwith Street
March 13, 1947

Dr. Guy Johnson
Wesley Memorial Building
Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I have just discovered that I failed to send you the information about the Association that I promised that I would send you the day that I talked with you over the phone. I was ill for a few days and this really slipped my attention. I hope it is not too late for you to look into the possiblity of interesting the Glenn Foundation in our organization.

Very sincerely yours

R. Taylor Jackson

Mrs. R. Taylor Jackson
Acting Director

Sent the information to Kendall Weisiger for his help & suggestions.
GBJ

Talked to several others, including Floyd Hunter, but found noone willing to approach a foundation in behalf of this agency.

Guy B. Johnson

THE PROGRAM OF THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA ASSOCIATION FOR COLORED BLIND

The Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind was organized in September 1943 and was granted a charter in December 1944. The association is a corporate member of the American Foundation For The Blind. The organization consist of a board of directors, consisting of thirty members; executive director (voluntary and acting); and the following classes of memberships: Participating, Active, Contributing, Sustaining and Patron.

OFFICERS

The present officers are:

A.T. Walden, President, Attorney at Law.

Dr. Alfonso Elder, Vice President, Director School of Education, Atlanta University.

C.N. Cornell, Vice President, Principal of Booker T. Washington High School.

John R. Smith, (blind) Vice President, Smith's Music and Appliance Company.

Brooker T. Lockett, Secretary, United States Government Employee.

L.D. Milton, Treasurer, President Citizen Trust Company.

Mrs. R.P. Herndon, Counsel, Attorney at Law.

Mrs. R. Taylor Jackson, Executive Secretary, former Administrative Assistant Secondary School Study, Atlanta, Georgia.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Board of Directors is composed of the above officers and the following persons.

A.A. Reid, Auditor, Atlanta University.

Dr. R.A. Carter, Eye, Ear and Nose Specialist.

B.E. Mays, President of Morehouse College.

W.S. Cannon, Jr., Owner, Cannolene Beauty Products.

Mrs. Mabel Driskell, Owner, and Director Dermis Cura Beauty School.

Mrs. Rosalie Wright, Civic Worker.

C. Janet Clark, Registrar, Atlant University

S.M. Martin,(blind) Employee, Hooper Fish Market.

J.G. Thornton, (blind) Employee, Atlanta Fish Company.

H.M. Ivey, Co-owner, Ivey Brothers Undertaking Establishment.

Mrs. A.A. McPheeters, Librarian, Auburn Avenue Branch, Carnegie Library.

Millard Roberts, Employee, Rich's Department Store.

Mrs. Mattie Harris, Employee, Rich's Department Store.

A.W. Parks, Owner, Park's Shoe Repair Shop.

Mrs. Roger Henderson, Co-owner, Henderson's Realty Company.

Mrs. John E. Bowen, Civic Worker.

Mrs. Menelik Jackson, Co-owner, Jackson's Incorporated.

Mrs. M.L. Gray, Social Worker, Department Public Welfare.

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Urban League.

Mrs. W.A. Scott, Co-owner, Atlanta Daily World.

Warren G. Cochrane, Executive Secretary, Butler Street Y.M.C.A.

PERSONNEL

The Association employs the following persons:

P.J. Woods (blind), Supervisor, formerly, Instructor, association for the Blind, Birmingham, Alabama.

Mrs. Carrie B. Enzer, (blind) Private Instructor, Louville, Kentucky Washington, D.C. and Miami, Florida.

PART-TIME WORKERS

Mrs. Ruth Bowden, (blind) Music Instructor, graduate, Macon School for the Blind.

Frances Lakes, Office Secretary, Graduate, of Reid's Business College, Atlanta, Georgia

Jacqueline Turner, (partially blind) Guide, Student Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia

PURPOSE:

"The purpose of the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind is to maintain a complete register of the blind; to promote their welfare through training, education, social adjustment and recreation: to aid in sight conservation and restoration of sight; to prevent unnecessary blindness."

PRESENT PROGRAM:

Because of the peculiar needs of the blind, the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind has found it necessary to interpret the blind to the Community in terms of the difficulty of employment, the psychology of isolation, the handicaps caused by lack of physical mobility, and their need for special services.

The program at present consists of four phases of activity. orientation, profitable leisure-time occupation, education, recreation, home service and services of intergration with other existing agencies.

IMMEDIATE NEEDS:

For three years the Association has been able to employ only two full-time professional workers. All other workers are part-time or volunteer. The acting executive secretary is a volunteer worker.

The association needs to employ an executive director and additional full-time workers.

With the exception of home service work, all of the phases of activities engaged in by the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind require a central service center. A central service center should be a building which will house the office of the executive secretary, class rooms for the educational

and recreational program and a workshop which will be used to train unemployable blind people in profitable leisure-time occupations. This building should also provide facilities and equipment for the wholesome prepration of food and the teaching of essential health habits.

FUTURE PROGRAM:

1. In order to provide a means of getting approximately fifty people to the service center regularly, it is necessary for the association to have a station wagon or similar facilites under its control.

2. The need for sight conservation and prevention of blindness is evident by this group but must be established by the association in order to get sufficient financial backing. Therefore the association plans to make a survay in order to determine the number of pre-school and school age children who are visually handicapped and then, sponsor a plan to set up sight saving classes in Negro public schools in Atlanta.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE:

The Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind is controlled by the Board of Directors which meets quarterly. This Board appoints an executive committee which is responsible for the over-all supervision of the program, the provision of finance and the planning for the future.

The Executive Committee conducts an annual financial Membership drive. For the past three years the budget has been set up to take care of minimum current operational expenses. In 1944-45 $2,870.47 was raised and in 1945-46 $3,810.55 was raised.

This was not sufficient to finance the program of the organization.

For the year 1947 the committee decided to raise not only a more adequate current operational budget but to begin the provision for a service center. The estimated operational budget for 1947, including the 1946 deficit is $13,778.00, and the estimated cost for bulding, furniture and equipment and a station wagon is $17,300.00, making a total of $31,078.00. The Current budget carries an item of $600.00. This amount is not sufficient to rent the type of building which is needed for permanent Quarters.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Sept. 1945 - Oct. 1946

Balance Brought Forward from 1945-46	$97.00
City of Atlanta Appropriation	300.00
Memberships and Contributions	3,510.55
Total	$3,907.55

DISBURSEMENTS

SALARIES:		
Professional	2,149.50	
Non-Professional	702.50	
Transportation	138.73	
Administrative Office	415.64	
Teaching Materials	323.49	
Utilities	106.02	
Fees	5.00	
Contingent	25.00	3,865.88
Total		
Balance on Hand		41.67

BILLS PAYABLE

Salaries	715.00
Transportation	25.20
Teaching Materials	134.47
Wages	49.00
Total	913.67
Balance	41.67
Deficit	$872.00

(Estimated)

BUDGET
1946 - 1947

(Current Operational Expenses for 1 year)

PERSONNEL:

Executive Secretary	$2700.00	
Supervisior of Program Activities	1800.00	
Clerk	1200.00	
Teacher - Visitor	1200.00	
Part-time Teachers (9 months)	800.00	
Guide-Janitor (male)	936.00	
Guide-Inspector (female)	760.00	
Cook (5 hrs. each day)	520.00	

OPERATION:

Rent ($50.00 per month)	600.00	
Heat	150.00	
Utilities (Gas, Electricity, Water)	200.00	
Telephone and Telegraph	120.00	
Postage and Parcel Post	150.00	
Office Supplies and Printing	300.00	
Household Supplies	75.00	
Hauling and Freight	75.00	
Publicity and Advertisement	1000.00	

TRANSPORTATION:

Street car fare and Taxi (Staff and Students)	300.00	
Travel (Executive)	200.00	

PROGRAM ACTIVITIES:

Teaching Materials	500.00	
Recreation	100.00	
Glasses (for partially blind clients)	200.00	
Emergency Relief	100.00	
Food Stuffs (to start lunch project)	200.00	
CONTINGENT	250.00	$12,906.00
DEFICIT (1945-46)	872.00	
Total		$13,778.00

INCOME (Estimated)

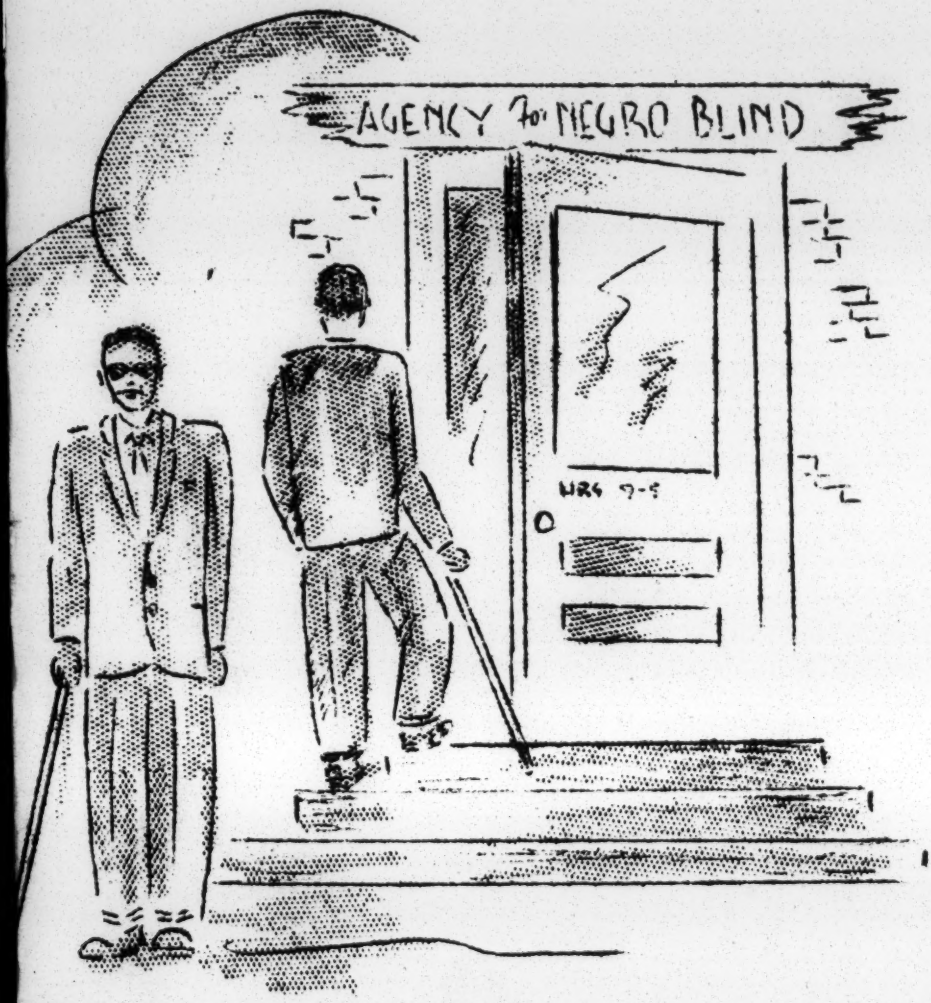
City of Atlanta	$ 1200.00
Fulton and DeKalb Counties	1200.00 (or more)
Memberships and Contributions	3378.00
Gifts	8000.00
Total.	$13778.00

Note: The City has already appropriated $1,200 for 1947. We receive it in $100.00 monthly payments.

Our total receipts since October 1, 1946 are $1,651.59

We have received one $500.00 gift.

Atlanta Needs



METROPOLITAN ATLANTA ASSN.
FOR COLORED BLIND

1943 - '46

ATLANTA NEEDS SPECIAL AGENCY FOR NEGRO BLIND

Many people ask themselves the question, does Atlanta need a special agency for the blind. The writer will try to answer this question by stating facts which have been gathered from various sources and by bringing to the attention of the public a few examples of the types of services needed by the blind which cannot be rendered effectively by any agency except by a special agency for the blind.

The American Foundation for the Blind, is a national organization of which the renown and nationally known, Helen Keller, who was born deaf, dumb and blind is an ardent promoter and worker. This organization has been serving the blind since 192[illegible] and has been an inspiration and a guiding influence for many other organizations for the blind throughout the country and abroad.

This Foundation has studied the needs of the visually handicapped and has been instrumental in the training of both sightless and sighted workers so that they in turn can impart their knowledge to the blind and to the seeing public. It has studied the financial and psychological needs of the blind and, as a result of untiring and ceaseless efforts has secured legislative and governmental action which has resulted in the passing of several congressional bills that have greatly benefited the entire blind population.

The American Foundation for the Blind is strong in its belief that every community with a large

number of visually handicapped people should have a special agency to serve their needs, except in cases where the state has assumed this responsibility by setting up a commission for the blind or provides a special program under the supervision of the Department of Public Welfare. Other plans have been tried in some cities but they most always fail. The programs become stagnant and usually end up serving a few employable blind people. The normal pattern for financing programs of services to adult blind may be seen by reviewing recent statistics by the American Foundation.

In 39 states of the United States there are 164 specialized agencies similar to the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind which is an incorporated member of the American Foundation; 36 are private; 2 public; 19 Community Chest; 8 Community Chest and private; 12 Community Chest and public; 4 Community Chest and sales of merchandise; 1 Community Chest, private and membership; 1 Community Chest, private and sales; 2 private funds, sales and merchandise and 2 self supporting. 42 of these agencies carry only recreational activities which are only one phase of a good program for the visually handicapped persons.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Division of any state can serve only about twenty-five per cent of the total blind population for employment after they have been trained. Pre-orientation is usually necessary by a specialized agency.

Since the State of Georgia has not assumed the

responsibility of an over-all program for the blind, there is no state commission for the blind in Atlanta. Neither is there a school or a training program for adult blind or for Negro children in the city of Atlanta. The State Vocational Rehabilitation Division of Georgia provides special services only to the employable blind. The Department of Public Welfare administers state and federal "Aid to the Blind." Their heavy case loads do not enable them to do intensive case work with the blind. Only those persons needing financial assistance are brought to the attention of the Department. Many who need assistance have to be directed to the Department by some interested person or organization, as blind people, like seeing ones are not always familiar with the resources of their community.

Since it has been discovered by the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind and by a recent study made by the Community Planning Council that there are certain unmet needs of the Negro blind, such as finding the blind, home teacher service, educational and sight saving classes for blind children, the Association has assumed this responsibility and is attempting to provide some of these services and to sponsor whatever movement may be necessary to secure other services that cannot be provided through the Association.

The needs can best be met and services better rendered through the proposed plan of the Association to provide a service center for the visually handicapped people of Atlanta.

During the two years which the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind has been operating, even though on a very small budget, it has proved that its clients have been greatly benefited. A large number of Negro blind people are becoming socially adjusted, self-reliant, useful citizens. Some have become integrated. Fewer blind persons are seen begging on the streets and a considerable number are now self-supporting or contributing regularly to the family budget.

Here are a few sample cases from the Association files:

Case 1: John T. is 32 years old. He has been blind about four years. He had only been blind one year when he was referred to the Association by a worker from the Department of Public Welfare. He is married and the father of four small children. John T. was a laborer at a local firm which used strong disinfectants. The dangerous fumes from the chemicals in the disinfectants caused him to lose his sight. He was dismissed from the firm without any compensation. He became disillusioned and said that he wanted to commit suicide because he felt he could no longer support his family. Even though he received "Aid to the Blind" from the Department of Public Welfare this aid was not sufficient to provide for his family, and because of their small children his wife was unable to work. The Home Teacher from the Association visited him in his home and after much persuasion, he

decided to come to the Congregational Church (which is being used as a temporary service center for the blind by the Association). John T. is an intelligent, progressive young man. He was willing to learn and applied himself to whatever he was taught. He learned leather-craft, mop making, chair caning, typewriting, weaving and Braille and participated in all other activities such as music, dramatics and fundamental skills. He attended the Book Review Hour at the Carnegie Library and later became president of the Bertha Perry Thrift Club, a student organization, supervised by the Association and the Library Staff. Seeing that John T. was a reliable, responsible, intelligent person, the Home Teacher recommended to the State Vocational Rehabilitation Division that he be accepted for vocational training and job placement. John T. is now working at a local fish market earning a living wage and providing for his family.

Case 2: Bettie B., age 19 who was attending a local school had to leave school because her sight was failing. Her teacher referred her case to the Association. Bettie B. is an exceptionally brilliant young woman and very anxious to finish her education. She was invited to visit the Center and asked to serve as a volunteer guide, since she could see well enough to get around. While performing these duties, she decided to study Braille and typing. Later, the Home Teacher secured an appointment for her with one of the workers at the State Vocational Rehabilitation Division and she was given sight restoration. Now Bettie B. is back in school completing her school work and spends her spare time helping to teach other visually handicapped people at the Center.

Case 3: Annie W., age 47, married a man with several children. About two years after she had been married she lost her sight. This was a shock to the family and the children who at one time had admired her so much felt sorry for her and pitied her all the time. They were afraid she would harm herself while they were away during the day so they confined her to one room. This made her feel like a prisoner. Family discord began and the mother threatened to leave home. She was referred to M.A.A.C.B. It took the Home Teacher almost a year to persuade her to come to the Center. However, she decided to attend the annual Christmas party. She had such an enjoyable time at the party that she later decided to attend the Center. Mrs. W. has been attending the Center now for two years and has not missed but one class and she was ill on that occasion. Now she takes an active part in the household responsibilities and supplements the family budget with money which she earns from the sales of hand made articles she makes during her leisure-time activities at the Center.

Case 4: Helen G. was 16 years old when the Home Teacher found her while visiting another client in her neighborhood. She had never been permitted to attend school because she was born blind and her parents were afraid to send her to the State School for the Blind at Macon. They kept her hair plaited like a little girl of five and would not allow her to have dates with boys or to participate in the things any girl would normally enjoy. The Home Teacher explained the program of the Metropolitan

Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind to her family and told them what a help it would be for Helen if they would permit her to attend. They gave numerous excuses why she could not attend.but Helen begged and pleaded and finally they said they could not afford to pay transportation as they lived in a suburban community. The Association agreed to provide the transportation until some provision was made for Helen to get financial assistance. Helen began coming to the Center and now she is one of the most self-reliant persons attending the Center. She takes part in all of the activities and last May she had the leading role in a dramatic skit, entitled "Family Hindrance." Her family attended the performance and were made to feel very proud of her.

Case 5: Lizzie J. is a mother of two children, ages 12 and 14 who are not blind. Both children attend school and the boy works in the afternoons. Mrs. J., inspite of her handicap, is a very neat and thrifty person. She prepares the meals and does the laundry for the family with the help of her twelve year old daughter. A friend had told Mrs. J. about the Association so she called the office and asked that a worker be sent to her home. The Home Teacher went and found her greatly disturbed because she had been asked to move. Mrs. J. said she had been looking for a place to rent but had not been able to find one. The agent threatened to set her things out in the street. The Home Teacher secured legal aid for Mrs. J. and arrangements were made for an extension of time. This gave the Home Teacher time to help Mrs. J. find

another place. Mrs. J. and her family are now living in a better home and in a much more desirable neighborhood.

The Bertha Perry Thrift Club, which was named in honor of a blind woman who left a small legacy to the Association, is a student organization which was referred to earlier in this article. This organization is composed of visually handicapped persons. The various committees in the organization plan recreational activities for themselves. They have three annual functions, a Christmas party, a spring banquet and a series of Thanksgiving services. Special provisions are made for transportation so that shut-in clients can attend these functions.

The Metropolitan Atlanta Association for Colored Blind is a non-profit organization which operates as a result of memberships and gifts of citizens and organizations that are interested in bettering the conditions of sightless people living in Atlanta and vicinity. This organization if properly financed can render even greater service to the visually handicapped people of Atlanta.

OFFICERS OF THE BOARD

Col. A. T. Walden	President
Dr. A. Elder	Vice-President
J. R. Smith	Vice-President
Brooker T. Lockett	Secretary
L. D. Milton	Treasurer
Mrs. R. P. Herndon	Counsel
Mrs. R. Taylor Jackson	Acting Executive Director

STAFF

P. J. Woods	Supervisor
Mrs. Carrie B. Enzer	Home-Teacher
Miss Frances Lakes	Clerk

Classes

Tuesday - Wednesday - Thursday 10:A.M. - 4:P.M.

Home Visitation

Monday - Friday

Temporary Headquarters
105 Courtland Street, N. E.

MA 3757 MA 0077

Atl. Transportation Study

COPY COPY COPY

WHEREAS, it is a matter of common observation, supported by photographic evidence obtained in a recent survey of local conditions, that colored rest rooms and waiting rooms at local railroad and bus stations, and the approaches to these rooms, are generally found to be in an unsanitary and filthy condition;

AND WHEREAS, the Department of Public Health must await official authorization before taking steps to remedy these deplorable conditions;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the Atlanta Council of Church Women, in the interest of better health and sanitation for all, bring this matter to the attention of the General Council of the City of Atlanta and urge that ordinances be attached regulating conditions in the aforementioned rooms and the approaches thereto, thereby authorizing the Sanitary Engineering Division of the Department of Public Health to take such steps as may be necessary to correct this disgraceful menace to the public health of the City of Atlanta.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That these resolutions be spread upon the minutes of the Atlanta Council of Church Women and a copy thereof be delivered to the Committee of Health and Sanitation of the General Council of the City of Atlanta.

Mrs. Chester Martin, President

Mrs. W. B. Suddeth, Chairman
Christian Social Relations Committee

Dated at Atlanta, Georgia
January 31, 1947

Mrs. Elizabeth H. Garrison, Co-Chm.
Christian Social Relations Committee

PRESS RELEASE - AUGUST 31, 1947

RECEIVED SEP 5 1947

CITIZENS COMMITTEE CONFERS WITH PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS CONCERNING NIGHT SCHOOLS

Representatives from the Citizens Committee conferred with the Superintendent of Schools, Miss Ira Jarrell, on Friday, regarding the persistent rumor that three of the night schools for Negroes will not open. Present in the meeting were, Dr. George Kelsey, who served as chariman of the group, W. H. Brown, Mrs. G. A. Towns and H. S. Murphy. Devereaux McClatchey, member of the board of education, Miss Jarrell, superintendent of city schools, and P. E. Babcock, director of vocational education for Atlanta and Fulton County were the other parties in the conference.

The Citizens Committee reported the community's concern about the persistent rumor that all night schools for Negroes, except one, were to be closed. The great need to eliminate illiteracy thru the program of the night schools was stressed.

In answer to the question, whether the night schools are to be eliminated, Miss Jarrell reported that on the contrary, the night school program is to be reorganized and expanded. She explained that registration will take place at all of the former night school centers--Washington High, E. P. Johnson, D. T. Howard and Crogman schools. Following registration, students will be assigned to schools which will offer the best available training to meet their particular needs. In those cases where a student finds it inconvenient to attend schools outside his own community, educational provisions will be mad e in his community school. Miss Jarrell pointed out that extensive vocational offerings will be available at the Carver Vocational School which will begin operation later in the fall. For the present, vocational training opportunities will be continued at the Washington High School. It was also pointed out by the school officials that the expanded and reorganized program cannot be completed until after registration. They reported that former night school teachers who have received notices of termination of services will be interviewed and those who will fit into the expanded program

may be reemployed.

The Citizens Committee pointed out to the school officials the importance of participation by Negroes in the making of decisions affecting Negro education. Lack of such participation, they asserted, breeds distrust and suspicion. The officials agreed that such participation was important and suggested that the committee submit a few names from which an advisory committee be selected.

The Citizens Committee urges all persons interested in night school to register and take advantage of the opportunities offered for their advancement. In a communication from Miss Jarrell to the committee following their conference, the following informa tion concerning places and dates of registration was given:

> "Registration for the expanded night school program and the Carver day school program will be held at Washington High School, at Crogman elementary school and at David T. Howard High School on September 29, 30 and October 1 and 2 at 7:30 in the evening. As I explained to you this morning this expanded program will be both academic and vocational. The classes will be organized in these schools and held in these schools. If the need develops in other schools than those mentioned above we shall meet this need. The Carver building will not be ready for occupancy until sometime in November. At present, the faculties are being organized for this expanded program.
>
> "The faculty has already been organized for the academic school at night at Washington High and this school will begin on September 8, as has been the custom in the past."

Registration for Washington night school will be held on September 4th and 5th.

Atlanta, Ga

E. J. GRANBERRY
President
Albany State College
Albany, Ga.

R. J. MARTIN
Vice President
Ballard School
Macon, Ga.

C. V. TROUP
Treasurer
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Ga.

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

Board of Directors
R. T. Bacote
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Emerson O. Bynes
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Mrs. Gladys C. Davis
Martin G. Haynes
Samuel Hubbard
E. J. Jackson
Miss Norvie M. Jordan
Louis Taylor
A. Z. Traylor
I. E. Washington

Aaron Brown
Editor, The Herald

C. L. HARPER
Executive Secretary
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E. JA. 6593
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 21, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 22 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At a recent session of the Atlanta Board of Education, it was decided to close three of the four night schools for Negroes and to eliminate vocational classes at the remaining night school, Booker Washington Night, which is located on the west side of the city.

There is serious doubt that vocational classes will be conducted at the proposed new vocational school on the old Clark College campus in the extreme south end of the city and difficult of access to most of the Negro people. This school will probably not open before December.

It must be clear to any one that the closing of these three schools will mean the curtailment of adult education among a group that needs it most. The Board of Education evidently realizes this, for it plans to reduce the teaching personnel by almost one half. That means that they anticipate reducing the 1946-47 enrollment of approximately 2000 to practically half that number or a loss virtually of 1000 students!

The position taken by the Board in closing these adult classes is just the reverse of its community school idea which it is putting into operation this fall. It is also contrary to the action of the U. S. Department of Education, which, in cooperation with the Carnegie Corporation, is expanding adult education, especially among Negroes.

You will find enclosed facts about the Atlanta evening schools which we are asking you to use as a basis for doing everything within your power to influence the Board to rescind its action closing these three schools. Please act today.

America can not afford to close schools in the face of ambitious men and women seeking knowledge, while her strongest competitor in world affairs is reducing illiteracy at the greatest rate in human history.

Most respectfully yours,

C. L. Harper

C. L. Harper

Atlanta

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
MAYOR

B. A. CALDWELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

CITY OF ATLANTA

OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUL 9 1951
Southern Regional Council

July 6, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I thank you for your letter of July 3. In my official conduct, I always try to uphold the good name of Atlanta before the balance of the nation.

Best wishes.

Yours very truly,

W B Hartsfield
Mayor

WBH:CBW

July 3, 1951

Hon. William B. Hartsfield
Mayor of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mayor:

As an interested observer and participant in the recent convention of the NAACP here in Atlanta, I would like to express my cordial praise of the wisdom of the arrangements which the city made for the convention.

I thought that the good spirit and good taste which pervaded the meeting were in very large part the consequence of the tact and judgment and kindly wisdom which you yourself made evident.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

CITY OF ATLANTA

DEPARTMENT OF POLICE
HERBERT T. JENKINS, CHIEF
LT. J. H. WINN, SECRETARY

ATLANTA, 3, GEORGIA

Atlanta
RECEIVED
JUL 17 1951
Southern Regional Council

J. uly 16, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 3rd and the commendations on the service rendered by this Department.

Any time that the Atlanta Police Department can be of service to your organization, please do not hesitate to call upon us.

Yours very truly,

H. T. Jenkins

Chief of Police

HTJ:gp

ATLANTA THE DOGWOOD CITY

J - Misc

July 3, 1951

Chief Herbert Jenkins
Police Department
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jenkins:

Our Council, as you know, tries to keep a finger on matters of interracial concern.

I should like you to know that we are grateful for the good judgment, wisdom, and spirit of fairness with which the Atlanta police discharged their responsibilities in connection with the NAACP convention. The way in which the occasion was handled marks a milestone in Southern progress.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

Transportation

ATLANTA TRANSIT COMPANY

TRANSIT BUILDING

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

JOHN GERSON
VICE PRESIDENT
AND GENERAL MANAGER

December 12, 1952

RECEIVED
DEC 16 1952
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We appreciate your letter of December 10, regarding the passing up of passengers on Route 2, on December 6th.

We will investigate this incident and endeavor to find out what occurred. Since a Supervisor was on the bus it is more than likely that it was late and he was turning the bus back at a short terminal and knew there was another trolley close behind going through to the end of the line.

However, we will go into the case thoroughly and see just what did happen.

Very truly yours,

John Gerson

John Gerson
Vice President and
General Manager

cc: Mr. M. F. Jones

A+1

December 10, 1952

Atlanta Transit Co.
5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sirs:

I should like to make mention of a small incident apparently involving discrimination against Negro would-be passengers.

About 12:25 p. m. on Saturday, December 6, I was riding on a Ponce de Leon-Decatur bus in-bound from southeast Atlanta. At a point some eight or ten blocks from the middle of the city the bus stopped at a coach stop where six or seven Negro would-be passengers were standing. The bus had all seats filled--about one-fourth Negro passengers and a goodish number of white, and perhaps one or two Negro standees. The standees were by no means tightly packed. The driver, after stopping and standing for a brief while (long enough for two or three of the would-be passengers to go from the corner to the neighborhood of the door of the bus), pulled away without opening the bus door.

The bus was driven by an operator wearing cap badge 152. Standing in the front step was a supervisor or instructor wearing cap badge 5. To my unpracticed eye, the supervisor seemed, to a considerable degree, to be in charge of the bus. I was not close enough to the supervisor to hear accurately whatever, if any, remark he made concerning the incident, but I thought I heard from his neighborhood a mumbled word or two about "niggers."

The implication I drew from the incident was that the supervisor or driver, or both, were reluctant to take on Negro passengers who would have to push through the white standees to the rear seats.

One or two blocks farther on, the bus obediently stopped, on the call of a single young white man, who boarded; and at the next block s topped to pick up three white young women, who boarded.

The driver of the bus surrendered his seat in the middle of the city to a fresh driver, and the supervisor, I believe, got off after a change of the bus sign to "Ponce de Leon-Druid Hills."

I am aware that this was a busy day, with Christmas shopping, much traffic, and many annoyances. I also realize that in matters of this kind, there are always two sides, and a mere passenger may not have understood technical considerations that would make my assumption of discrimination in error.

As, however, incidents of this kind are frequently rumored but can only seldom be described in detail, I thought it no more than right to bring the apparent incident to your attention.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

file Atlanta, City of.

August 23, 1966

Mrs. Ann Moses
Office of the Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Anne:

Here is what has been said to David Hunter, Director of the Stern Family Fund. I assume the U. S. Conference of Mayors will present a formal request to the Fund for consideration at their October board meeting. There is no way of predicting the outcome; Hunter is sold on the idea, but he has a very independent board.

Incidentally, John Feild, director of the Community Relations Service of the U. S. Conference of Mayors thinks that he and Mayor Allen are close friends. Since John is quite a promoter of Mayor Allen you might alert him to this fact.

Will be interested in your reaction.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

file
Atlanta, City of

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Hunter, David
Stern Family Fund

REGARDING

Letter and memorandum presenting needs of private foundation to aid financially in adding personnel to Office of the Mayor in Atlanta.

Note: U. S. Conference of Mayors (John Feild) also involved in these arrangements

DATE

August 23, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Foundations - Stern Family Fund, 1966

file Atlanta, City of

August 30, 1966

Mrs. Anne Moses
Office of the Mayor
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Anne:

This will confirm our telephone conversation of this morning.

Two representatives of the Ford Foundation will be in Atlanta on Wednesday, September 7 and will come by the Mayor's office at 3:00 p.m. They are Miss Jane Hinchcliffe of the Public Affairs Division of the Foundation, and Mr. John Ehle, a consultant with that Division. (Mr. Ehle resides in North Carolina, is a writer and novelist, formerly a professor at Chapel Hill, and an aide to Governor Terry Sanford.)

For sometime the Foundation has had an interest in establishing a program of neighborhood information centers in poor neighborhoods somewhat patterned after the system in England. They are seriously considering giving a modest amount of money to some agency in Atlanta for an experiment of this sort. They would like to discuss this with Mayor Allen.

I will probably bring these people to the Mayor's office, but think it best if he sees them alone.

Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

file Atlanta, City of

MLJ - file

Suite 1103
41 Exchange Pl., S.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303
September 9, 1966

Mayor Ivan Allen
City of Atlanta
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mayor Allen:

The undersigned professional staff of intergroup relations agencies have long been concerned with the well being of our community. Thus the events of this past week dictate that we communicate with you relative to the situation, and our role in the amelioration of this and similar incidents which might occur.

The two things which occurred this week must be of concern to all Atlantans. The first was the disorder on Tuesday, which we do not condone. The second is the response of the community to the disturbance. There has been in our opinion competent criticism of the violence and of those who supported it, for no one can countenance violence, the injury of persons and the willful destruction of property.

On the other hand, it would be tragic, indeed, if community consensus were to become arrayed against certain individuals and organizations and thus become a substitute for a more constructive response to the conditions which brought it about. Ample data is available from other communities, that agitation to action is not possible in a vacuum. Nor is the Summerhill area unique. It could have occurred in any of a number of different places in our city, just as riots can and do occur in other cities in America. For whenever there are deprivations and injustices, those who would incite violence will find a ready response to their appeals.

If Atlanta is to spare itself from future disorders, the leadership of the city of Atlanta must focus on the real problems which face too many of its people: inadequate housing; overcrowded schools; under-employment; a lack of adequate recreational facilities; a dearth of public services to these disadvantaged areas; minimal enforcement of the city's building code. These are but a few of the general areas of immediate concern with many, many more that could be enumerated and which demand immediate attention and prompt action.

The undersigned are prepared to lend their technical abilities and the full resources of their respective agencies to the City of Atlanta and to all of its people in an effort to develop a meaningful program for the city in the resolution of these problems.

We respectfully request an opportunity of an immediate meeting with you and such members of the Board of Aldermen and your staff as you deem appropriate for the purpose of more fully exploring these problems, their ramifications and an immediate course of action to be initiated by the city in dealing with these complex and highly volatile matters.

Respectfully,

Paul Anthony
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)

Theodore Freedman
(Southern Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
(Southeast Regional Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)

Miss Constance Curry
(Southern Field Representative, American Friends Service Committee)

Don McEvoy
(Georgia Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews)

The Rev. Oscar McCloud
(Office of Church and Society, United Presbyterian Church U.S.A.)

The Rev. John Morris
(Executive Director, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity)

Charles F. Wittenstein
(Southeast Area Director, American Jewish Committee)

The Rev. Edward Brown
(Anti-Poverty Task Force, National Council of Churches of Christ)

Randolph Blackwell
(Director, Southern Rural Action Project, Citizens Crusade Against Poverty)

Junius Griffin
(Director of Public Relations, Southern Christian Leadership Conference)

Jody Palmour
(Southern Student Organizing Committee)

Mrs. Frances Pauley
(Director, Georgia Council on Human Relations)

Harold Arnold
(Director, Atlanta Urban League)

Mrs. Frederick Robin
Georgia ACLU,

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

ATLANTA, CITY OF

REGARDING

FOUNDATION SUPPORT FOR ADDITIONAL PERSONNEL IN OFFICE OF MAYOR

DATE

9/14/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

STERN FAMILY FUND

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

City of Atlanta

REGARDING

Foundation Support for additional personnel on office of Mayor

DATE

9-14-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

STERN FAMILY FUND & Cr. Rf. ~~City of Atlanta~~
U. S. Conf. of Mayors

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Atlanta, City of

REGARDING

Memo to: David Hunter, Ex. Dir, Stern Family Fund 9/21/66
from Joh Feild, Dir., Community Relations, Service,
U. S. Conference of Mayors

Subject: Demonstration Project within the office of Mayor of
the City of Atlanta

DATE

9-21-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

ATLANTA, CITY OF

REGARDING

U. S. Conference of Mayors - Memo to David Hunter, Ex. Dir, Stern Family Fund, from John Feild, Director, Community Relations Service, U. S. Conference of Mayors

DATE

September 21, 1966

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

U. S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

file

MS

CITY OF ATLANTA

CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303
Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

IVAN ALLEN, JR., MAYOR

R. EARL LANDERS, Administrative Assistant
MRS. ANN M. MOSES, Executive Secretary
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Director of Governmental Liaison

September 28, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony and Colleagues:

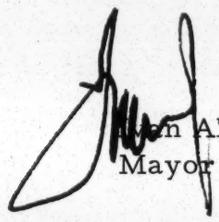
Thank you for your letter of September 9, and for your offer of assistance to the City of Atlanta. We are grateful for the leadership which has been provided by many persons, both professional and lay, associated with the agencies which you serve.

We fully acknowledge the existence of many conditions which must be changed if our city is to become the place which I believe we all hope for. We count upon your continued interest and the support of your agencies in developing programs to help us meet both the short and long run problems which face us.

Although it is not possible to arrange a meeting with your group immediately, I appreciate your willingness,both as individuals and collectively,

to offer advice and assistance and I assure you that we will be calling upon you.

Sincerely yours,



Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

IAJr:fy

cc: Mr. Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Miss Constance Curry
American Friends Service Committee

Mr. Don McEvoy
National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.

The Rev. Oscar McCloud
United Presbyterian Church U. S. A.

The Rev. John Morris
Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

Mr. Charles F. Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee

The Rev. Edward Brown
National Council of Churches of Christ

Mr. Randolph Blackwell
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty

Mr. Junius Griffin
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Mr. Jody Palmour
Southern Student Organizing Committee

Mrs. Frances Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations

See Atlanta, City of

October 11, 1966

Mrs. Anne Moses
Office of the Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Anne:

Enclosed are the requested documents; our request and the supporting memorandum from the Conference of Mayors.

Enclosed also is the briefest outline of Paul Rilling's experience. I am very uncertain of dates but can get a good vita should it be desired.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

file

Paul M. Rilling (Home address if possible 230 South Carolina Ave. S.E. Wash DC.

Current Position: Special assistant to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, Welfare

Formerly (approximately 3 years) Executive Director, District Commissioners' Council on Human Relations, Washington

Before that: (Approximately 3 years) Director of Field Activities, Southern Regional Council

Several years: Area Council, YMCA, Atlanta

Other experiences include editor of daily newspaper in Gainesville, Georgia
administrative assistant to Mayor of Mobile, Alabama

M.A. degree (political Science) University of Alabama

Considerable knowledge of Atlanta, the South, the operations of a Mayors Office, and the existing programs of the Federal Government

Highly respected in Washington and in professional circles

Would probably be considered an excellent choice by the various factions of the Atlanta community

Only original made of this

CITY OF ATLANTA

CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303
Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

IVAN ALLEN, JR., MAYOR

R. EARL LANDERS, Administrative Assistant
MRS. ANN M. MOSES, Executive Secretary
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Director of Governmental Liaison

November 2, 1966

Mr. John H. Wheeler
President
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wheeler:

The City of Atlanta is pleased to welcome the Members of the Southern Regional Council at your 22nd Annual Meeting.

The services and good wishes of the city are extended to you.

The work and goals of the Southern Regional Council are important to all of the South, and to Atlanta as the Gate City of the South. The city is proud that your Annual Meeting is held here, and hopeful that its deliberations this year are fruitful.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan Allen, Jr
Mayor

IAJr/br

File
Atlanta, City of

MS

CITY OF ATLANTA

CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303
Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

IVAN ALLEN, JR., MAYOR

R. EARL LANDERS, Administrative Assistant
MRS. ANN M. MOSES, Executive Secretary
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Director of Governmental Liaison

November 7, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
15 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

One of Atlanta's greatest problems is a seriously inadequate supply of low and moderate income housing in the city.

If we are to successfully rid our city of substandard and blighted houses and provide all citizens with decent, safe shelter, we must use every available resource at our command.

This includes development by private industry of housing facilities which low income families can afford as well as continued support by the Board of Aldermen and Mayor of public housing. Recent federal legislation now provides additional resources for private entrepreneurs which makes possible new methods of participation by private enterprise.

In order to encourage maximum participation in solving this problem, I have invited private builders and developers and financiers, as well as federal housing officials to meet with us in the Aldermanic Chamber at City Hall at 2:00 p. m. on Tuesday, November 15, to help us find ways to speed the development of low and moderate income housing facilities.

I hope you will make your plans to attend and participate in this Housing Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Ivan

Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor

Integrany - Official Commun

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"OFFICE OF CLERK OF BOARD OF ALDERMEN - CITY OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA

AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE CHARTER - BY: SAM MASSELL, JR., CHAIRMAN ALDERMANIC HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

AN ORDINANCE TO AMEND THE CHARTER OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA TO CREATE A COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION FOR THE CITY OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA, PROVIDE FOR MEMBERSHIP, DEFINE THE PURPOSES AND DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION AND OBJECTIVES SOUGHT TO BE ACCOMPLISHED, PROVIDE FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.

BE AND IT IS HEREBY ENACTED BY THE MAYOR AND BOARD OF ALDERMEN OF THE CITY OF ATLANTA AS FOLLOWS:

SECTION 1. There is hereby created a Community Relations Commission for the City of Atlanta, Georgia, to be known as the Community Relations Commission. The Commission shall be composed of twenty members, serving without compensation, all bonafide adult residents and representatives of all segments of the City of Atlanta, Georgia, to be appointed by the Mayor with approval of the Board of Aldermen, one of whom shall be designated by the Mayor as its chairman at the organizational meeting and at each annual meeting thereafter. Seven members of said Commission shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. Of the twenty members first appointed, six shall be appointed for one year, seven for two years and seven for three years; thereafter all appointments to the Commission shall be for a term of three years. Any member may be removed by the Mayor for failure to attend meetings or inattention to duties. In the event of death, resignation or removal of any member, his successor shall be appointed by the Mayor to serve for the unexpired period of the time for which such member has been appointed provided however, that all members shall continue in office until their successors shall have been appointed.

SECTION 2. The Commission, at its organizational meeting and each annual meeting thereafter, shall elect from its membership a vice-chairman; a second vice-chairman; and a secretary. The chairman, vice-chairman, second vice-chairman, and secretary shall have and perform such duties as are commonly associated with their respective titles. The officers of the Commission shall be and constitute the executive committee of the Commission which shall exercise such powers of the Commission between its regular meetings as may be authorized by the Commission. The Commission shall be further authorized to appoint and fix the membership of such number of standing and temporary committees as it may find expedient for the performance of its duties.

SECTION 3. The Community Relations Commission shall meet at least once each month at such time and place as shall be fixed by the Commission by its standing rules. Special meetings shall be called by the chairman, or in his absence by the ranking vice-chairman, or on the written request of any two members of the executive committee, or upon the written request of a majority (ten members) of said Commission. All such requests shall state the purpose or purposes for which such special meeting is to be called and shall be filed with the secretary at least 24 hours before the time of the special meeting so called and authorized. Such request and call for a special meeting shall be read at the meeting and entered in the minutes, and no business shall be transacted except that stated in the request for such special meeting. The Commission shall prepare its own agenda for all meetings and establish its own rules of order or adopt Robert's Rule of Order for the conduct of their meetings.

SECTION 4. The functions, duties and powers of the Commission shall be:

(a) To foster mutual understanding, tolerance, and respect among all economic, social, religious, and ethnic groups in the City.
(b) To help make it possible for each citizen, regardless of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry, to develop his talents and abilities without limitation.
(c) To aid in permitting the City of Atlanta to benefit from the fullest realization of its human resources.
(d) To investigate, discourage and seek to prevent discriminatory practices against any individual because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry.
(e) To attempt to act as conciliator in controversies involving human relations.
(f) To cooperate with the Federal, State, and City agencies in developing harmonious human relations.
(g) To cooperate in the development of educational programs dedicated to the improvement of human relations with, and to enlist the support of, civic leaders; civic, religious, veterans, labor, engaged in the inculcation of ideals of tolerance, mutual respect and understanding.

(h) To make studies, and have studies made, in the field of human relations, and to prepare and disseminate reports of such studies.

(i) To recommend to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen such ordinances as will aid in carrying out the purposes of this ordinance.

(j) To submit an annual report to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

(k) To accept grants and donations on behalf of the City from foundations and others for the purpose of carrying out the above listed functions, subject to the approval of the Mayor and Board of Alderman.

SECTION 5. Pursuant to the named functions and duties of the Community Relations Commission, it is empowered to hold hearings and take the testimony of any person under oath. The Commission, after the completion of any hearing, shall make a report in writing to the Mayor setting forth the facts found by it and its recommendations. At any hearing before the Commission a witness shall have the right to be advised by Counsel present during such hearings.

SECTION 6. The Commission shall, with the approval of the Mayor and Board of Alderman, employ an Executive Director, and the Mayor and Board of Aldermen shall fix his compensation. The Executive Director shall be a person with training and experience in inter-group and inter-racial relations. The Executive Director shall coordinate the activities of the Commission and its staff. He may, with the Mayor's approval and within the limits of the budget of the Commission, employ such staff as he needs, and the Executive Director shall fix the compensation of such staff, subject to the approval of the Personnel Board of the City.

SECTION 7. The Commission shall prepare annually a budget for the ensuing fiscal year, and shall submit such budget to the Mayor and Board of Aldermen for their approval. Except for the initial year, the Commission shall prepare and submit each budget no later than September 30th of each year. All Budgetary expenditures shall be authorized by the Commission.

SECTION 8. In the event that private funds are made available for special projects, surveys, and educational programs, the Mayor is authorized, upon recommendation of the Commission, to enter into such contract or contracts with private individuals, associations, or groups desiring to promote the purpose of said Commission by furnishing funds for said purposes.

SECTION 9. The services of all other departments of The City of Atlanta shall be made available to the Commission upon its request for such services subject to the ability and capacity of s id Department to render same. Information in the possession of any department, board, or agency of the City of Atlanta shall be furnished to the Commission upon its request, and to the extent permitted by law, subject to the ability and capacity of the department to furnish it. Upon the refusal by any Director or Head of any department, board, or agency of the City to furnish any information which has been requested by the Commission, the matter shall be referred to the Mayor who shall determine whether such information shall be furnished to the Commission, and the decision of the Mayor shall be final.

SECTION 10. The Mayor is authorized to allocate adequate office space and to provide the necessary facilities in the City Hall for said Commission if the office space and facilities are available. If office space and facilities are not available in the City Hall, then the Mayor is authorized to secure adequate office space and to provide the necessary facilities as convenient to the City Hall as possible.

SECTION 11. If any section of this ordinance be held to be unconstitutional or otherwise invalid by any Court of competent jurisdiction, then such section shall be considered separately and apart from the remaining provision of this ordinance, said section to be completely and separable from the remaining provisions of this ordinance and the remaining provisions of this ordinance shall remain in full force and effect.

SECTION 12. The provisions of this ordinance shall be included and incorporated in the Charter and Related Laws of the City of Atlanta, as an addition thereto.

SECTION 13. That a copy of this proposed amendment to the Charter and Related Laws of the City of Atlanta shall be filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen and in the Office of the Clerk of the Superior Court of Fulton County and that the Notice of Proposed Amendment to the Charter and Related Laws of the City of Atlanta, attached hereto, marked "Exhibit A" and made a part of this Ordinance, be published once a week for three weeks in a newspaper of general circulation in the City of Atlanta or the official organ ordinance prior to its final adoption by the Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

SECTION 14. That all ordinances and parts of ordinances in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

ADOPTED by Board of Aldermen
November 7, 1966
APPROVED November 8, 1966

A true copy
/s/ J. J. Little
"Clerk of Board of Aldermen"

File
Atlanta, City of

October 5, 1967

The Honorable Ivan Allen, Jr.
Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mayor Allen:

Some time ago Moreland Smith agreed to submit certain ideas and information to you concerning housing in Atlanta and urban planning. This report is being delivered to your office today. Later we will provide five (5) additional copies in the event you may wish to share them with members of your staff or others. Additional copies are available if you should have need of them.

Each copy of this Report to the Mayor is numbered and any circulation they receive in the city will be through your office and at your discretion.

I hope you find this report to be of some use to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File Atlanta, City of

November 21, 1967

Mr. Dan E. Sweat, Jr.
Office of the Mayor
City of Atlanta
City Hall
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dan:

The enclosed resumé is being sent relative to our phone conversation this morning. I have not met Mr. Wright, but Moreland Smith has worked with him and has a high regard for him. In fact, he has been anxious that we hire Mr. Wright.

If you are going to be in Washington you might at least want to look him up.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION

ESTABLISHED BY THE MAYOR AND THE BOARD OF ALDERMEN, NOVEMBER, 1966
1203 CITY HALL, ATLANTA GEORGIA 30303 TELEPHONE 522-4463 EXT. 433

MR. IRVING K. KALER, *Chairman*
THE HONORABLE SAM MASSELL, JR., *Ex-Officio*
President, Board of Aldermen

COMMISSION MEMBERS
MR. T. M. ALEXANDER, SR.
MR. R. BYRON ATTRIDGE
MRS. SARA BAKER
MISS HELEN BULLARD
MR. R. J. BUTLER
MR. ROBERT DOBBS
MR. HAMILTON DOUGLAS, JR.
MR. C. G. EZZARD
MOST REVEREND PAUL J. HALLINAN
Archbishop of Atlanta
MR. JOSEPH HAAS
MR. AL KUETTNER
DR. ROBERT E. LEE
MR. ROLLAND MAXWELL
MR. F. W. PATTERSON
RABBI JACOB M. ROTHSCHILD
MR. M. O. "BUZZ" RYAN
MR. JACK SELLS
MRS. MARY STEPHENS
THE REVEREND SAMUEL WILLIAMS

MRS. ELIZA K. PASCHALL,
Executive Director

file

December 4, 1967
(Dictated November 30)

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I acknowledge your letter of November 22, 1967. I appreciate your having sent me the copy of the Atlanta Housing Study which was recently released by the Regional Council of Atlanta, Inc.

When convenient for you to do so, I would like to see the more elaborate report prepared for the Mayor on Atlanta's future in urban planning.

We have this. It was simply an error mj

In the meantime, please correct your records to show that my correct address is Suite 1820, Fulton National Bank Building, Atlanta, Georgia 30303. Your November 22 letter was delayed getting to me because it was inadvertently sent to the First National Bank Building.

I thank you again for your constructive interest and assistance in the program of the Community Relations Commission of Atlanta.

Yours very sincerely,

Irving K. Kaler
Chairman

IKK:rjg

MEMORANDUM January 17, 1968

To: Mr. William Howland
Office of the Mayor
Atlanta, Georgia

From: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Hungry Club Speech for the Mayor.

Your idea on the current and rapidly increasing opportunity for Negro citizens to provide leadership and participation in the affairs of the city is a very sound one, and would, I believe, be well received by the audience.

The Mayor should, however, keep in mind two very sensitive points:

(1) The whole matter of annexation is being looked on by a growing number of Negroes in the community with deep suspicion as an effort merely to dilute Negro power, particularly political power. In fact, a growing number of people accept the fact that failure of considerable annexation will, for instance, create the most serious tax problems, yet, this school of thought is perfectly willing to take on such problems along with opportunities for greater power and participation. And, whatever thepproblems, this alternative is seen as desirable to the diluted vote and all the implications of that. In short, annexation is seen as preserving the patterns of the past. More power to the Mayor if he wishes to take this head on. It's an honest audience and certainly his is an honest argument. He might, in fact, do some good for his argument by taking it head on, but he should be in a position to weigh this beforehand.

(2) While the issue has cooled considerably during the course of the past months, concerns among Negro citizens about public education and the policies and results of the Atlanta public school administration is sensitive and serious.

* * * * *

Certainly it would be most appropriate for the Mayor to begin by noting -- for all the good practices -- the inadequacy of the opportunity for Negro leadership and participation in the past, and to predict very honestly, I think, a rapid change in this situation. So, too, I think it would be most appropriate to comment on sound predictions about the city's future economic growth and employment patterns. However, in spelling out the city's economy with the role of white-collar and service employment, it might be good for the Mayor to note our failures of adequate training in the past and place, equally with opportunity for employment vis-a-vis the absence of discrimination and the need for manpower, the need now for planning and new policies to meet the needs.

Perhaps you would want to consider one final point concerning opportunity and responsibility as represented by the audience. This would be relative to noting that the major problem of the city is the large number of poor and untrained in the heart of Atlanta. Realistically, perhaps, the Mayor could lament the absence of local, state, and federal funds to deal with this. He might want to urge the audience to lend its full support in trying to change this situation. But, also realistically, he might want to note that we cannot wait for major state and national legislative changes before attempting to relieve as much of this problem as possible. The Mayor has a long record of calling on the community's leadership to provide private resources to help.

It would seem to me most appropriate for him to do the same here. This is, after all, one more luncheon club representing, from a particular segment of the community, business and financial leadership, and it should be challenged and appealed to just as the Mayor might do in Buckhead or elsewhere.

-o-

The family of

Mr. Ivan Allen

deeply appreciate

your thoughtfulness and sympathy

Mr Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St NW
Atlanta, Georgia

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

October 17, 1968

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr. and Family
3700 Northside Drive, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

The members and staff of the Southern Regional Council wish to extend to you and your family our deep sympathy in your great loss.

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

April 11, 1969

Mr. William S. Howland
Pavillion No. 4
Medical Research Center
Brookhaven National Laboratory
Upton, Long Island, New York 11973

Dear Bill:

Thank you so much for think of us and sharing the editorial.

We have missed you very much, and I am delighted to know you will be home around the first of June. Let me know when you arrive, I look forward to visiting with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WILLIAM S. HOWLAND
PAVILION NO. 4
MEDICAL RESEARCH CENTER
BROOKHAVEN NATIONAL LABORATORY
UPTON, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK 11973

April 5 , 1969

Mr Paul Anthony , Executive Director ,
The Southern Regional Council ,
5 Forsyth St , SW
Atlanta , Ga .

Dear Paul-½

The enclosed caught my eye in today's N Y Times.

Still seems odd not to just pick up the phone and call you .

Entering my 3rd month here I am responding very well to the drug treatment for Parkinsonism , the doctors say , . They have not given me any release date yet , but I gather I'll be getting home around the first of June.

All best to all my friends at S R C

Bill Howland

The New York Times

Published every day by The New York Times Company

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT" ESTABLISHED 1851 ®

Failing to Honor Dr. King...

One year after the assassination of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King events conspire to desecrate his memory.

The Kerner Commission warned about separatist trends in the nation and a follow-up report, released several weeks ago, gloomily concluded that the nation is now "a year closer to being two societies, black and white, increasingly separate and scarcely less unequal." Clear evidence of lingering racial injustice has failed to move the nation to anything approaching adequate reform; indeed, policies often have moved in exactly the wrong direction.

The State Legislature has slashed welfare and social service funds so severely that the new state budget will worsen the plight of those already most deprived. The Nixon Administration has been long on assurances, short on action. Desegregation guidelines have become fuzzier. The Department of Transportation has scrapped antibias protections that have applied to employment in highway construction while the Defense Department has failed to insist on written plans for eradicating discrimination before awarding contracts to Southern textile mills. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, especially upset over the textile policy, plans to sue.

Nor, unfortunately, can any sketch of the grim racial news end without noting that violence of a planned and especially ugly nature seems on the rise among a lunatic fringe of extremists. Black Panthers have been charged here with a plot to blow up a commuter train and set fire to several department stores. Police suspect that the firebombing of a Queens church early yesterday where a moderate Negro serves as pastor might also have been the work of black extremists. More extremists have been arrested following a shootout with police in Detroit. Slum violence in Chicago proved serious enough to require the National Guard.

All of this—the evidence of desperate need and bitter frustration, the inadequate and even wrongheaded public response—underscores what Dr. Kenneth B. Clark told members of the Kerner Commission. The Negro psychologist recalled a half-century of reports by other commissions formed following other riots and said: "It is a kind of Alice in Wonderland—with the same moving pictures reshown over and over again, the same analysis, the same recommendations and the same inaction."

The anniversary of the King assassination provides no antidote to Dr. Clark's pessimism. There has been inaction. There has also been retrenchment and a certain subtle reaction, a negative movement, that can only deepen the nation's racial crisis.

ATLANTA PUBLIC LIBRARY
126 Carnegie Way, N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Carlton C. Rochell, Director - Mary Louise Rheay, Assistant Director

May 27, 1969

Read 6/3/69. mj

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the library Board of Trustees, I wish to express our sincere appreciation for the donation of the film, "I Have a Dream", the Life of Martin Luther King by your organization to the Atlanta Public Library.

As you have shown by this gift, I am sure you know that more useful exposure is assured through the public library than any other organization in the area.

Thank you again.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. LeRoy A. Woodward

Mrs. LeRoy A. Woodward
President, Board of Trustees

AW:mj

May 13, 1969

Mrs. Anne W. LeClercq
Fine Arts Department
Atlanta Public Library
Carnegie Way, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. LeClercq:

Enclosed is our check for $195.00 representing a contribution to the Atlanta Public Library for the purpose of purchasing a second print of the film of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

We are pleased to know that there is such demand for this film in the community.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc. - Check $195.00

Office of the Mayor

ATLANTA, GEORGIA
PHONE 659-4463

MAY 12 1972

Sam Massell, Mayor

May 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM

The recently-named LEAA High Impact Criminal Justice Task Force will have its first meeting on May 15, at 10:30 a.m. in Committee Room No. 2 on the second floor of City Hall.

This is to confirm the special invitation extended to you by phone to attend the meeting with this group.

CITY OF ATLANTA

SAM MASSELL, Mayor
DAN E. SWEAT, JR., Chief Administrative Officer
NORMA H. DAY, Executive Secretary

NEWS RELEASE

CITY HALL ATLANTA, GA. 30303
Tel. 522-4463 Area Code 404

For further information please contact: (Miss) Roz Thomas, Research and Information Officer (404) 659-4463

May 11, 1972
(RE: MAYOR APPOINTS CRIMINAL JUSTICE TASK FORCE)
For Release Upon Receipt

Mayor Sam Massell today announced the appointment of a 24-member criminal justice task force to provide advisory counsel and advice for implementing the LEAA (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration) High Impact Program which makes $20 million in Federal funds available to Atlanta.

The large-scale categorical program is designed to substantially reduce the incidence of street crime and burglary. Eight major U.S. cities were selected to participate in the program, Atlanta being the only one in the Southeast to have been chosen.

Massell stated, "This is a tremendous opportunity for us to intelligently attack crime in Atlanta. I am pleased that the men and women selected for this task force are willing to donate their services to help us effectively utilize these funds to further protect every citizen against the criminal element. We are also very fortunate to have here in Atlanta Mr. George Murphy, the most able Director of LEAA's Southeastern Region, to assist and advise us with the implementation of this program."

Those appointed to the task force are as follows:
Luther Alverson, Judge, Superior Court, Atlanta Judicial Circuit;
Byron Attridge, President, Atlanta Bar Association;
Cook M. Barwick, Past President, Society of Former Special Agents of the FBI;
Emily B. Grigsby, Vice President, Grand Jurors Association of Fulton County;
F.D. Hand, Jr., Chief, DeKalb County Police Department;
Genevieve Hill, Dean, Atlanta University School of Social Work;
J.D. Hudson, Director, City of Atlanta Prison Farm;
John Inman, Chief, Atlanta Police Department;
Ira L. Jackson, Chairman, Atlanta Aldermanic Police Committee;

- MORE -

ADD 1 - MASSELL APPOINTS TASK FORCE

Herbert T. Jenkins, Chief Emeritus, Atlanta Police Department;
James R. Leidgen, President, Wells Fargo Armored Service Corporation;
Ellis C. MacDougall, Director, State Board of Corrections;
Hinson McAuliffe, Solicitor General, Criminal Court of Fulton County;
C.C. Mitchell, Past President, Afro-American Patrolmen's League;
Dillard Munford, Trustee, Metropolitan Atlanta Commission on Crime and Juvinile Delinquency;
Bernard Parks, Chairman of the Board, Metropolitan Atlanta Council on Alcoholism and Drugs;
Col. Ray Pope, Commissioner, Georgia Department of Public Safety;
Romae T. Powell, Past President, Gate City Bar Association;
Lewis R. Slaton, District Attorney, Atlanta Judicial Circuit;
LeRoy Stynchcombe, Sheriff, Fulton County;
W. Lynn Taylor, Past Vice President, Fraternal Order of Police;
Steven J. Van Cleave, Vice President, Advance Industrial Security, Inc.;
Andrew Young, Chairman, Atlanta Community Relations Commission.

Mayor Massell will head the committee. The group will hold its first meeting Monday, May 15, at 10:30 a.m., at City Hall.

# # #

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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SECRETARY-TREASURER
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES
RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 18, 1947

The Rev. Thomas C. Allen
Room 215, 1444 East Main
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Allen:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for Richmond.

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in once city who wish to refer to law and/or custom is other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we need is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present? **Yes, if there is a request. Many times Negroes do not manifest interest enough to ask.**

(2) Is entrance for Negroes through the same entrance as for whites, or through a separate one? **Same entrance.**

(3) Are exits for Negroes the same as for whites, or separate? **Same Exits.**

(4) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes? **Segregated, Negroes would have seats in balcony.**

(5) When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special seating arrangements made for white and Negro patrons? **Yes. Negroes are given main or ochestra floor.**

(6) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use? **Yes.**

Currently there is being sponsored a series of Artists Concert Programs , Robeson, Anderson, Scott, in which the Mosque, which is the City Auditorium is being rented to Negro Organizations who are bringing these Artist here.

Ex. When Governor Arnall spoke here under the Auspices of B'nai Brith Negroes were seated on first floor, but segregated. (more)

For several years now, the two Negro High Schools Maggie Walker and Armstrong have had the use of the City Stadium for their Annual Football game. The week earlier the two white High Schools have their game. Some whites attend the Negro games, but few if any Negroes attend the white game.

Meetings held in Churches are rarely on a segrated pattern, that is of course interracial meetings. Thus far it is being taken that State Laws for segregated patterns do not have to be followed in Church Buildings. Also if the people attending a meeting come on invitation, they do not have to be segregated even in a public building. The invitations have to be presented at the door. To my knowledge this method has not been tried as to a ticket admission affair.

Very sincerely yours,

Thos. C. Allen

Thos. C. Allen.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

November 18, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

Miss Adele J. Minahan
1930 College Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for Columbia?

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in one city who wish to refer to law and/or custom in other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we want is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present? **Yes**

(2) Is entrance for Negroes through the same entrance as for whites, or through a separate one? **Same entrance**

(3) Are exits for Negroes the same as for whites, or separate? **Same exits**

(4) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes? **Seperate section of upper balcony**

(5) When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons? **Formerly -Yes Recently -No This depend on the sponsoring group**

(6) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made

available for entirely Negro use? **Yes. All organizations pay for the use of the Auditorium**

We shall appreciate very much your getting this information for us. Speed is important to our main enquirer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

I trust this information will be helpful.

Cordially yours,

Adele J. Minahan

Adele J. Minahan

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
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FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 18, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Merle Eppse
Tennessee A. & T. College
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Eppse:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for Nashville?

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in one city who wish to refer to law and/or custom in other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we want is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present? yes

(2) Is entrance for Negroes through the same entrance as for whites, or through a separate one? yes

(3) Are exits for Negroes the same as for whites, or separate? yes

(4) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes? - depends - sometimes divided - others all one or other - others only one

(5) When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons? usually yes, (Marian Anderson - yes) (civic affair. no)

(6) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use? yes

We shall appreciate very much you getting this information for us. Speed is important to our main enquirer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

1, we have two halls - Ryman auditorium run by a wealthy group - very old and flavored with a rich background. - capacity 3,500

2. War memorial auditorium (capacity 2600) - owned by State - The rules are about - same it will vary as to what it - is, who it is, and what it is for.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 19, 1947

RECEIVED
JAN 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

The Rev. George E. Clary
224 Barnard
Savannah, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clary:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for Savannah?

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in one city who wish to refer to law and/or custom in other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we need is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium through the same entrance used by whites, or through a separate one?

same entrance

(2) Are exits for Negroes the same as for whites, or separate?

same exits

(3) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes when white people are present? separate seating for each race

(4) When a Negro is the speaker of artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons?

yes

(5) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use?

yes

If you can distinguish between law and custom in these practices, it will help to meet our needs.

We shall appreciate very much your getting this information for us. Speed is important to our main enquirer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

P.S. I am sorry to have been so slow in getting this back to you. I asked Doctor Cartright to get the information and he was late getting it back to me. The information he gives is correct.

G. E. Clary

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, NORFOLK
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK W. SPENCER, SAVANNAH
SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
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Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

November 19, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 21 1947
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Robert Durr
The Birmingham Weekly Review
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Mr. Durr:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for Birmingham?

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in one city who wish to refer to law and/or custom in other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we want is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present? yes

(2) Is entrance for Negroes through the same entrance as for whites or through a spearate one? seperate

(3) Are exits for Negroes the same as for white, or separate? seperate

(4) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes? ~~of~~ gallery

(5) When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons? Negroes entire main floor. whites dress circle and gallery

(6) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use? yes — quite often.

P.S. Law holds that if they sit on same floor — line must be drawn between them and they must enter seperate doors.

If you can distinguish between law and custom in these practices, that will help to meet our needs.

We shall appreciate very much your getting this information for us. Speed is important to our main enquirer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

P.S. I might add that the law is the thing that makes separation necessary. Nothing more. Nothing less. Remove the segregation law and I dare say both groups could enter some doors and be seated indiscriminately with as little incident as both races attend offers at Soldiers Field in Chicago or Madison Square Garden in New York.

Robert Durr

November 19, 1947

Miss Florence Sytz
Tulane School of Social Work
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Miss Sytz:

The Southern Regional Council is currently interested in provisions made by various southern cities for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums. We wonder if you will be good enough to answer a few questions for us so that we will have information for New Orleans?

Our purpose in this survey is to gather information for reference use. Our immediate need for it is for an SRC group in one city who wish to refer to law and/or custom in other southern cities in convincing the city fathers that the local auditorium should not be restricted to white citizens only.

The information we want is along these lines:

(1) Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present?

(2) Is entrance for Negroes through the same entrance used by white patrons, or through a separate one?

(3) Are exits for Negroes the same as for whites, or separate?

(4) What seating arrangements are made for Negroes?

(5) When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons?

(6) Are there any occasions when the auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use?

If you can distinguish between law and custom in these practices it will help to meet our needs.

We shall appreciate very much your getting this information for us. Speed is important to our main enquirer.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price
Research Assistant

84 SOUTH BATTERY
CHARLESTON 21, SOUTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
NOV 26 1947
Southern Regional Council

Nov. 24th, 1947.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

My dear Miss Price;-

Your letter of Nov. 19th has been received, and is only now being answered because I was away when it arrived.

We have no municipal auditorium in Charleston However we do have a huge auditorium, owned by the county of Charleston, and situated in the city. This county auditorium can be rented and used by the negroes, or by the whites, but a mixed audience is not permitted. This is not controlled by law or city ordnance, it is a rule established by the board, composed of various county officials, who control and are responsible for the auditorium.

All negro artists who have been brought to Charleston have performed in Negro Churches, there the audiences are frequently mixed, with of course everyone using the same exits and entrances. Sometimes special blocks of seats have been set aside for "patrons" or white people, but most usually not.

I hope this gives you the information you want.

Sincerely,

Harriet P. Simons

Mrs. Albert Simons.

Millsaps College
Jackson 20, Mississippi
November 25, 1947

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

Miss Margaret Price, Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

The following is in answer to your letter of November 19, requesting information on policies and practices of the Jackson Municipal Auditorium. I fear that the information will be of little use in serving the "immediate need" mentioned in your letter.

The Auditorium is a municipal enterprise, financed by a bond issue. It is controlled by a manager appointed by the Mayor. The Mayor and the two Commissioners determine Auditorium policy.

In answer to specific questions:

1. Are Negroes admitted to the auditorium when white people are present?

Under present policy, Negroes are admitted to only one form of attraction offered at the Auditorium. This is the weekly wrestling program sponsored by a post of the American Legion. The matches are run for profit, with profits going into Legion funds. Negroes admitted to these programs are seated in segregated balcony sections. Negroes are not admitted to other commercial attractions, such as concerts, etc. (This exclusion is Auditorium policy.)

2. For the wrestling matches, entrance for Negroes is the same as that used by whites. Only one box office is operated at these affairs.

3. For the wrestling matches, exits for the Negroes are the same as for the whites.

4. For the wrestling matches, seating arrangements for Negroes are the less desirable, segregated balcony sections.

5. When a Negro is the speaker or artist, are special arrangements made for seating white and Negro patrons ?

Apparently the only Negro artist who has appeared in

the Auditorium is Marion Anderson, who presented a concert late in 1941 or early in 1942. Miss Anderson insisted that equal accommodations be provided for Negroes. About one-third of the orchestra seats and one-third of the balcony were set aside for Negroes. The orchestra seats are movable. A wide aisle was left between white and Negro orchestra seats. The present manager states that he is positive that he and the present city administration would not allow such an arrangement.

6. Are there any occasions when the Auditorium is made available for entirely Negro use ?

No. (There is no public building of this type available for such use. Negroes from time to time use chapels of Negro colleges etc.)

There seems to be no law or ordinance to prevent use of the Auditorium by Negroes. The decision is that of the Mayor and Commissioners.

Sincerely yours,

V.L. Wharton

V.L. Wharton

SRC - Auditorium Research

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED NOV 26 1947 Southern Regional Council

November 25, 1947

Dear Miss Price:

The Shrine Circus had my hands tied when I received your letter. I regret the delay in answering your questions, but I hope the enclosed will aid you.

Sincerely,

R. A. Thompson

R. A. Thompson
Industrial Secretary

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Enclosure:

RECEIVED
NOV 26 1947
Southern Regional Co

1. Negroes are admitted to the auditorium when white people are present, but on a segargated basis.

2. There is a colored entrance on the side of the auditorium, and used only when the performance or program is for white persons. However, when the program is for colored citizens the front entrance is used by both racial groups.

3. This depends also on who the program was given for. In the main entrance there are separate exists.

4. Segregated seating arrangements at all times.

5. Yes.

6. Yes, when there are Negro dancers, circuses and other all Negro performances.

The Winston-Salem Teachers College

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

November 26, 1947

Miss Margaret Price
Research Assistant, Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

I have your letter of November 19th requesting information concerning the provisions for the seating of Negroes in municipal auditoriums.

In reply I wish to say that the city of Winston-Salem does not have a municipal auditorium. Large public affairs here are held sometimes in the County Courthouse where there is usually segregation--white people sitting on one side of the aisle and Negroes on the other.

When artists come to the city that are sponsored by white individuals, or white groups, or white civic organizations, the concerts are usually held in the auditorium of one of the large white high schools which seats about 2,500 people. Negroes are excluded altogether from attendance at these affairs. Once in a great while, on very special occasions, Negroes are admitted but are segregated in the seating.

When Negro groups sponsor programs by artists and speakers the affairs are usually held in the auditoriums of the public schools, the auditorium of the Winston-Salem Teachers College, or in Negro churches. On these occasions there is no segregation; however, the audiences are made up almost entirely of Negroes.

I trust this information will be of service to you.

Sincerely yours,

F. L. Atkins

F. L. Atkins
President

FLA:rmw

RECEIVED
NOV 28 1947
Southern Regional Council

CONCERNING THE SEATING OF NEGROES IN THE MEMORIAL AUDITORIUM,
RALEIGH, N. C.

1. Negroes are admitted to the auditorium when whites are present.

2. The same entrances are used by whites and Negroes.

3. The same exits are used by whites and Negroes.

4. The Negroes are generally segregated. However, this pattern was not adhered to during Henry Wallace's appearance under the auspices of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Special permission was obtained from the Council to seat persons as the Southern Conference officials saw fit.

5. When a Negro is the speaker or artist the practice varies. During the Marian Anderson recital Negroes and whites sat on the main floor in different isles. This arrangement was due undoubtedly to the pressure exerted by Negroes who who helped with the sale of tickets.

6. The auditorium is available exclusively for Negroes at anytime request is made. In general, it seems that substantial improvement is being realized in attitudes relative to the use of the auditorium in this city.

S. E. Duncan

S. E. Duncan

file
"Summit Conf

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Committee on Appeals for Human Rights

All Citizens Registration Committee

Atlanta Negro Voters League

Operation Bread Basket

Ghandi Youth Society

November 1, 1963

ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY

(Recommendations from the City-Wide Leadership Conference of October 19, 1963)

Published by

Steering Committee

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John H. Calhoun, Secretary
Warren R. Cochrane
James Alexander
Leroy Johnson
Vernon Jordan
Albert M. Davis
John A. Middleton
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Eliza Paschall
Lionel Newson
W. S. Mercer

Prepared by

Editorial Committee

Tilman C. Cothran, Chairman
Jesse Hill, Jr.
Eliza Paschall
Warren R. Cochrane
Larry Fox
B. R. Brazeal
Samuel Williams

Address all correspondence to ACTION FOR DEMOCRACY, 26 Butler Street, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Printed through the courtesy of the Greater Atlanta Council on Human Relations and the Unitarian Service Committee.

INTRODUCTION

On Saturday, October 19, 1963, at the Interdenominational Theological Center, more than two hundred outstanding leaders of the Atlanta Community met and addressed themselves to the problems of segregation and discrimination still facing Atlanta.

Democracy stands at the point of becoming either the greatest motivating force in the lives of human beings or of going down in history as an ignoble failure of a great experiment in man's search for human happiness. Presently, Atlanta enjoys the enviable opportunity of being in a position to help resuscitate America's soul and to help revitalize the hopes and aspirations of free peoples everywhere. If democracy survives in its battle for the hearts and minds of men, history will speak glowingly of those who dared to initiate programs to make democratic institutions apply to all peoples regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

The conference participants believe that Atlanta's race relations image, often proudly used to bolster America's democratic image abroad, needs considerable improvement. In order to enhance the essence of individual dignity, the conference leaders unanimously request the speedy removal of all racial barriers to the full enjoyment of all activities and institutions in this community. This is Atlanta's challenge and Atlanta's opportunity to boost freedom.

We cannot believe that delay is an asset. The time is now! It is impossible to move too fast in providing recognition for the dignity of the human soul; it is not necessary to engage in a long, laborious, and agonizing process of social change in order to provide equality for all people.

We cannot believe that token desegregation represents a noteworthy achievement. Limited desegregation admits the moral impropriety of segregation and prolongs a social situation which is completely unacceptable to Negroes and to other sincere believers in democracy.

We cannot believe that the citizens of Atlanta are content to allow their favorable national and international image to rest upon changes that already have occurred as a consequence of legal, economic, and protest actions. We believe that most of the citizens of Atlanta possess the moral courage to actualize racial equality without delay and without the necessity of overt pressures to effectuate the needed changes.

Since the various aspects of life are so intricately interwoven that lasting change in a limited area of behavior is practically impossible, total desegregation must apply to all areas of community life. We request, therefore, that public officials, leaders in business and industry, the churches, and all others in positions of authority institute immediately total desegregation and meaningful equality in housing, employment, education, political participation, law enforcement, voter registration, health and social services, and public accommodations. Our immediate concerns in each of these facets of life are delineated in the requests that constitute this document.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

A severe blight on the alleged good image of Atlanta

is the continuing refusal on the part of many businessmen to desegregate completely public accommodations for all citizens. Yet, hopefully, we define our city as suitable for major league sports, as ready to produce a world's fair, and as being cosmopolitan in character.

Limited desegregation of hotels, motels, and restaurants as put into effect in Atlanta is an affront to the dignity of Negroes as individual citizens and, thereby, is completely unacceptable to all fair-minded people. Continued segregation in this vital area is based upon an unreasonable allegiance to tradition at a time in history when such allegiance is unnecessary and impractical.

The denial of freedom and equality for all Atlanta citizens in the use of public accommodation facilities cannot be rationalized under the smoke-screen that property rights are being violated. We contend that, morally and legally, the rights of American citizenship, irrespective of race, religion, or national origin, negate the long-standing practice of excluding categorically individual citizens from free access to businesses licensed to serve the public. Democratic principles are oriented toward individual dignity and responsibility rather than toward group membership and responsibility.

Therefore, we strongly request the following:

1. That all public accommodations and facilities, including restaurants, hotels, motels, and recreational facilities, be totally desegregated immediately.
2. That the Atlanta Board of Aldermen pass a Public Accommodations Ordinance guaranteeing human rights to all citizens.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

The absence of equal employment opportunities is one of the key problems facing Negroes in Atlanta. Discrimination in employment finds expression through making Negroes the last hired and the first fired, through assigning them to sub-standard jobs, through applying differential wage scales when Negroes and whites engage in the same type of work, through preferential employment of white workers, and through limiting the training and the up-grading of Negro workers. Even Federal Civil Service and State, County, and City Merit Employment utilize various types of subterfuges to prevent Negroes from obtaining many jobs for which they are qualified.

Because of the conditions described above, a Negro's chance of finishing high school is half that of a white's, his chance of finishing college is one third of a white person's chance, and his chance of earning $10,000 a year is one thirtieth of the chance of his white fellow citizens. Other consequences of economic discrimination affecting the Negro are inability to support adequately his family, disproportionate numbers of his children among juvenile delinquents, and large numbers forced to live in substandard housing.

Since these conditions produce intense frustration and discontent and serve to motivate the general Negro protest movements, we call upon all agencies of government — Federal, State, County, and City —, upon all private employers, and upon labor leaders to initiate the following changes:

1. Start positive programs of equality of opportunity in employment, up-grading, and apprenticeship training for all people regardless of race, religion or national origin.
2. Establish machinery in government and private places of employment for the implementation of fair employment practices.
3. Give serious consideration to offsetting the Negro's lack of opportunities for education and training.

HOUSING

Despite rulings of the Georgia and the United States Supreme Courts that racial clauses in real estate dealings are not enforceable and despite the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing, Atlanta Negroes (39.9 percent of the population) occupy only 16 percent of the residential land area within the city limits. Of the total of 185,816 non-whites in the city, 47 percent live on the Westside.

The Atlanta Housing Authority still operates racially segregated housing projects, separate tenant selection offices for Negro and white applicants, and still has no Negroes employed on the Housing Authority or on the Central Administrative Staff.

Although the majority of public housing units are occupied by Negroes, the Atlanta Housing Authority has 253 Negro applicants approved and waiting and 2,500 more eligible and waiting for approval. There are only 50 white applicants approved and waiting. These data reveal the dramatic need of drastic plans to improve housing for Negroes.

Therefore, we request that the following measures be instituted immediately:

1. Immediate desegregation of all public housing units, with one tenant selection system and assignments made without regard to race, and with the appointment of qualified Negroes to the Central Administrative Staff.
2. Appointment of qualified Negroes to the Atlanta Housing Authority.
3. Immediate desegregation of all facilities built on land acquired under Urban Renewal.
4. A proclamation by the Mayor and an ordinance by the Board of Aldermen declaring open occupancy and pledging the resources of the city to a vigorous program of implementation.

EDUCATION

We recognize education as one of the essential cogs in the engine of democracy. It contributes to the effectiveness of the individual's community participation and to the ultimate achievement of maximum happiness for the greatest number of people.

We further recognize that the complete integration of Negro Americans into the total fabric of American life is dependent upon a quantity and quality of education that is no different from that which is received by any other citizen. In Metropolitan Atlanta, according to 1960 census data, median school years completed by Negroes is only 63 percent of the white median. Equal educational opportunities are unattainable under segregation or under limited desegregation. A totally desegregated school system is the minimal essential in providing quality education for the Negro and white children of Atlanta.

Accordingly, we strongly request the following:

1. That the Atlanta Board of Education develop and implement a plan for the total desegregation of schools in Atlanta. By total desegregation, we refer to administration, clerical and teaching personnel, students, maintenance personnel, special education, and other relevant activities and services not enumerated here.
2. That, in the implementation of the plan to desegregate students, the primary criteria should be availability of space and availability of desired programs of study.
3. That the Atlanta Board of Education plan and institute immediately in-service training programs in inter-group relations for administrators, specialists, and teachers.

REGISTRATION AND VOTING

The most important single privilege of the individual citizen in a democracy is the right to register, to vote, and to have his vote counted without distinction based on color, religion, or national origin. While Georgia's voter registration laws and the administration of these laws in Fulton County are relatively liberal, there are inherent in the registration procedures certain subtle and practical obstacles which severely restrict the registration of the working people in which the bulk of Negroes fall.

Since Negroes suffer from the adverse effects of long years of systematic deprivation, denial, and isolation from the mainstream of community life, and since the masses of Negroes and many white people are engaged in confining daytime jobs, we recommend to the Fulton County Commissioners, the Fulton County Manager, the Fulton County Personnel Director, and other concerned officials that the following changes be made:

1. Take the necessary steps for instituting and maintaining a system of registration that will permit citizens to register at night as well as during the daytime hours.
2. Institute a program of neighborhood registration away from the Fulton County Court House for the convenience of the citizens of the County. This may be accomplished in cooperation with local civic groups.
3. Develop a coordinated program of citizenship education particularly in the use of voting machines and printed ballots.
4. Support a registration system requiring age and residence as the only valid qualifications for registration.
5. Employ qualified Negroes on the staff in the Registration Office.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE

Negroes in Atlanta are being denied health and welfare services because of race. Segregation is practiced in the administration of public and private hospitals (staff and patients), in the administration of public and private social service programs and institutions, and in programs of special care and education.

According to information secured from admission offices of hospitals in the area, there are 1,937 beds available (in 13 hospitals) for white paying patients and 467 beds available (in 6 hospitals) for Negro paying patients. Hill-Burton facilities serve Negroes on a segregated basis, with specific quotas of beds set aside for Negro patients. The state-operated Georgian Clinic has forty beds for white alcoholics, none for Negroes.

The recent report of the Community Council of Atlanta, Inc., entitled "Atlanta's People," shows that of those persons living in the census tracts with both the lowest socio-economic and housing indexes, 81 percent are non-white.

Since the problems of health affect Negroes and whites alike, we make and seek immediate implementation of the following:

1. Complete and immediate desegregation of services and staffs in all public health facilities, including Grady Hospital, and of all health facilities and programs which receive public funds.
2. Removal of racial restrictions from any agency receiving funds from the United Appeal.
3. Denial of approval by the Atlanta Fund Appeals Board of community-wide financial campaigns for funds to support programs which restrict services or employment by race.
4. Increased representation of Negroes on policymaking bodies of health and social service agencies.
5. Appointment of qualified Negroes to state boards which set up policies for health and welfare services and professions.
6. Legislation to prohibit restricting health and social services by race.

POLITICAL ISSUES

Negroes are interested in all matters which affect the welfare of the City, the County, the State, and the Nation and are anxious to make their maximum contribution to the common weal.

We think that it is only fair to acknowledge with appreciation the fact that the concept of total inclusion and participation of all segments of our citizenry in many important areas of public affairs has made some progress toward fulfillment.

However, in view of the complexity and urgency of the community problems still awaiting solution, it is imperative that there shall be an acceleration in the efforts to assure the participation of the entire citizenry in arriving at solutions to these problems. We wish to maintain Atlanta's good image and to magnify it in order that it may become a shining symbol of democracy in action for the rest of the Nation and the world.

It is not too much to request that Negroes be given representation on all boards, commissions, and agencies appointed by City, County, State, and Federal officials to handle the people's business.

Specifically, we request the following:

1. That Negroes be appointed to the Jury Commission and that they be used in larger numbers on petit and grand jury panels.
2. That Negro lawyers be appointed to the staffs of City and County Attorneys.
3. That Negroes be appointed to all governmental agencies and boards wherein policies are made.
4. That Negroes be appointed to judgeships on the Municipal and Traffic Courts.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

The impartial enforcement of the law is the bulwark of protection for the individual citizen and for society. Therefore, we pledge an allegiance to the observance of the law of the land.

The badge of authority, which adorns the breast of the law officer, should be recognized as the symbol of the majesty of the law rather than as the shield behind which undeserved immunity may be sought by officers who overtly have abused their authority. When the law is not enforced fairly, Negroes and, to a lesser extent, poor whites are the victims.

We deplore the law, custom, and practice which sanction the taking of the life of a misdemeanor suspect who is seeking to escape or evade arrest. No law officer should be permitted to be the arresting officer, the complaining witness, the prosecuting officer, the jury, and the executioner when the maximum punishment would not have exceeded twelve months on the chain gang.

We therefore request:

1. That a public defender be provided in all the criminal courts for indigent defendants.
2. That the prison laws and administration be revised to the extent that equal, if not greater, emphasis be placed upon the rehabilitation of the miscreant rather than upon punishment.
3. That the Aldermanic Police Committee of the City of Atlanta take appropriate steps to discipline those officers who abuse persons in their custody.
4. That there be equality of assignment of duties to prisoners working out sentences.
5. That there be total desegregation in penal and correctional institutions.
6. That Negroes be appointed in larger numbers as Probation and Police Officers.
7. That misdemeanor first offenders be placed on probation and not be incarcerated with hardened criminals.

We believe that the foregoing objectives and requests are reasonable, proper, and valid and that we ask only those things which are possessed already by other citizens as a matter of course.

We would prefer, by far, to attain these objectives through cooperative action rather than through conflict. Thus, in order to achieve justice for all Atlanta citizens, we appeal to the basic integrity and good will of the leaders of this City and hope that the "good name" of Atlanta will continue to shine throughout the Nation and the world.

While these requests are addressed to City, County, State, and Federal officials, and to all other persons in positions of formal and informal authority and influence, we do not overlook our responsibility as leaders. We pledge our unswerving support to all persons who are willing to join with us in the task of securing and consolidating these rights; we dedicate our efforts to working with members of the Negro community in order to develop a sympathetic understanding of the problems involved in rapid social change and in the creation of a climate of peace and good will with malice toward none.

This document represents the composite thinking and action of more than two-hundred leaders representing eighty-two different organizations.

LWD ✓

make folder

ATLANTA CITY-WIDE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE -
ALLEN TEMPLE A.M.E. CHURCH
Saturday, November 23, 1963
2:00 P. M.

PROGRAM

PRESIDING: A. T. Walden, Co-Chairman
C. D. Coleman, Co-Chairman

I. OPENING PRAYER — Rev. M. L. King, Sr.

II. INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND — Mr. C. D. Coleman

III. REMARKS — Atty. A. T. Walden

IV. REPORTS -

A) Chamber of Commerce — Dr. B. R. Brazeal

B) Fulton County Commissioners — Rev. Amos Holmes

C) Fulton County Delegation — Senator Leroy Johnson

D) Fulton County Civil Service Board - Mr. James Alexander

E) Atlanta Board of Aldermen — Atty. A. T. Walden

F)- Family & Children's Services — Mr. Warren Cochrane

G) Atlanta Board of Education — Rev. Sam Williams

H) Committee on Religion & Race — Dr. T. C. Cothran

I) Hotel Owner's Association — Dr. C. Miles Smith

V. FUTURE CONFERENCES — Mr. K. B. M. Crooks, Jr.

VI. SPECIAL REPORTS

VII. OTHER BUSINESS

VIII. BENEDICTION — Rev. J. A. Middleton

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (6-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

257P EST JAN 28 64 AB536

A LLN235 PD ATLANTA GA 28 220P EST

LESLIE DUNBAR

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSY ST SOUTHWEST ATLA

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL IS REQUESTED TO ATTEND IMPORTANT MEETING AT 3:00P.M. WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 29 COUNCIL CHAMBERS CITY HALL FOR THE PURPOSE OF EVALUATING THE SITUATION IN ATLANTA AND DETERMINING THE FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION. PLEASE NOTIFY YOUR MEMBERS

IVAN ALLEN JR

(27).

file

file City of Atlanta

LWD ✓

250 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
SUITE 511
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE 688-8782

ASLC

Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference

MEMORANDUM

June 24, 1964

To: Members of the Steering Committee, ASLC

From: Clarence D. Coleman, Co-chairman
Samuel W. Williams, Co-chairman
George T. Bess, Coordinator

Re: SPECIAL JOINT MEETING OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE - ATLANTA SUMMIT LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AND THE MAYOR'S COORDINATING COMMITTEE

: : :

You are urged to attend a special meeting of the Steering Committee in joint session with the Mayor's Coordinating Committee on Wednesday, July 1, 1964, at the Butler Street Y. M. C. A. at 3:00 P. M.

As you know, the Mayor's Coordinating Committee was established, several months ago, for the purpose of assisting in helping to make Atlanta an open city. Because we have reached a terminal point in Atlanta's racial crisis, we invited them to meet with us.

Since the passage of a United States Civil Rights Bill appears imminent, the Editorial Committee of the Summit Conference, Dr. T. C. Cothran, Chairman, has been directed to prepare a digest, including procedures to be followed, in its local implementation.

This joint meeting of the two groups is being called to discuss ways and means to make the implementation of the proposed legislation harmonious and peaceful.

Please plan to attend this very important meeting.

****

JAMES M. DABBS, PRESIDENT
MARION A. WRIGHT, VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, VICE-PRESIDENT
PAUL D. WILLIAMS, VICE-PRESIDENT
RUFUS E. CLEMENT, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
HAROLD C. FLEMING, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FREDERICK B. ROUTH, ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
RUTH HOUSE ALEXANDER, SECRETARY-TREASURER
PAUL ANTHONY, ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT
JOHN HOPE II, CHIEF CONSULTANT
C. H. PARRISH, PROGRAM ASSOCIATE
MRS. M. E. TILLY, DIRECTOR OF WOMEN'S WORK
JOHN CONSTABLE, DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MARGE R. MANDERSON, RESEARCH ASSISTANT
EMORY F. VIA, LABOR CONSULTANT

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date February 8, 1960

To: Harold F. From: Paul Rilling

Subject: State Staff Meeting

We are hoping that you will sit in on the discussion considering coordination with SRC from 12:00 - 1:00 p.m. Wednesday; the tax exemption discussion from 2:00 - 4:00 Wednesday.

On Thursday, I would suggest that you come in when we consider methods of cooperation with federal agencies and when we consider fund-raising.

TENTATIVE AGENDA
STATE STAFF MEETING

February 10 - 11, 1960

Wednesday, February 10

1. Adoption of Agenda -- 10:00 a.m.

2. Program and Strategy Discussion

   a. Role of state councils, strategy for 1960-61
   b. Discussion of organizational patterns
   c. Etc.

3. Coordination with SRC -- 12:00 noon

   a. Adequacy of field services.
   b. Reporting
   c. State newsletter
   d. Other

4. Lunch -- 1:00 p.m.

5. Federal Tax Exemption Situation -- 2:00 p.m. (Fleming, Haas)

6. New South -- 4:00 p.m. (Constable)

7. Adjournment -- 4:30 p.m.

8. Dinner with SRC Staff -- 6:30 p.m. Atlanta University

Thursday, February 11

1. Program Discussion -- 9:00 a.m.

2. Use of Consultant Service Program -- 11:00 a.m. (Hope)

3. Methods of Cooperation with Federal Agencies, Committees (Hope)

4. Lunch -- 12:30 p.m.

5. Administrative Concerns -- 1:30 p.m.

   a. Fund-raising
   b. Public relations
   c. Office organization
   d. Other

6. Other matters

7. Adjournment -- 4:00 p.m.

NEWS RELEASE

The Atlanta Committee for
Cooperative Action
Box 9055
Atlanta, Georgia
February 11, 1960
Telephone: SY. 4-9871

FOR RELEASE: Sun., February 14, 1960

ATLANTA--The inequities in public facilities for whites and Negroes in Atlanta must be erased if the city is to become "a truly great metropolis," a group of young Negro leaders asserted today.

In a pamphlet, "A Second Look--The Negro Citizen in Atlanta," members of The Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action pointed out the many inequities in various fields in the city and called for cooperative action to erase these.

Areas discussed in the pamphlet include education, health, housing, employment, justice and law enforcement, and policy-making.

The group points out that many fields of advanced educational training are available locally only to white persons. These include medicine, dentistry, law, nursing, architecture, aeronautical engineering, civil engineering, electrical engineering, industrial management, mechanical engineering, and textile engineering.

Other educational facilities for Negroes are over-crowded and inferior to those offered white persons in the area, and "It is nearly impossible for Negro youth to secure first-class modern vocational training in the city...," the group said.

In the area of health, the Atlanta area has 14 general hospitals and 9 related institutions which provide some 4,000 available beds (exclusive of VA and Army facilities). Out of these, the group reports, Negroes are limited to 250 beds in three private hospitals aside from some 450 beds at Grady Hospital. And training facilities for Negro medical personnel are extremely limited and in some areas non-existent, the Committee said.

And, the group reports that, although "it is fairly well established that housing for Negroes in Atlanta is better in many respects than will be found in many northern communities," the bulk of the Negro population is still locked into the more undesirable and overcrowded areas of the city and that Negroes are paying a proportionally higher percentage of income for rental and purchase of generally lower quality property. The group also charges that the Negro population is "blocked and hamstrung in its effort to secure better housing by political maneuvers and direct or indirect racial restrictions."

The Committee labeled the Negro the "marginal" man in employment in Atlanta. Policies and practices of governmental agencies, private employers, and labor unions in the city are reflected, they point out, in such white-to-Negro employment ratios as: social welfare and recreational workers, 9 to 1; bookkeepers, 200 to 1; electricians, more than 20 to 1; overall professional, technical and kindred workers, 13 to 1.

Public service agencies and local businesses provide little meaningful employment for Negroes although they benefit from Negroes economically, the group asserts. Examples given include:

Thousands of Negro householders pay their gas, electricity, and water bills but find little comfort in the fact that there are no Negro meter readers, technicians, or white collar workers employed by the public utilities agencies.

And, although Negroes provide a sizeable proportion of the dollar income of Atlanta's department stores, food chains, factories, etc., "the typical employment pattern is one of little or no adequate job opportunities."

In law enforcement and justice, the group said that the Atlanta Police Department has done much to merit its present reputation as ranking well above most Southern police forces in its treatment of Negroes, but the group asserted that there was some blight on the city's record. They mentioned the incident in the Perry Homes Housing Project in which police brutality was charged in a case where a Negro was killed.

They also pointed out that of the 803 members of the Police Department, only 31 are Negroes and of the 76 detectives, only four are Negroes.

The group commended the manner in which Atlanta busses were desegregated, but pointed out that the Atlanta Transit Company has failed to hire Negro operators, even on the busses in the predominantly Negro areas, although the highest income-producing lines are used mostly by Negroes. The group also hit Atlanta's dual taxicab system.

Many inequities were listed in the field of recreation including:

42 major parks for white persons; three for Negroes;
92 small parkways for white persons; none for Negroes;
20 football fields for white persons; none for Negroes;
16 recreation centers for white persons; three for Negroes;
12 swimming pools for white persons; three for Negroes;
119 tennis courts for white persons; no more than eight for Negroes.

"As a modern metropolis," the Committee pointed out, "Atlanta depends on certain elected officials, boards, committees, authorities, and agencies to make basic decisions for its citizenry." And, whenever one of these groups sits down to discuss or make plans, "the odds are overwhelming that some 300,000 Negro Atlantans simply are not represented at all," the Committee asserted.

Some points made in this area include:

No Negroes on the 16 member Atlanta Board of Aldermen;
No Negroes on such boards and committees as the Library Board, the Recreation Board, and the Public Welfare Board;
The top official role in public health filled by a Negro is that of the physician employed (part-time) as one of the "Principal Staff Members" of the Fulton County Health Department.

The "freeze out" of Negroes at the level of influence and decision in municipal, state, and federal agencies is compounded, the group claims, "by the strictly segregated pattern in such private or voluntary groups as the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the Atlanta Real Estate Board, the Fulton County Medical Society, and the executive bodies of the Georgia Educational Association and most of the larger trade unions."

The group concluded the pamphlet by stating that "The Atlanta Committee for Cooperative Action is an organization of young business and professional men who share a concern for the future of the city in which they and their children live, a belief that all Atlantans have a right to a full citizen's role in that future, and a desire to work earnestly and patiently with individuals and groups willing to plan and act unselfishly toward just, reasonable, and clearly defined objectives in bringing that future to pass."

Members include J. T. Bickers, Clarence D. Coleman, James Hayley, Jesse Hill, Jr., M. Carl Holman, Leroy R. Johnson, Atty., L. H. Pitts, M. T. Puryear, Herman Russell, Albert Saddler, Clinton Warner, M.D., Samuel Z. Westerfield, Q. V. Williamson and Whitney Young. John G. Gloster and Mozell Hill were members of the Committee until they moved from the city.

Make folder -

MJ

ACIV
ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383
TELEPHONE (404) 875-2474

Rec'd 11/2/65

November 1, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Conference
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta, GEorgia 30303

Dear Paul,

This is to confirm our conversation of a few days ago, concerning the southeastern regional conference on short-term international visitors, We are delighted that you will participate in the panel discussion at 9:15 a.m. on Friday, November 12th, room 1007 the Biltmore Hotel.

The enclosed preliminary program indicates that the name of the discussion in which you will participate is entitled "What Community Experiences should be Offered International Visitors?" In addition to your field of Civil Rights, panel members will also discuss Business, Armed Services, Education, Health, Welfare, and Communications. Each panelist is asked to speak to his subject on the level of the entire southeast, and to speak only five minutes. Time will be allowed at the end of the panel talks for questions from the audience. We would like for you to outline the kinds of experiences community committees could provide for international visitors who are interested in getting a picture of the civil rights movement during a brief visit in a southern community.

Thank you for your assistance in making the conference a success.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Joseph Haas

Mrs. Joseph Haas
Chairman, ACIV, and
Conference Chairman

BH/mne

Enclosure

ACIV
ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383
TELEPHONE (404) 875-2474

file

Rec'd 11/22/65

November 19, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W
Atlanta, Ga.30303

Dear Paul,

Thank you very much for your participation in the discussion of "What Community Experiences Should Be Offered International Visitors" at the recent southeastern regional conference on short-term international visitors. More particularly, thank you for the useful comments you made about presenting a balanced picture of the civil rights scene to visitors.

Delegates to the conference with whom we have talked have all been most enthusiastic about the value of the conference sessions for programming ideas, and the sending agency people were also very complimentary about the good speakers from Atlanta.

We feel that the conference was very successful, and we appreciate the part you played in making it so.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Joseph Haas

Mrs. Joseph Haas
Chairman, ACIV, and
Conference Chairman

BH/mne

January 17, 1966

Mrs. Joseph F. Haas, Chairman
Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Haas:

This is to express to you again our appreciation for the work of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors. You are providing a real service for the community and certainly have been of considerable assistance to us at the Council.

For a number of years SRC was the only place to turn when visitors from Asia and Africa wished to visit Atlanta and learn first hand of race relations in the region. Until recently this required, of course, the entire programming of these "special" visitors. This was a drain on our resources, but we felt it a necessary one.

As your Committee has grown, we have been delighted to see this function being taken away from us. This properly allows us to be one of the resources available and the Atlanta Committee to become - also properly - the host and scheduling agency for all visitors.

We hope you continue to grow and heartedly endorse any efforts you make toward finding resources which will make that possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

file
Atl. Ctee for
International Visitors

file

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

CURRICULUM VITAE

DESMOND MLINDI JANUARY

ADDRESS: 24 Lang Street, Galeshewe, Kimberley.

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: 31st December, 1918. Kimberley.

MARITAL STATUS: Married, three children of high school age.

GENERAL: Mr. January is an elected member of the Advisory Board for Bantu Townships in Kimberley while Mrs. January is a nominated member of the same body on the recommendation of the Kimberley City Council.

Mr. January is Chairman of the African Chamber of Commerce and is Chairman of the Kimberley Bantu Welfare Association.

Recently Mr. January was a member of the Government sponsored tour of the Transkei and was elected to represent Kimberley Africans by the Municipality.

Prior to entering business, Mr. January was in the teaching profession for twenty years and holds the necessary academic qualifications for this work. He is a highly successful businessman and is known to be extremely generous towards individuals and causes affecting the welfare of his people.

Mrs. January who is also a teacher by profession, holds the undermentioned offices in the African Townships:
Chairwoman of the African National Council of Women.
Member of Bantu Welfare Association Committee.
Member of the African Child Welfare Committee.

Dear Mrs. Knox,

Thank you for arranging appointments with Mr. Jackson + Mr. Anthony for Mr. + Mrs. January. They will be at your office Monday Oct. 16 at 10:30 A.M.

Sincerely,
Nancy W. Kaufman
Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
Phone 872-7367

October, 1966

Staff Directory
+ Letter

Mailed
5-23-67

Pat Mutzberg
Atlanta Office
International Visitors
Biltmore Hotel
Atl Ga.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.

PROFESSIONAL STAFF

PAUL ANTHONY - EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

JAMES N. WOOD, JR. - EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

RUTH ALEXANDER - SECRETARY TREASURER

ROBERT E. ANDERSON - MANAGING EDITOR, SRC PUBLICATIONS

JOHN O. BOONE - DIRECTOR, PRISON REFORM & CRIMINAL REHABILITATION

VERNON JORDAN - DIRECTOR, VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

MORELAND SMITH - DIRECTOR, URBAN PLANNING

ED STANFIELD - DIRECTOR, FIELD ACTIVITIES

MRS. M. E. TILLY - DIRECTOR, WOMEN'S WORK

EMORY VIA - DIRECTOR, LABOR PROGRAM

MARVIN WALL - DIRECTOR, RESEARCH VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT

PAT WATTERS - DIRECTOR, INFORMATION

ACIV ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383

July 10, 1967

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for arranging to see Mr. Jacques Mousseau. I am sure he will look forward to meeting you on Friday, July 14 at 2:00.

Sincerely,

Carolyn Simmers

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 265-8300

Biography of a participant in the International Visitor Program of the United States Department of State. The program is arranged by Melvin L. Bergheim 1967

NAME: Jacques Mousseau

PRESENT POSITION: Since 1966, executive editor, Louis Pauwels Publications, of Paris, France. Within this organization he has been:

Since 1962, chief editor, "Planète", bi-monthly magazine of contemporary civilization (circulation: 100,000).

Since 1963, chief editor, "Encyclopedie Planète", which publishes six books a year on contemporary topics (circulation: 30,000 to 40,000).

Since 1966, chief editor, "Plexus", a bi-monthly publication for men (circulation: 100,000).

Louis Pauwels Publications also include "Fenéla", a monthly magazine for women (circulation: 70,000).

Planned is a new magazine devoted to popular science.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Good

BORN: June 24, 1932, in Joinville-le-Pont, France.

EDUCATION: Diploma, Institute of Political Studies, University of Paris, 1953; graduate, school for advanced social studies and school of journalism, University of Paris, 1954. Mr. Mousseau is studying for a master's degree in sociology at the Sorbonne, University of Paris. He is writing his master's thesis on "Playboy" magazine.

FAMILY: Wife; two sons, 12 and 10.

ADDRESS: 8, rue Paul Redoute, Meudon-la-Foret, 92, France (a suburb of Paris).

PREVIOUS POSITIONS: Secretary to Jean-Pierre Giraudoux and Alfred Fabre-Luce, writers, 1951-54; writer, Parisien Libere, daily newspaper of Paris, 1955; staff member of Jacques Chaban-Delmas, Minister of State in the administration of Premier Pierre Mendes-France, 1955; managing editor, Carrefour, weekly newspaper of Paris, 1956; chief

(over)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS: (continued)

reporter, "Marie-France", weekly women's magazine, 1956-62; press attache of Mr. Chaban-Delmas, then Minister of National Defense, 1957; founder and chief editor, "La Veme Republique", a political review of the Union Civique pour le Referendum, an organization founded by Mr. Chaban-Delmas, 1958; special assistant on the staff of Jacques Soustelle, then Minister of Information in General De Gaulle's administration; 1958; member of the staff of Mr. Chaban-Delmas, then President of the National Assembly, 1959-62,when Mr. Mousseau left government service; co-producer, "En Francais dans le Texte", a monthly one-hour television series of interviews of outstanding persons, 1959-61; co-producer, "Le Monde est Fantastique", weekly science radio program, 1961-62; contributor to "Planète" from its inception, 1961; co-founder in 1961 of Paris Cite Productions, television film producer, of which he has been a co-owner and artistic consultant since 1964.

PUBLICATION:

"Les Grands", a collection of biographies, 1960.

PREVIOUS TRAVEL:

United States in 1956 as a participant in a NATO Journalists Project. The forty-member group visited Washington, D.C., Norfolk, New York City, St. Louis, Phoenix, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Portland, Oregon. He has also traveled extensively in Europe and North Africa.

INTERESTS:

Most aspects of publishing magazines, especially but not limited to those in the 100,000 circulation bracket. He is interested in the problems of creating new publications: editorial, technical, production, business, subscription, and advertising techniques. Among types of magazines, he is particularly interested in science magazines because Louis Pauwels Publications is planning to introduce one; women's magazines, because that is their most recently established type, and "Playboy" magazine, because Mr. Mousseau is writing his master's thesis on it as well as being the chief editor of "Plexus", which has some similarities to "Playboy". Among the many aspects of magazine publishing, he is especially interested in exploring innovations and also exchanges of editorial and pictorial matter between American publications and Louis Pauwels Publications.

Mr. Mousseau also plans to do an intensive study of race relations and civil rights in the North and the South as a basis for a series of articles to be published in one of his magazines.

They arrive Aug. 16 - 7:39 p.m. (Wed.)
Leave Sun. Aug 20 - 10:20 a.m.

file Visitors Program

LPA - Nate
10:00 AM - Thursday, Aug 17
Mr. Rohrsted here

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 265-8300

Biographic information on Mr. Tue ROHRSTED of Denmark, a participant in the International Visitor Program of the U.S. Department of State. He is accompanied by his wife, Annie. Program arranged by Gordon A. Chapman. August, 1967

NAME:	Tue ROHRSTED
PRESENT POSITIONS:	President, Danish Youth Council; Conservative Party candidate for Parliament; Party representative for education of unskilled youth, Ministry of Labor.
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH:	Both Mr. Rohrsted and his wife are fluent.
ADDRESS:	Roskildevej 51, Apt. 34, Copenhagen Valby, Denmark
PERSONAL DATA:	
Born:	November 15, 1939 in Horsholm, Denmark
Academic Background:	He is majoring in mathematics and minoring in physics, chemistry and astronomy, University of Copenhagen; Cand. Mag. (equivalent of D. Sc.) expected in winter.
PAST POSITIONS:	Vice Chairman, 1963-65, and Chairman, 1965 to May, 1967, Young Conservatives in Denmark.
MEMBERSHIPS:	Governing Board, Danish Peace Corps, Danish Association for International Cooperation; Government Board for Technical Assistance to Developing Countries.
TRAVELS ABROAD:	Has travelled extensively in Europe; US to attend World Assembly of Youth (WAY), August, 1964; Japan, to attend WAY Conference in August, 1966.

OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES VISIT:

1. To meet youth leaders and visit youth organizations involved in political activities, voter registration efforts, and poverty projects; to observe how unskilled young people are motivated to exploit educational and cultural opportunities.
2. To talk with civil rights leaders and study minority problems in different parts of the country; observe effects upon living conditions.
3. To talk with political leaders at the national and local level; observe the functioning of political systems; learn about preparations being made for the 1968 election.

OTHER INTERESTS: Tour scientific and technical facilities; visit in homes of ordinary citizens; attend performances of drama and music (jazz, popular, and classical).

ACIV ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383

Dear Miss Smith,

Thank you for offering to see our Italian visitor, Miss Franca Falcucci. She and her interpreter, Mrs. Racca will be in your office Friday, August 25b, at 10:oo AM.

I am enclosing her bio-data for your information.

Sincerely,

(Mrs. J.A.) Nancy W. Kaufman
Program Co-ordinator

Nancy W. Kaufman

See Visitors Friday

10:00 AM
8/25

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
265-8300

Biographic information on Miss Franca FALCUCCI, a participant in the International Visitor Program of the United States Department of State. Miss Falcucci will be accompanied by her State Department escort-interpreter, Mrs. Gina Racca. The program is being arranged by Mr. John J. Hunt.

1967

NAME:	Miss Franca FALCUCCI
PRESENT POSITION:	President of the Christian Democratic Female Movement Professor of history and philosophy at the Liceo Classico "A. Marzio", Ostia Lido (Rome).
ADDRESS:	Piazza Sturzo 23 Rome, Italy
PERSONAL DATA:	
Born:	March 22, 1926
Languages:	Miss Falcucci's native language is Italian. She also speaks French and has some understanding of English.
TRAVEL:	In 1951 she participated in the International Youth Organization of the World at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. She also spent some time in New York City.
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND:	She studied political science at the University of Florence and modern history at the University of Rome.
HONORS:	Summa Cum Laude
MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS:	Teachers Union

OBJECTIVES OF
UNITED STATES VISIT:

1. To become familiar with the problems of working women and in particular that of the woman with a family and the type of social assistance available to her.

2. To gain knowledge concerning the problems of the young generation and observe their attitudes concerning politics, religion and culture.

3. To become familiar with the attitudes of the minority groups such as negros, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.

4. To meet and have discussions with youth groups at universities.

5. To have discussions with female political leaders. (particularly those on the local level)

6. To become familiar with American historical places of interest, social and cultural life.

Dear Mrs. Johnson,

Enclosed is the bio-data for Mrs. Aloni who is accompanying Mr. and Mrs. Harry Pfiffner to the Annual Dinner of SRC Thursday evening at the Biltmore. We appreciate so much your including Mrs. Aloni in your list of guests. She might be particularly interested in talking to Mr. Jordan in case he could look for her at the dinner.

Edna Knox

Governmental Affairs Institute
1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
20036
(202) 265-8300

Biography of a participant in the International Visitor Program of the United States Department of State. The program is arranged by Melvin L. Bergheim. 1967

NAME: Mrs. Shulamit ALONI

PRESENT POSITION: Since 1965, member of the Knesset, the unicameral parliament of Israel. She is a member of the Mapai, the leading social democratic labor party, which has 45 of the 120 seats, the largest number of seats held by any of Israel's several parties. She is one of 10 women in the Knesset and is the youngest of all its members.

In the Knesset she is a member of the judiciary committee, rules committee, ad hoc committee to draft a Bill of Rights and another a d hoc committee to study creation of an official Ombudsman.

She is also Chairman of the Israeli Consumer Council, an official agency charged with consumer protection, and she teaches occasionally at the Young Leadership Institute, a Mapai party school near Tel Aviv. In addition, she writes a weekly newspaper column "Outside Office Hours" on human and legal rights, published in the Yediot A'Haronot, daily newspaper in Tel Aviv.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Excellent

EDUCATION: Graduate of Teachers Training College, Jerusalem, 1948; Master of Jurisprudence, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1957.

FAMILY: Her husband, Ruben Aloni, is Director, Israel Public Lands Administration, an agency in charge of all government owned land. They have three sons, 14, 12 and 8 years old.

ADDRESS: Kffar Shmaryahu, Israel

PREVIOUS POSITIONS: High school modern history and civics teacher in Tel Aviv, 1950-1962; producer and commentator for two programs devoted to legal advice and human rights, broadcasted by the Voice of Israel, 1956-1965. These programs casted her in the role of an official Ombudsman to whom members of her audience turned for help and protection. Thus, she became nationally prominent and a successful candidate for election to the Knesset.

(over)

BORN: December 27, 1927, while her Palestinian parents were visiting Poland. She grew up in Palestine.

PREVIOUS TRAVEL: United States on a tour sponsored by B'nai B'rith and Hillel to lecture on comparative constitutional law. She has also traveled in Europe.

PUBLICATIONS: "The Citizen and the State", a legal history of Israel, 1958; "The Legal Status of the Child in Israel," 1964.

INTERESTS: Israel doesn't have a written constitution but one is now being drafted. As she is a member of the committee that is framing a Bill of Rights, Mrs. Aloni wishes to focus on the U.S. Bill of Rights, especially the First Amendment, because she is actively concerned with separation of Church and State and the conflict between freedom of the press and unfair or misleading advertising. Related interests are: methods and relative ease of amending the Constitution and Bill of Rights; judicial review of parliamentary enactments; teaching civil liberties and human rights in public schools and through the media of mass communications; juvenile court procedures and rehabilitation of juvenile affenders; truth in packaging and truth in advertising legislation. Members of the Knesset are elected at large; therefore, she is interested in discussing possible ways of restructuring the election districts into smaller geographical or interest group constituencies. In general she is interested in all aspects of civil liberties -- sources and types of opposition to civil liberties as well as defining, teaching and defending civil liberties.

BILLIE PFIFFNER

9-1-67

Dear Jim:

Thank you for giving Professor Danielson so much time this morning. He felt that his time with you was very profitable and enlightening — a high-light in his experience in the U.S. to date. You may well feel rewarded for your consideration.

Professor D. is a knowledgeable and scholarly person.

I also learned much by sitting in.

Cordially,

Billie Pfiffner

(Mrs. H. A.)

ATLANTA, GA.
PM
2 SEP
1967
IA

ALWAYS USE
ZIP CODE

MR JIM WOOD
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTH ST SW
ATLANTA
GA. 30303

MRS. H. A. PFIFFNER • 71 LAKELAND DR. N. W. • ATLANTA, GA. 30305

BILLIE PFIFFNER

8-14-67

Dear Mrs Johnson,

Herewith the bio-data on Mr Danielson. I'll accompany him to S.R.C. on Friday morning, Sept 1st - for his 10:30 appt with Mr. Wood.

Thank you so much —

Billie Pfiffner
(Mrs. H. A.)

71 LAKELAND DR. NW
ATLANTA, GA 30305

See ~~Visitors, Foreign~~ All Cities for International Visitors

FV

CLS

COUNCIL ON LEADERS AND SPECIALISTS

of The Experiment in International Living

suite 600
818 18th street, n.w.
washington, d.c. 20006

telephone 298-7450
area code 202

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON: Professor Rolf C. Danielsen
Head, Department of History
University of Bergen
Bergen, Norway

Participant in the International Visitors Program, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U. S. Department of State (256-L-67). Traveling in the United States July 24th through September 22nd, 1967.

NATIONALITY:	Norwegian
PRESENT POSITION:	Since 1958, Professor Danielsen has been a member of the History Department faculty of the University of Bergen, as a university lecturer until 1963 and as Associate Professor in Modern History since 1964. He became head of the Department in 1965. His specialty is modern Scandinavian political history.
PAST POSITIONS:	1951-57, full-time researcher on the "History of the City of Trondheim" project; 1957-58, teacher of History in the gymnasium of the town of Tønsberg; 1963-64, Visiting Professor of HIstory, University of Gothenburg, Sweden
ACADEMIC TRAINING:	University of Oslo, 1941-50, Cand. Philol., 1950; Dr. of Philosophy, 1966
ORGANIZATIONS:	Committee for Norwegian Historical Science; Norwegian Institute of Foreign Affairs (Acting Chairman).
PUBLICATIONS:	"History of the City of Trondheim, Vol. IV: the New Urban Society", 1958; "The Norwegian Storting over 150 years, Vol. II: 1870-1908", 1964; Articles on certain aspects of the dissolution of the Union between Norway and Sweden and on the forming of the Hammarskjold government in Sweden in 1914; currently writing a short history of Sweden from 1866 to the present.
TRAVELS ABROAD:	Attended historical congresses in Stockholm and Lund, Sweden (1960 and 1961) and in Vienna, Austria (1965).
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH:	Good.
DATE/PLACE OF BIRTH:	Hammerfest, Norway, October 19, 1922.
MARITAL STATUS:	Married. Three sons, 14, 11, and 4 years.
HOME ADDRESS:	Professorvegen 6, Minde, pr. Bergen, Norway

Paul + Vernon

Africans
Man + wife
general small business

Oct. 11 – 19 Mid

called us first so
we could make our
own schedule –

call Mrs. Kaufman or
Miss Williams –
872-7367

Bring up
Oct 2nd
(Have you determined what day the January will be in town?)

Bring up to see

Bring up
Oct. 16
10:30

September 8, 1967

Miss Julie Williams
Staff Assistant
Atlanta Committee for International
Visitors
615 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Lee

Dear Miss Williams:

I have received a copy of Miss Eglin's letter to you of September 5th. I shall be out of the city on October 11th. Except for this date, I will be more than happy to see Mr. and Mrs. January.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

September 5, 1967

Miss Julie Williams
Staff Assistant
Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
615 Peachtree St., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Miss Williams,

It was good to talk to you after all our letters!

We are asking for your help again. Mr. and Mrs. D. M. January, vitae enclosed, are spending three months studying small businesses in the United States. We hope that you can arrange for the Januarys to see small businesses owned and operated by Negroes while they are in Atlanta. From the enclosed newspaper clipping you will see that the Januarys manage several stores.

We also hope that they can see Mr. Paul Anthony at Southern Regional Council and Dr. Samuel Nabrit of our Management Committee.

The Januarys will travel to Atlanta on Tuesday, October 10, either by bus from Durham which would be a full day trip or by plane. Would you please make a reservation for them at the Georgian Terrace from Tuesday, October 10 to Friday, October 20?

I will ask the Januarys to go to your office on Wednesday morning, October 11 unless they find a letter with contrary directions when they arrive at the Georgian Terrace. Mrs. January may also want to have one or two welfare appointments but why not leave that open until you meet her?

Thank you in advance for your usual thorough programming.

Sincerely,

Catharine Eglin
Program Assistant

CE:tnh
Encs.
cc: Dr. Samuel M. Nabrit
Mr. Paul Anthony

Mr. Anthony

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

CURRICULUM VITAE

DESMOND MLINDI JANUARY

ADDRESS: 24 Lang Street, Galeshewe, Kimberley.

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: 31st December, 1918. Kimberley.

MARITAL STATUS: Married, three children of high school age.

GENERAL: Mr. January is an elected member of the Advisory Board for Bantu Townships in Kimberley while Mrs. January is a nominated member of the same body on the recommendation of the Kimberley City Council.

Mr. January is Chairman of the African Chamber of Commerce and is Chairman of the Kimberley Bantu Welfare Association.

Recently Mr. January was a member of the Government sponsored tour of the Transkei and was elected to represent Kimberley Africans by the Municipality.

Prior to entering business, Mr. January was in the teaching profession for twenty years and holds the necessary academic qualifications for this work. He is a highly successful businessman and is known to be extremely generous towards individuals and causes affecting the welfare of his people.

Mrs. January who is also a teacher by profession, holds the undermentioned offices in the African Townships:

Chairwoman of the African National Council of Women.
Member of Bantu Welfare Association Committee.
Member of the African Child Welfare Committee.

October, 1966

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA
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UNITED STATES WASHINGTON DC

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

File Foreign Visitors 1968 W.A.C. Delta 8:20 pm

11-1:30

CLS

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telephone 298-7450
area code 202

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA: Bizuneh SHIFARRAW
Deputy Chief Engineer
Imperial Ethiopian Highway Authority
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Participant in the International Visitor Program, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, U.S. Department of State. Visiting the United States August 18 - February 7, 1968. Accompanied by William C. Brannon, Department of State escort officer/interpreter.

NATIONALITY: Ethiopian.

PRESENT POSITION: Deputy Chief Engineer, Imperial Ethiopian Highway Authority.

PAST POSITION: Construction Engineer in charge of all highway/bridge construction in Ethiopia, 1959 - 65.
Inspector and draftsman with New Mexico State Highway Department, with different divisions, 1957.

ACADEMIC TRAINING: College of Engineering in Addis Ababa, 1952 - 54.
B.S., University of New Mexico, 1954 - 56.

PUBLICATIONS: Gave paper on "Highway Construction in Ethiopia" to international meeting of the International Road Federation held in Beirut, Lebanon.

TRAVELS ABROAD: United States, 1954 - 57.

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Very good.

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: 1930, Addis Ababa.

MARITAL STATUS: Single.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: Prior to beginning his Department of State grant, Mr. Shifarraw spent the fall as a participant in the General Projects Course of the Economic Development Institute (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development). He then received an A.I.D. grant which was handled by the Bureau of Public Roads, Department of Transportation.

VWA:ep
1/8/68

Hopefully, you will see him Thurs. a.m. Thanks!

G Anderson

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1968 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW FROM CHILE

NAME & MAILING ADDRESS: Sergio Rillon
Avda. Vitacura 3396, Casa 3
Santiago, Chile

AGE: 38

MARITAL STATUS: Married

ENGLISH FLUENCY: Good

NO. OF CHILDREN & AGES: 3 sons: 5 (twins) & 3

OTHER LANGUAGES: Spanish, French

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

PREVIOUS TRAVEL: Argentina, Uruguay, Peru, Brazil, Panama, Spain, England, France, Belgium Holland, Italy

DIETARY RESTRICTIONS: none

MEMBERSHIPS: College of Lawyers, Naval Club of Valparaiso, Vina del Mar Country Club, Exchange Member of Social Clubs LaUnion of Santiago

INTERESTS OTHER THAN PROFESSIONAL: Classical music, paintings, museums

PROFESSIONAL PROGRAM:

low-cost housing
cooperative housing
community development
law - naval & civil

****

Arrival in U.S.A.: March 15, 1968

Expected departure: late September 1968

Major Itinerary Stops:

Philadelphia
Washington
New York
Pittsburgh
Norfolk
Atlanta
Phoenix
San Diego

File Cat. also for Intermate Visitors

1968 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW

FROM CHILE

File

Sergio RILLON
Avda. Vitacura 3396, Casa 3
Santiago, Chile

Married
Age: 38

EDUCATION

Catholic University of Valparaiso. 1949-50.
University of Chile School of Law, Valparaiso. 1951-55. LL.B.
Social Institute Leon XIII of Madrid. 1956.
Catholic Institute of Paris. 1957.

PRESENT POSITIONS

Attorney of the Navy Department, Ministry of Defense.
Chief, Legal Department, and Secretary to the Board of Directors, INVICA (Institute of Housing for Low-income Groups; INVICA is a private foundation whose purpose is total community development through technical assistance given to cooperatives).

RESPONSIBILITIES

Counsel to the Secretary of the Navy in all legal and administrative matters related to his functions.
Legal aspects of INVICA: financing, planning, contracts; technical assistance to occupants of cooperatives.

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

Naval Social Welfare Service, attorney. 1953-58.
Naval Military Court, member. 1958-61.
Social Welfare Dept., Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1958-61.
District Attorney's office, Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1961-65.

INTERESTS

1. Low-cost housing: financing, planning; organizations involved in low-cost housing: structure and operations.
2. Cooperative housing programs.
3. Community development.
4. Law: Naval and civil.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION
WIFE OF THE 1968 EISENHOWER FELLOW
FROM CHILE

NAME & MAILING ADDRESS:
Mrs. Adrienne Fontaine de Rillon
Avda. Vitacura 3396, Casa 3
Santiago, Chile

AGE: 27

NO. OF CHILDREN & AGES:
3 sons: 5 (twins) & 3

EDUCATION: High School

ENGLISH FLUENCY: Fair

RELIGION: Roman Catholic

OTHER LANGUAGES: Spanish

DIETARY RESTRICTIONS:
none

PREVIOUS TRAVEL: Brazil (two years), Spain (one year), Argentina, Uruguay

POSITION: Housewife - (Course of Secretary)

MEMBERSHIPS: Family Parochial Group of Vitacura, Santiago

INTERESTS:

1. Arts: Visits to museums of fine art.
2. Dance: Visits to schools.
3. Music: Concerts, orchestra or choral groups.
4. Communications: visit to an educational television program for children.
5. Education: Visits to school classes for children five to ten years old.
6. Family Life: Child care, food preparation in home, decoration, shopping and marketing.
7. Community Life: Community development programs, social work.

COMMENTS: Mrs. Rillon arrived in the U.S. with her husband March 15, 1968.

File: Foreign Visitors

All Other Int Vis.

File

See: Visitors section

MACALESTER COLLEGE

SAINT PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101

INTERNATIONAL CENTER

May 2, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I should like to express the deep thanks and appreciation of the journalists and staff of the World Press Institute for meeting with us last April 16.

The men have used your publications for reference through our travels in the South.

I do hope we may continue our association. Continued success and progress.

Sincerely,

Ted Miller

C. Theodore Miller
Program Director
World Press Institute

(Signed in Mr. Miller's absence to avoid delay.)

CTM:cdc

Bring up April 15 (Journalists to be here tomorrow)

Separate mailing: 3 copies each of: Orangeburg,
Black Youth in a Southern Metropolis
Ken Clark's speech
Latest NEW SOUTH

March 18, 1968

Mr. C. Theodore Miller
Program Director
World Press Institute
Macalester College
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mr. Miller:

The afternoon of April 16th is fine with us.

Under separate cover we are sending you several copies of some of our recent publications.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE
Macalester College
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

March 15, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of March 13.

I am very pleased that the journalists of the World Press Institute will have the opportunity of meeting you and your staff.

I have already committed the group for an interview with Mayor Allen on the morning of April 16. I am hoping that you might be available on that same afternoon.

It would be most helpful if you could send us several copies of the reports the Council has published in order to acquaint the newsmen with your work beforehand.

Thank you again for your assistance. We are looking forward to our visit with the Southern Regional Council.

Sincerely,

Ted Miller

C. Theodore Miller
Program Director

CTM:sk

Bring up
Morning of April 15
re: 15 professional to
foreign journalists to
be seen tomorrow,
April 16

March 13, 1968

Mr. C. Theodore Miller
Program Director
World Press Institute
Macalester College
St. Paul, Minnesota 55101

Dear Mr. Miller:

I will be happy to meet with your group on the morning of April 16 at a time convenient for you. Others here will be available also, should you be interested in meeting with them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE
Macalester College
Saint Paul, Minnesota 55101

March 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The fifteen professional foreign journalists enrolled in the 1967-68 World Press Institute will arrive in Atlanta the evening of April 12 and will leave the morning of April 17 as part of the Institute's annual tour of the South.

As you may know, the World Press Institute, which began its seventh year in August, selects fifteen international journalists from as many different countries to participate in a year-long program of study, work, and travel to familiarize them with all aspects of American life.

To enrich these young, dynamic newsmen's understanding of the activities in which you are involved, we request the opportunity to meet with you.

At this time, our schedule is flexible, and I am able to confirm a time and place convenient for you.

Enclosed is information on our current participants.

With deep thanks for your assistance to the World Press Institute.

Sincerely,

Ted Miller

C. Theodore Miller
Program Director

CTM:skt

THE WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE

MACALESTER COLLEGE
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

"The idea of cultural exchange for opinion leaders is hardly new. What is different about the institute is that few journalists have ever been given as many opportunities to reach every level of a country's society with so few restrictions or so many red carpets rolled out."

—THE NEW YORK TIMES
December 27, 1964

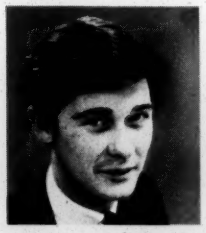
WPI FELLOWS 1967-1968

WORLD PRESS INSTITU

Argentina **JORGE HORACIO SETHSON**

Mr. Sethson is a reporter for *La Nacion*, one of the largest daily newspapers in Buenos Aires, and for *Atlantida* magazine. He specializes in economic and general affairs. Mr. Sethson began his career as a radio journalist with *Radio Rivaclavia*. He served in the Army, studied in journalism school and recently completed law school. Mr. Sethson is 22 years old.

Australia **VINCENT ROSS SMITH**



Mr. Smith is a member of the senior reporting staff of *The Australian*, the Australian national daily newspaper. His responsibilities include political and parliamentary coverage and national development stories. A third generation newspaper man, he began his career in journalism as a copy boy for the *Daily News* in Perth. Mr. Smith has traveled extensively throughout Australia and is 24 years old.

Brazil **NILO DE SOUZA MARTINS**

Mr. Martins is assistant chief reporter of *Fatos & Fotos*, one of Brazil's largest weekly magazines. Previously he worked for the *Tribuna da Imprensa* and for the *Journal do Brasil*. He has studied economics and law and is currently combining his journalistic career with academic responsibilities at the School of Sociology, University of Rio de Janeiro. Mr. Martins is 23 years old.

Costa Rica **DANILO ARIAS MADRIGAL**

Mr. Arias, the first WPI Fellow from Costa Rica, is chief reporter for *La Nacion*, the largest circulation daily in Costa Rica and one of the most important newspapers in Central America. During the past 12 years his assignments for *La Nacion* have caused him to travel extensively throughout Latin America and Europe. Mr. Arias graduated from the University of Costa Rica and studied at the University of Madrid. He currently teaches part-time at two colleges and is 34 years old.

France **LAURENT CHENARD**

Mr. Chenard is a parliamentary reporter for the Central Press Agency in Paris. Previously he was an editor and reporter for *L'est Republicain* and worked in the information branch of the International Labor Office in Geneva. Before becoming a journalist he traveled around the world as a seaman. Mr. Chenard graduated from the Centre de Formation des Journalistes and is 27 years old.

Germany **JOCHEN BECHER**

Mr. Becher established his own feature syndicate in 1966 and is a regular contributor to a dozen daily newspapers and several magazines in Germany. Previously he worked for nine years as a chief reporter for the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* and as an editor of *Quick* magazine. He has a Doctorate of Law degree from Cologne University and published his first book in August, 1967. Mr. Becher is 36 years old.

Japan **HIDETOSHI YOSHIMOTO**

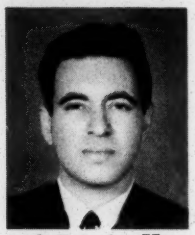
Mr. Yoshimoto is a reporter in the foreign news section, Tokyo bureau, of the *Nishinippon Shimbun*. Previous assignments with the Tokyo bureau have included the Economic Planning Agency, the Agricultural and Forestry Ministry and the Foreign Ministry. Mr. Yoshimoto graduated from Kyushyu University in 1959 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in English literature. He is 32 years old.

Kenya **MOHAMED MOHAMED HATIMY**

Mr. Hatimy, the first WPI Fellow from Kenya, is news editor for the Voice of Kenya in Nairobi. His 11 years of experience with the Kenyan Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have given him an extensive background in radio reporting, programming, production and editing. He is a graduate of the International Press Institute and has traveled throughout Kenya. Mr. Hatimy is married and is 31 years old.

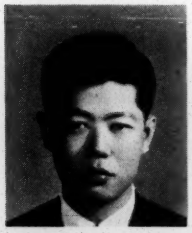
UTE FELLOWS 1967-1968

Mexico **FAUSTO FERNANDEZ PONTE**



Mr. Ponte is a reporter for the daily newspaper *Excelsior* in Mexico City and for the Mexican national news agency PIMSA. Before beginning these assignments in 1960, he worked on the reportorial staffs of *La Opinion, Diario de Xalapa* and *Zocalo*. He was editor in chief of *Tabloide* and studied at the University of Veracruz. Mr. Ponte has written two novels and is 31 years old.

Republic of China **DAVID WANG**

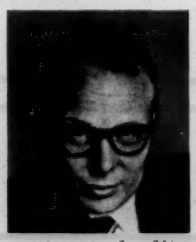


Mr. Wang, the first WPI Fellow from Taiwan, is an editor and translator for the foreign news department of the Central News Agency in Taipei. Concurrently, he has been a diplomatic reporter for the Civil Defense Radio Station, a foreign news translator for the Central Daily News and editor of the UNESCO bulletin for the Chinese National Commission. Mr. Wang has a Master's degree in journalism from National Chengchi University and is 30 years old.

South Africa **RAYMOND SMUTS**

Mr. Smuts, the first WPI Fellow from South Africa, is a reporter for the *Eastern Province Herald*, a morning daily in Port Elizabeth. A professional journalist since he was 20 years old, he has worked on *The Pretoria News*, the *Cape Times* and the *Cape Herald*. His major journalistic interests are in the areas of crime and social problems. Mr. Smuts is 24 years old.

Sweden **OLOPH ANDERS HANSSON**

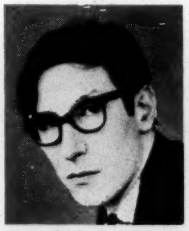


Mr. Hansson is news editor in the Swedish television news department of the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. He began his career in journalism as a cub reporter in Ostersund, Sweden. Since then he has served as an industrial reporter and editorial writer for the *Arbetarbladet* and the *Stockholms-Tidningen*. He is currently completing graduate studies at the Stockholm Graduate School of Social Work and Public Administration. Mr. Hansson is married and is 37 years old.

Turkey **CETIN OZBAYRAK**

Mr. Ozbayrak is a reporter for the *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*, a major daily newspaper in Ankara. His major responsibilities are covering the Turkish Prime Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Previously he served as a reporter for the Anatolian News Agency. He was educated at Galatasaray College and did graduate work in Switzerland. Mr. Ozbayrak is 29 years old.

United Kingdom
MAX MACDONALD HASTINGS



Mr. Hastings is a reporter and feature writer for the *Evening Standard* in London. His journalistic experiences have included research duties with the BBC, freelance work for French and West German television, and writing for educational radio. Selected as a Charterhouse scholar, he also served in the Army and studied at Oxford. Mr. Hastings is 21 years old.

Yugoslavia **BRANKO KEKIC**

Mr. Kekic, the first WPI Fellow from Yugoslavia, is the editor of the Belgrade edition of *Vecernje Novosti (The Evening News)*, the largest circulation daily newspaper in Yugoslavia. Having entered the field of journalism in 1956 as a correspondent-translator, he joined *The Evening News* a year later and soon became a foreign affairs reporter. He also studied at Belgrade University and served as an editor of *The Consumers' Informer*. Mr. Kekic is married and is 34 years old.

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is based on faith that the American way of life, freely exposed, is its own best advocate. The INSTITUTE, financed solely by American companies and foundations, opens the doors of America to young professional journalists from every corner of the earth, enabling them to sample individual liberty and dignity, free speech and free press, democratic elections and institutions, and the noble attempt of our people to preserve freedom and peace from all challenges. Free to wander, free to observe and explore, free to write without restriction, foreign journalists enrolled in the WORLD PRESS INSTITUTE learn the American way of life by actually living it for one full year.

The newsmen study in a specially designed and enriched program at Macalester College in St. Paul, Minnesota, intern on major American daily newspapers, travel more than 25,000 miles throughout the United States, investigate important aspects of American life, and meet the high and the humble, the rich and the poor, the urban and the rural. They learn each year about America and Americans, our past history, our present realities, and our future aspirations, paving the way for more widespread international cooperation and understanding of the American way of life.

file

ACIV

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May 16th, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsth St, NW
Atlanta
Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

This is to confirm the appointment in your office on Tuesday morning, May 21st, at 9:30 a.m. with the four gentlemen from England. I am enclosing biographical material on them for your information. There are two copies because the visitors will be seeing several persons on your staff and it might be useful to have the extra copy.

I know that this group will find the time spent at SRC very valuable.

Cordially,

Billie Pfiffner

Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner

976 Peachtree Battle Circle NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30327
355-4964

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 · Telephone (202) 265-8300

Biographic Digest

British Race Relations Group

Mr. Geoffrey BAYLIS is Chief Assistant Editor of the Birmingham Post, Birmingham. Born in Surrey in 1934, Mr. Baylis previously served as Chief Reporter for the Cryodon Advertiser, Industrial Correspondent for the Sheffield Star, and News Editor of the Sheffield Telegraph.

Mr. John Joseph EGAN is Chief Political Correspondent for United Newspapers Limited which operates daily newspapers in five provincial British cities. Born in 1927, he attended Ohio State University as an exchange student in 1953-54 and has worked as a reporter on the Birmingham Gazette and a sub-editor on the London Evening News. He presently serves as a political commentator for BBC News and Radio Sheffield.

Professor Samuel Julius GOULD is Professor of Sociology at the University of Nottingham. Born in 1924, he received B.A. and M.A. degrees from Balliol College, Oxford, and was a faculty member of the London School of Economics from 1950 to 1964. He is currently Research Adviser of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, Member of the U.K. National Commission for UNESCO, Member of the Overseas Economic and Social Research Committee at the Ministry of Overseas Development, and Member of the Economic Planning Council for the East Midlands. He was joint editor of the Dictionary of Social Sciences (1964), and a contributor and/or editor to numerous scholarly journals and books in the general field of the social sciences.

Mr. Joseph Alexander HUNTE is Chairman of the West Indies Standing Conference, Vice Chairman of the National Association of Commonwealth Relations Officers, and Public Relations Officer for the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants. Born in 1917 in St. Vincent, West Indies, he received a B.A. degree in Economics and diplomas in sociology and community development. He served in Trinidad as community development officer and headmaster of a secondary school before coming to the United Kingdom in 1958. Previously employed by the Ministry of Social Security, he now serves as a Community Development Officer in London.

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file

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Make file

May 22nd, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsth St.
Atlanta
Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I want to thank you and your staff for having been so helpful and hospitable to our British Race Relations Group. All four of the men found the time spent with you and your staff extremely valuable. It was especially nice of you to have arranged the luncheon, too.

We try not to overuse you and your people but with some groups like this one, you have number one priority.

Cordially,

Billie Pfiffner

Mrs. H. A. Pfiffner

976 Peachtree Battle Circle NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30327

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File at Office for International Visitors

file

June 4, 1968

Mrs. Edwin J. Henrie
Program Officer
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mrs. Henrie:

We will be very happy to see Mr. Rillon during his visit to Atlanta. Quite frankly, however, I question the value of two full days here and quite sincerely, visits of such length create hardships for the staff. If it is agreeable with you, perhaps Mr. Rillon could come by on the morning of the 13th and we could then work out a schedule that would hopefully be beneficial to him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Julia Williams

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THEODORE O. SPAULDING, *Judge, Philadelphia*
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Pan American World Airways, Inc., New York
WILLIAM K. WARREN, *Director*
Gulf Oil Corporation, Tulsa
THOMAS J. WATSON, JR., *Chairman*
International Business Machines Corporation, New York
SIDNEY J. WEINBERG, *Partner*
Goldman, Sachs & Company, New York
JOHN HAY WHITNEY, *Chairman*
Whitney Communications Corporation, New York
FRAZAR B. WILDE, *Chairman Emeritus*
Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Hartford
ALFRED H. WILLIAMS, *Former President*
Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Finance Committee*
The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

J. HAMPTON BARNES
PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102
KINGSLEY 6-1738
CABLE: EIFFELL

May 21, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is really my year for Fellows in community development. Our current Eisenhower Fellow from Chile, Mr. Sergio Rillon, is the Chief of the Legal Department and Secretary to the Board of Directors of INVICA (you'll find it described on the enclosed biodata). Perhaps you have heard of INVICA; they work in total community development, with an emphasis on the construction of cooperative housing to form the community. Mr. Rillon plans to arrive in Atlanta on the 12th and would like to visit withyou and your staff on the 13th and 14th of June, if possible. Could he also see some of your projects; as he says, so far (in New York, Philadelphia and Washington) what he's seen is interesting, but too urban to be applicable to his work in Chile.

For your information I've enclosed copies of Mr. Rillon's resumé. He is an intelligent and personable individual, and his English is very good.

If it would be possible for him to visit your offices would you please let me know. I would appreciate your sending a copy of your reply to Miss Julia Williams, Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, as she'll be coordinating Mr. Rillon's program in Atlanta.

Thank you very much, again, for your cooperation and for any courtesies which might be extended our guest from Chile. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Barbara Henrie

Mrs. Edwin J. Henrie
Program Officer

encs.
cc: Miss Williams

1968 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW

FROM CHILE

Sergio RILLON
Avda. Vitacura 3396, Casa 3
Santiago, Chile

Married
Age: 38

EDUCATION

Catholic University of Valparaiso. 1949-50.
University of Chile School of Law, Valparaiso. 1951-55. LL.B.
Social Institute Leon XIII of Madrid. 1956.
Catholic Institute of Paris. 1957.

PRESENT POSITIONS

Attorney of the Navy Department, Ministry of Defense.
Chief, Legal Department, and Secretary to the Board of Directors, INVICA (Institute of Housing for Low-income Groups; INVICA is a private foundation whose purpose is total community development through technical assistance given to cooperatives).

RESPONSIBILITIES

Counsel to the Secretary of the Navy in all legal and administrative matters related to his functions.
Legal aspects of INVICA: financing, planning, contracts; technical assistance to occupants of cooperatives.

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

Naval Social Welfare Service, attorney. 1953-58.
Naval Military Court, member. 1958-61.
Social Welfare Dept., Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1958-61.
District Attorney's office, Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1961-65.

INTERESTS

1. Low-cost housing: financing, planning; organizations involved in low-cost housing: structure and operations.
2. Cooperative housing programs.
3. Community development.
4. Law: Naval and civil.

1968 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW

FROM CHILE

Sergio RILLON
Avda. Vitacura 3396, Casa 3
Santiago, Chile

Married
Age: 38

EDUCATION

Catholic University of Valparaiso. 1949-50.
University of Chile School of Law, Valparaiso. 1951-55. LL.B.
Social Institute Leon XIII of Madrid. 1956.
Catholic Institute of Paris. 1957.

PRESENT POSITIONS

Attorney of the Navy Department, Ministry of Defense.
Chief, Legal Department, and Secretary to the Board of Directors, INVICA (Institute of Housing for Low-income Groups; INVICA is a private foundation whose purpose is total community development through technical assistance given to cooperatives).

RESPONSIBILITIES

Counsel to the Secretary of the Navy in all legal and administrative matters related to his functions.
Legal aspects of INVICA: financing, planning, contracts; technical assistance to occupants of cooperatives.

PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE

Naval Social Welfare Service, attorney. 1953-58.
Naval Military Court, member. 1958-61.
Social Welfare Dept., Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1958-61.
District Attorney's office, Security Bureau of the National Defense, lawyer. 1961-65.

INTERESTS

1. Low-cost housing: financing, planning; organizations involved in low-cost housing: structure and operations.
2. Cooperative housing programs.
3. Community development.
4. Law: Naval and civil.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Mildred Johnson

file
Atlanta Cttee for International Visitors

6/5/68

Paul,

Miss Julia Williams of the Atlanta Cttee. for Internat'l. Visitors called this morning to confirm Mr. Imaz's visit to SRC on Monday, June 10th. I confirmed, in your absence, for him to show up at SRC at about 10:00 a.m. on the 10th.

I have also reminded Caldon of the field trip

Bring up June 3 (?)
Ck with Weldon Rovegno

May 15, 1968

Mrs. Edwin J. Henrie
Program Officer
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mrs. Henrie:

We will be happy to have Mr. Jose Imaz with us on June 10 and 11, should that be convenient for you and him. We will anticipate Mr. Imaz' spending Monday, June 10th here at the SRC offices and on Tuesday, June 11th we will try to arrange a field trip to a small Georgia community where we are funding a voter education project.

10:00 Am

Sincerely,

10:00

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Miss Julia Williams
A.C.I.V.

Bring 1.1968
h.

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Institute of International Education, New York
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Sears, Roebuck & Company, Chicago
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Young & Rubicam, New York
ROY E. LARSEN, *Chairman, Executive Committee,*
Time Inc., New York
FRED LAZARUS, JR., *Former Chairman*
Federated Department Stores, Inc., Cincinnati
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Reynolds & Company, New York
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The Coca-Cola Company, New York
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The Gillette Company, Boston
THEODORE O. SPAULDING, *Judge, Philadelphia*
JAY TAYLOR, *Rancher, Amarillo, Texas*
JUAN T. TRIPPE, *Chairman*
Pan American World Airways, Inc., New York
WILLIAM K. WARREN, *Director*
Gulf Oil Corporation, Tulsa
THOMAS J. WATSON, JR., *Chairman*
International Business Machines Corporation, New York
SIDNEY J. WEINBERG, *Partner*
Goldman, Sachs & Company, New York
JOHN HAY WHITNEY, *Chairman*
Whitney Communications Corporation, New York
FRAZAR B. WILDE, *Chairman Emeritus*
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ALFRED H. WILLIAMS, *Former President*
Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Finance Committee*
The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

J. HAMPTON BARNES
PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102
KINGSLEY 6-1738
CABLE: EIFFELL

May 13, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our current Eisenhower Fellow from Argentina, Mr. Jose Imaz, is Professor of Political Sociology and Political Science at the Catholic University of Argentina. He is also a noted writer in both South and North America. Mr. Imaz will be in Atlanta from June 6th (late in the day) through the 12th and while there would like to spend two days with you and your staff learning about the financing, evaluation, planning and implementation of your projects and programs. He would also like to get out into the countryside to see some of these, if possible. We would be most grateful if arrangements could be made to receive him, as Mr. Imaz is particularly impressed with what you have done and the philosophy and history of the Southern Regional Council.

For your information I have enclosed copies of Mr. Imaz' resumé and our latest brochure. Mr. Imaz is an extremely intelligent, perceptive and personable individual, and I might add that his English is fluent.

If it would be possible for him to visit your offices, would you please let me know. I would also appreciate your sending a copy of your reply to Miss Julia Williams, Atlanta Committee for International Visitors, as she will be coordinating Mr. Imaz' program in Atlanta. We will plan the remainder of his program around the most convenient dates for you.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and for any courtesies which may be extended our distinguished guest from Argentina. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Barbara Henrie

Mrs. Edwin J. Henrie
Program Officer

encs.

1968 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW

FROM ARGENTINA

Jose IMAZ
Callao 1421
Buenos Aires, Argentina

Married
Age: 39

EDUCATION

Faculty of Science and Economics, Rosario. M. Pol. Sci. 1954-57.
University of Buenos Aires Law School. LL.B. 1947-54. LL.D. 1957-58.

PRESENT POSITION

Professor of Political Sociology and Political Science, Catholic University of Argentina, Buenos Aires.
Member, Research Staff, Republic of Argentina National Council of Research.

RESPONSIBILITIES

Research and teaching of sociology and political science.

MEMBERSHIPS

Institute of Economic and Social Development.
Association for Social Development.
Sociological Society of Argentina.

PUBLICATIONS

"Los que Mandan" (Those in Command), Buenos Aires, 1964 (seven editions).
"La Clase alta of Buenos Aires", 1962.
"Rio Cuarto's Social Structure", 1965.

INTERESTS

1. Politics: elections, party organization, conventions, candidates and staffs.
2. Political science: university departments and curricula.
3. Community development: organizations and projects, public and private.

8-1-68

MEMO FROM **THE DESK OF:**

Kathy Martin

MMO

visit was cancelled per MGS

file att. Office for International Visitors

ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

July 25, 1968

Dear Mr. Smith,

Thank you for offering to brief our visitor, Mr. Ignaz Bender from Germany, on race relations. He will be at your office Thursday Aug. 1 at 2:00 PM. I am enclosing his biodata for your information.

Sincerely,

(mrs. J.A.) Nancy W. Kaufman
Program Coordinator

Nancy W. Kaufman

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON: Mr. Moussa Yaya
Secretary General, National Camerounian Union and Member of Camerounian Federal Assembly, Yaounde, The Federal Republic of Cameroon

Participant in the International Visitors Program of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State (FY67-PL256).

Visiting the United States: July 10 - August 30, 1968

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: April 3, 1926, Garoua, Department of Benoue, North Cameroon

MARITAL STATUS: Married (Several Children)

NATIONALITY: Camerounian

HOME ADDRESS: National Assembly, Yaounde, Cameroon

ACADEMIC TRAINING: Diplome Superieur de l'Ecole Veterinaire

POSITIONS HELD: First Vice President of the East Cameroon Legislative Assembly, President of the Commission on Administrative Affairs, President of the Commission in Constitutional Law in Federal Assembly, First Vice President of the "Union pour L' Evolution du Nord-Cameroun," Secretary General and Political Secretary of the "Union Camerounaise."

ORGANIZATIONS: Board Member of the following enterprises: Air Afrique, Electricite du Cameroun, Societe Nationale des Investissements, Societe Nationale des Eaux

TRAVELS: Most European Countries, U.S.A. - 1959, 1961 and 1965. Asia -- Thailand, Viet-Nam and India, U.S.S.R. - 1967, Near East - 1961 and 1968

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Very Limited

DIETARY RESTRICTIONS: Pork and Alcohol

INTERESTS: Mr. Yaya is interested in seeing the political and economic life in the United States, meet ranking members of both political parties, observe American politics at grass-roots level,

Mr. Moussa Yaya
The Federal Republic of Cameroon

including students' and women's participation, political administration and organization. He is interested in American culture, i.e., art, music and the theater.

AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA ON: Mr. Victor Ngomo Obie, Member of the Camerounian Federal Assembly Yaounde, The Federal Republic of Cameroon

Participant in the International Visitors Program of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the United States Department of State (FY67-PL256).

Visiting the United States: July 10 - August 30, 1968

DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH: September 1933, Ijowe, Ndian Division, West Cameroon

MARITAL STATUS: Married (Several Children)

NATIONALITY: Camerounian

HOME ADDRESS: National Assembly, Yaounde, Cameroon

ACADEMIC TRAINING: Diploma, Local Government and Community Development

POSITIONS HELD: Officer of the "Kameroon National Democratic Party," Chairman, Kumba Western Local Council, Chairman of the Kumba Cooperative Produce Society, Owner of Calypso Hotel, Kumba.

ORGANIZATIONS: Financier of the Cameroon Philanthropic Organization -- "War on Want," Director of Cameroon Building Contractors, Frank Harcourt Trade Institute

TRAVELS: West Africa

KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH: Good

DIETARY RESTRICTIONS: Pork and Alcohol

INTERESTS: Mr. Obie is interested in seeing the political and economic life in the United States, meet ranking members of both political parties, observe American politics at grass-roots level, including students' and women's participation, political administration and organization. He is interested in American culture, i.e., art, music and the theater.

via air mail October 1, 1968

Chief Victor N. Obie
P. O. Box 68
Kumba
West Cameroon, Africa

Dear Chief Obie:

Thank you so much for your thoughtful note. It was a pleasure having you visit with us. I only regret your stay was not longer.

While I cannot imagine when I will have an opportunity to do so, it would give me a great deal of pleasure to visit you and your family, and to see your lovely country.

Warm regards from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Chief Victor N.Obie,
P.O.Box 68,
Kumba.
West Cameroon.
19th September,1968.

My dear Anthony,

Thank you ever so much for your kind explanation on the roll of the Southern Regional Council. It made me understand Negros problems as a whole.

I arrived safely in the Cameroon. I have conveyed your hospitality towards us to my family and to the people of the Cameroon as a whole.

I did enjoy my stay in Atlanta and the States in General. The rains are gradually getting over here and we are happy to have the sun back.

I do hope you will one day visit the Cameroon and also have the chance of visiting my family and I in Kumba a Division in the Cameroon.

My best regards to you and friends.

Yours sincerely,

Chief V.N.Obie.

AÉROGRAMME

AIR LETTER

Mr. PAUL ANTHONY,

Executive Director ,Southern Regional Council

5 F Forsyth Street,

Atlanta.

U.S.A.

PAR AVION

BY AIR MAIL

Premier pliage — First fold

Second pliage — Second fold

UN AÉROGRAMME NE DOIT CONTENIR AUCUN OBJET

CE PLI SERA ACHEMINÉ PAR VOIE DE SURFACE, S'IL RENFERME UN OBJET QUELCONQUE

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL

Nom et adresse de l'expéditeur : Sender's name and address Chief V.N.Obie,

P.O.Box 68, Kumba. West Cameroon.

Amsterdam Foundation

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 · Telephone (202) 265-8300

Biographical information on Mr. Dipak K. NANDY of the United Kingdom, a participant in the Department of State's International Visitor Program. Program arranged by Mr. Richard T. Hamilton. Program ~~assistant, Miss Jane~~ McGehee. 1968

NAME: Mr. Dipak K. NANDY

PRESENT POSITION: Executive ~~Director~~-designate of the Runnymede Trust (tax-free charitable foundation to provide information and promotion of public education on race relations), which begins operation in October, 1968.

PERSONAL DATA:

Born: May 21, 1936; Calcutta, India.

Citizenship: Indian; resident of England since 1956.

Address: Runnymede Trust, 33 Sackville Street, London, W 1, England.

(Hold for arrival)

Marital Status: Married; no children

Academic Background: B.A., Leeds University, 1960
Research Student, Leeds University, 1960-62

Knowledge of English: Excellent

Special Interests: Traditional jazz

Travels abroad: 1956, India to the United Kingdom; 1962, Poland, Czechoslovakia, USSR, East Germany.

PAST POSITIONS: Lecturer in English Literature, Univ. of Leicester, 1962-66;
Lecturer in English, University of Kent, 1966-68.

MEMBERSHIPS: Executive Member, Campaign Against Racial Discrimination (CARD), 1965-67, and Director of CARD Summer Projects, 1966 and 1967; Member of Information Panel, National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants, 1965-68; Member of the Council of the Institute of Race Relations, 1966- ; Member of the Immigrants Advisory Commission of the BBC, 1965- .

PUBLICATIONS: "Discrimination, The Ugly Fact," The New Statesman; "An Illusion of Competence," Policies For Racial Equality; "Race Law, Will It Work?," The New Statesman; "Race, A Matter Of Leadership," The Observer; The Mayor's Lecture, University of Kent, Canterbury, 1968, entitled "Race and Community" (scheduled for publication); Preparing a book on the subject of race relations and urban growth in England.

(over)

Mr. Dipak K. NANDY - Biographical information (continued)

INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES OF UNITED STATES VISIT:

Mr. Dipak Nandy is a young and deeply knowledgeable gentleman, whose work in the next three years will be to set up and operate as Executive Director the newly-created Runnymede Trust in Great Britain. The trust will begin its work in October of this year. The Runnymede Trust, which draws its initial support from both British and American foundation sources, has as its broad purpose the provision of information and the promotion of public education on race relations. In its conception, it explicitly draws inspiration from American institutions active in combatting, through media and education, racial discrimination in the United States. Among the trustees of the Runnymede Trust are the Bishop of London, Baroness Gaitskell, and Sir Edward Boyle, MP, who is the Labor Party shadow Education Minister.

Mr. Nandy has already established in Britain a wide variety of personal contacts with Americans who are active in race relations, and has introductions to many persons and institutions in the country in this field.

He has written and spoken widely on racial affairs throughout the United Kingdom and on the BBC. Both government and non-government leaders concerned with British race relations feel that Mr. Nandy and the Runnymede Trust will play a vital and immediate role in the development of race relations activities in Great Britain. While he is, of course, interested and also knowledgeable in the full range of racial problems and attempts to meet them within the United States, his basic purpose on this trip will be to study the techniques of American groups active in persuading opinion leaders and also in educating the general public toward constructive action in this area.

Mr. Nandy is a man of broad education and active intelligence and it is certain that those who meet him, in either a professional or social atmosphere, will enjoy him personally and will gain from their association with him.

THE RUNNYMEDE TRUST

This Trust has been set up to provide information and to promote public education on race relations in the United Kingdom.

The Trust formally begins operation on October 1, 1968, and has been funded for an initial period of three years.

The Functions of the Trust:

The main functions of the Trust will be:

(1) To assist in the combating of defamation of minorities, particularly coloured minorities, in Britain.

(2) To be availab le to the media of mass communications for information and advice relating to race relations.

(3) To publicise the findings of existing research on aspects of race relations in a popular form, both for the general public and for specific audiences, such as employers and trades unionists, police forces, teachers, etc.

(4) To sponsor short-term research on aspects of race relations, and to publicise the findings of such research.

(5) To convene private conferences at which the findings of relevant research and specific policy proposals are discussed.

These functions are discussed in detail in the paper, "The Scope of the Runnymede Trust".

Structure of the Trust:

The Runnymede Trust is a registered educational trust, i.e., a tax-free charitable foundation.

The Trust will be administered by the Board of Trustees:

Lord Campbell of Eskan (Chairman)
Lord Walston
Sir George Sinclair M.P.
Mr Adrian Cadbury
Sir Peter Medawar

The Board has appointed the following Advisory Committee to assist and advise the Director:

Mr E J B Rose, Director, Survey of Race Relations
Mr Nicholas Deakin, Assistant Director, Survey of Race Relations
Sir George Sinclair M.P.
Miss Elizabeth Burney, The Economist
Mr Anthony Lester, Barrister
Mr Ben Hooberman, Lawford & Co, Solicitors

The Executive Director of the Trust is Mr Dipak Nandy, formerly of the University of Kent at Canterbury, and a member of the Council of the Institute of Race Relations.

Programme:

The Trust's initial programme is envisaged to be:

1. Three pamphlet-length publications to coincide with the Race Relations Act 1968, which is expected to receive the Royal Assent in December 1968. The first of these pamphlets (provisionally titled "Why We Need a Law Against Discrimination") will aim to explain the rationale and the provisions of the Act to the general public. The other two publications will concentrate on the provisions of the Act in the fields of employment and housing and will discuss methods of voluntary compliance.

2. By June 1969, after the Act has been in operation for six months, we envisage similar pamphlets with case-histories of good practices in the fields of employment and housing.

3. We propose to convene a media conference in the winter, with the assistance of the Centre for Research in Mass Communications of the University of Leicester. The most relevant aspects of the handling of race relations in the press and on television would be discussed in the context of a proposed code such as the BBC's internal instructions on the treatment of race and colour stories on television.

4. To publish by the winter a popularised version of the findings of research conducted by Prof John Denton of the University of California on property values and race in the United Kingdom, and possibly to use such a publication as the basis for a

conference in the spring of 1969.

5. To commission Mr John Power, formerly Chief Education Officer in the Borough of Tottenham, Greater London, to do a seven-month comparative study of the effectiveness of dispersal (bussing) policies adopted by selected Local Education Authorities. (Mr Power has already submitted a detailed plan for a study of this kind in which three dispersal areas would be compared to three socially and economically similar non-dispersal areas for effectiveness). A study of this kind, which could be completed by May 1969, would be a major contribution to the development of educational policy in Britain at this moment.

This programme, which has still to be finalised in every detail, would be in addition to a continuing programme of providing information of good and bad practices to the mass media and of providing assistance to civil rights and other groups in countering racist propaganda in the local press and elsewhere.

It is hoped that the Trust will rapidly become the central educational and information agency in race relations. It is also our hope that although the Trust cannot engage in lobbying on Governmental policy, it will nonetheless begin to function as an independent centre for the discussion of alternative policy proposals.

Location and Staff:

The Trust will operate with a staff of four: The Director, Assistant Director, the Personal Assistant to the Director, and a Secretarial Assistant.

The Trust will be situated at:

33 Sackville Street
LONDON W.1

D.N.
21.8.68.

* * * * * * * * * *

THE SCOPE OF THE RUNNYMEDE TRUST

Prospects and Proposals

1. The original conception: of the scope of RUNNYMEDE and of its relations with the other race relations bodies can best be seen in the following extracts from 'Proposals for the creation of The Runnymede Trust' (authors; Anthony Lester, Nicholas Deakin, E.J.B. Rose):

> ... The immediate and urgent need is for positive education and propaganda in race relations from a body capable of having an important effect on public attitudes and behaviour.
>
> ... Although a number of organisations are active in Britain in the field of race relations, none of them is able to do the work which is here proposed. The Race Relations Board, a statutory body set up to administer the Race Relations Act, will indirectly influence attitudes by its efforts to reduce discrimination, especially if the scope of the Act is extended to employment, housing and commercial services. The National Committee for Commonwealth Immigrants is a Government-sponsored body which takes initiatives in the field of community relations and is a channel for advice to Government Departments and provides permanent staff for local voluntary multi-racial groups. The NCCI also publishes a useful series of pamphlets about the immigrant communities and some of their social, educational and health problems.
>
> ... The Institute of Race Relations has commissioned important long-term studies on race relations in Britain, and publishes a newsletter giving up-to-date information. It is designed as a research organisation and a centre for information. However, by its constitution, the Institute must remain neutral, outside the arena. It cannot advocate any particular view of its own. What is needed is an independent body which could actively apply the Institute's accumulated research and information to practical and positive use.

The core concept of RUNNYMEDE which emerges can be fairly summarised in the phrase: 'the provision of information and the promotion of public education on race relations'.

2. Definitions and limitations: It is clear that if 'provision of information and public education on race relations' is literally interpreted then not even the combined resources of the RRB, the CRC, the Institute and RUNNYMEDE could achieve that end. There is no way of directly informing and educating 'the public'. The target for RUNNYMEDE's work must therefore be key people in the media of mass communications, and in the areas which most effect race relations - industry, housing and education.

Here the key problems can be quite simply presented, although the answers are much more difficult to provide. Two problems in particular stand out:

(a) In the last decade a growing body of information has been accumulated about race relations and yet little of this information is actually fed back into the decision-making processes (or outwards through the mass media). On the one hand there is a growing body of people who possess the information but are seldom called upon to make the crucial decisions; on the other hand those who do make the decisions seldom possess the relevant information. This is the gap which has to be bridged.

As society becomes more complex, a gap develops between ordinary people on the one hand, and those who propose policies and those who make decisions on the other. The pervasive ignorance of the facts of race relations and immigration is an outstanding example of this kind of information-gap, though it is by no means the only one. Left to itself ignorance of this kind can wreak terrible havoc (the aftermath of Powell's speech is only the beginning), and it cannot make for health in a democratic society if gaps of this kind were not bridged.

(b) To say this, however, is to do no more than set out the magnitude of the task. For it is the common mistake of liberals, academics and intellectuals to suppose that those who are ignorant are simply waiting for enlightenment. Education requires motivation to learn, and it would be a mistake to think that those to whom we address ourselves, whether key people or the wider public, are waiting for us to educate them! We may define to our satisfaction what personnel managers, provincial newspaper editors and the man in the street need to know about race relations, but they will not always regard themselves as standing in need of education. Hence what we may call 'the waste-paper-basket problem': how to ensure that the most attractively presented information does not get consigned to the waste-paper-basket, in other words, how to maximise the effectiveness of the information provided.

I do not know whether there can be a general answer to this problem, but it seems to me at once to define the character of RUNNYMEDE'S task and to suggest that the sorts of limits against which it might easily run up in the course of its work. General public interest in race relations provides no guarantee of motivation, for information is received selectively. Only race relations legislation, at this moment, appears to provide the necessary motivation. It can, I think, be safely assumed that those who are in any way likely to be affected by such legislation will be receptive to the kind of information RUNNYMEDE will provide. This must, therefore, be oneof the major areas of RUNNYMEDE'S activities. In addition it seems to me to be in general true that the uppermost levels of organisations and institutions are more likely to be liberal in attitude and more receptive in response. Their co-operation will probably be crucial for RUNNYMEDE.

The proposals that follow have to be read against this background. It is also worth stressing that they are personal and do not represent corporate decisions of any kind. What is more they will be modified in the course of discussions with those involved in race relations work. Necessarily provisional as they are, they nonetheless set out I think the general direction of the work and the order of magnitude involved.

3. <u>Proposed activities</u>: These fall into five basic categories:

(1) The provision of information to the mass media and to interested or affected groups;
(2) The convening of conferences for information and persuasion;
(3) The translation of research results for general consumption or for specific groups;
(4) Inspiring and concerting an adequate response to the outbreak of prejudice and hostility; and
(5) The commissioning of short-term operational research.

Taken together these categories seem to me to be both exhaustive and exhausting. (I should be quite content if in its first three years RUNNYMEDE had succeeded in achieving the first three objectives).

Specifically, under each head, RUNNYMEDE should I think undertake the following:

3.1. Provision of information: I envisage that RUNNYMEDE will want to publish a monthly Newsletter (a fact-and-analysis document) rather like the SSRC Newsletter but more popular in presentation. (Something in between the SSRC Newsletter and ICI's monthly Progress is what I have in mind). This would be distributed to, for example:

The Press: provincial and national: editors and 'race' reporters
Television: News Editors, Current Affairs programmes directors
CBI and other employers' organisations (e.g., EEF)
Trades Union offices: national and district
Voluntary liaison committees and other multi-racial organisations
Immigrant organisations
Colleges of Education
NUT and Schools Council
MPs and local councillors (perhaps selectively)
Local authority officials (YEOs, City Housing Managers, Chief Education Officers, Planning Officers, etc.)

In addition to a Newsletter for general consumption, one of the first priorities will be the publication of booklets and pamphlets for specific purposes. I have in mind easily readable pamphlets which will spell out, in the fields of employment, housing, education and immigrant-police relations; first, the character of the forthcoming Race Relations Act 1968, second, the nature of race relations problems as they impinge upon these areas, and third, the sorts of voluntary activities which may promote better race relations. I expect that this kind of information-provision will be undertaken in a variety of ways. It may be done through or in collaboration with other agencies, e.g., Public Relations (Industrial) for the management sector of the engineering industry, where such collaboration may well ensure effective reception. Elsewhere it may be done just as well or better under RUNNYMEDE's auspices.

Apart from these, there is a need for what I might call 'on-tap information'. What I have in mind are files of basic information, regularly revised, on immigration, discrimination, the settlement of coloured people, the schools situation, good race relations practices etc., to be available for borrowing or purchase by persons requiring information in a hurry - television producers for example.

Where Press and television are concerned, however, information provision is not by itself adequate. A more positive approach is needed which would amount, in fact, to the cultivation of the mass media. Basically, Press and television have to be fed constantly with (a) information about good race relations practices and (b) information about findings on discrimination. The first is necessary in order to give heart to people that the problems are soluble; the second in order to dispel complacent illusions that the problems have been solved. There can be no prescriptions for this kind of activity, for it depends essentially upon personal initiatives and the appropriate procedures will have to be developed ambulando. But perhaps the general principle will have to be that information of this kind should be accompanied by discussion as to the form in which the information might best be used. (This will of course require a great deal of tact).

Finally, one aspect of television as a medium which is almost invariably neglected is television drama. One of RUNNYMEDE's activities must be to

cultivate television playwrights and to seek out others who might use TV drama as an oblique way of influencing attitudes. The direct approach is very often unproductive or even counter-productive. What is more, a large part of the problem in race relations - principally because race relations have always been debated in terms of 'immigration' and 'immigrants' - is the resistance to the notion that coloured people are here to stay. In a memorandum to the BBC in 1965 I suggested that the mass media 'should recognise and present the coloured people in these islands as members of our society, as ineradicably part of the English landscape, not as 'dark strangers', not as 'the dark million', and still less as people who are perennially involved in unpleasant incidents and conflicts.' This is most usefully done - indeed I am inclined to say it can only be done - indirectly, without overt didactic appeal.

3.2. Convening conferences: Properly structured conferences - where the relevant information is provided for discussion, and discussions are conducted which are geared carefully to specific ends - are the most effective form of 'education'. I envisage conferences of this kind involving unions and management in industry, editors, journalists and television producers, teachers, LEA officials and DES representatives, and so on. Conference topics might include:

Race relations and Mass Media
Education and Race relations
Race relations and the Police
Voluntary action in industry

Two other areas of discussion I should like to see explored are:

Race relations and the urban context
An Inter-Departmental Approach to Race relations

Again, some of these conferences will be best convened under RUNNYMEDE's auspices, whereas others will be most effective if sponsored by other bodies.

3.3. Translation of research: This is rather different from the pamphlets proposed under 3.1. What I have in mind are publications designed to popularise the most important recent research findings on the one hand, and publications which draw out the implications for race relations of official documents and policies on the other. The sort of material which would be appropriate for 'translation' in this way would be, under the first heading, the findings and analysis of John Rex and Robert Moore's Race, Community and Conflict. Elizabeth Burney's Housing on Trial is not in need of 'translation' but could be usefully summarised and popularised. Under the second head would come publications which draw out the implications for race relations of such enquiries as the Milner Holland Report and the Plowden Report (to take two recent examples).

This area of work would naturally require very close contact with research bodies such as the SSRC, NFER, and so on, as well as with Universities.

3.4. Counter-propaganda: This is a shorthand (and regrettably sinister) way of describing action to ensure that at moments of high tension all the information provided is effectively used. I think it essential that this should be an indirect operation. RUNNYMEDE's rôle should be to inspire and co-ordinate an adequate response when immigration or race relations hit the headlines, and to provide information to those involved in the operation, rather than to undertake the operation itself.

This part of the work will be conducted on two levels. In the immediate future, a good deal of attention will have to be devoted to the local press and to local 'campaigns for immigration control'. In its first year RUNNYMEDE should attempt to develop an informal network of 'correspondents' who will mobilise influential opinion in their localities on the issues as they arise, write to the local press themselves and get others to do so, approach local radio where available. In its first year, the target area for the development of such a network should be the West Midlands. At the national (i.e. London) level, RUNNYMEDE's task will be, first, to elicit and co-ordinate a response from influential national figures (taking e.g., the list of sponsors of EQUAL RIGHTS as a working basis) and, secondly, to act as consultant to press and television (e.g., suggestions of people to interview, briefing, etc.).

The importance of this area of work in race relations hardly needs stressing. One objective here which is worth stressing is the necessity of involving more people in race relations. At present the number of people who will speak or write on the subject is extremely small. By systematic provision of information in advance of the crises and by encouragement at crisis moments, it might be possible to break out of the present situation in which, by and large, it is only 'race professionals' who are heard in public at such moments. In some ways a breakthrough of this kind will be a critical factor in the immediate future for the effective enforcement of the Race Relations Act. If the Race Relations Board is to secure effective compliance with the law, then it must be felt to have influential opinion behind it. If it appears, however, that 'public opinion' is in some way hostile or indifferent to the law and to its enforcement, then the task of enforcement becomes correspondingly difficult. The character of the present situation is very well brought out in a comment made by Professor Richard Longaker of the University of California on the Racial Incitement trial at Sussex in March:

> ... it seems to me that there was no aura of conscience, or doctrine, which the prosecution or jury could easily refer to to get their bearings. I mean by this that there was an absence of what we find in the U.S.; namely unqualified statements by a president, governor, or the court about what public conscience represents.
>
> ('Memorandum for Mr. E.J.B. Rose on the Racial Incitement Trial, Lewes Assizes, Sussex, March 25-28, 1968', quoted by permission of Mr. E.J.B. Rose)

We did expect at one time that the mere passage of a Race Relations Act would provide an unqualified statement of communal opinion of this kind, but given the atmosphere surrounding the present Race Relations Bill, it would be unrealistic to suppose that legislation by itself will provide the necessary 'aura of conscience'. In fact, what I have argued is that in the initial stages, the law itself might have to be supported by explicit public statements in order to give it the requisite moral legitimacy.

For all these reasons, it is clear that this part of its work will be one of the most important for RUNNYMEDE. But it would be foolish to underestimate the sheer difficulty of this kind of work, for it involves nothing less than an attempt to change a climate of opinion. What is more, in seeking charitable status RUNNYMEDE has had to define its rôle primarily as an educational organisation and the consequences of being seen as an organisation conducting 'propagandist activities' would be serious.

3.5. Commissioning 'action' research: What is envisaged here is short-term research which does not require an elaborate theoretical basis directed at practical problems in the field of race relations. An example of this kind

of research which should, I think, have high priority is the investigation of 'falling property values' in areas of incipient immigrant infiltration. Another example would be a comparison of different kinds of voluntary machinery in industry. Yet another example would be 'progress reports' on the policies of different LEAs.

The uses to which research results of this sort will be put will depend on the issues and the kinds of results involved. Some findings (e.g., property values) may call for widespread publicity. Others, such as the effectiveness of different kinds of voluntary machinery may be of greater usefulness in conference discussions or in private discussions.

4. The Place of RUNNYMEDE in the Race Establishment: Given these five broad categories of work, it remains now to spell out the relationship envisaged between RUNNYMEDE and the other agencies in race relations.

Two preliminary points may be made. First, it goes without saying that the precondition for RUNNYMEDE's success is that it should work in the closest co-operation with the existing agencies, namely, the Race Relations Board, the proposed Community Relations Commission, the Institute of Race Relations and the Survey of Race Relations. (The visibility of the links will probably vary. It may not, for example, be wise to appear to have too close a connection with the RRB, and indeed the Board for its part will probably not want to appear in this light).

Secondly, the prospect of some degree of over-lap between RUNNYMEDE's work and that of the other agencies is not, in my view, a serious problem, provided over-lap is not allowed to become unnecessary reduplication. Over-lap is not necessarily a pejorative term, and could well mean for example, that one agency in the field reinforces the work of another. This supportive function will be of importance in the immediate future. Thus, the fact that the Institute, the Survey and the NCCI already undertake the provision of information should not inhibit RUNNYMEDE, nor will RUNNYMEDE's presence make these activities by the other agencies redundant. Similarly, the Board's direct interest in the effectiveness of voluntary machinery need not exclude RUNNYMEDE's interest in the growth of these bodies, for, as the Board has frequently made clear, it welcomes the interest of other groups in the field of law enforcement in general as well as in its own performance.

Let me try and describe briefly now what RUNNYMEDE would hope to gain from the other agencies and what it would hope to contribute to them.

First, the Race Relations Board. As I have suggested, contacts with the Board will probably be extremely informal. But the Board's Annual Report and other publications will be a ready and invaluable source of information for RUNNYMEDE. In turn RUNNYMEDE could reasonably hope to feed information into the Board e.g., about acts and patterns of discrimination about which no complaints had been made. And in so far as RUNNYMEDE is successful in affecting the atmosphere of race relations, it will have made a contribution to the effectiveness of the Board.

Secondly, the proposed Community Relations Commission (at present the NCCI). Here both the CRC and RUNNYMEDE could afford to be seen to co-operate openly, and I hope that this will be so. In particular the Voluntary Liaison Committees of the NCCI would be of invaluable assistance in establishing the network of 'correspondents' porposed in 3.4. In their turn the VLCs would, I am sure, be interested in the material produced by RUNNYMEDE.

Thirdly, the Institute. RUNNYMEDE will need support from the Institute, it seems to me, in two ways. First, access to the Institute Library will be essential and RUNNYMEDE will probably become the most consistent user of the Library's resources. Secondly, the Institute's position as an independent and objective institution will help RUNNYMEDE to adopt its outgoing rôle more effectively. The difficulty of bodies with declared educational intentions, especially when they are working on a sensitive social and political issue such as race, is that the information they provide comes to be regarded as tainted. The credentials for the information RUNNYMEDE seeks to broadcast depend on the reputation of the source from which it derives that information. It is hard to see what contribution RUNNYMEDE can make to the Institute except in the form of a financial contribution for the regular use of the Library.

Fourthly, the Survey. This is where the closest of links will need to be forged. First, without free access to the Survey's research and its resources accumulated so far, RUNNYMEDE's work will be virtually impossible. Secondly, the continuance of the Survey (and continued access to its findings as they come in) will be essential for RUNNYMEDE's effective performance. We can only proceed on the assumption that the best propaganda are the facts themselves, as carefully and reliably as they can be established, that ultimately reliable information is the only kind of information worth providing. And of course we can only work in the belief that education can only be education in the truth and not in what we find it convenient to hold, even in a cause so basic to humanity as racial equality and racial justice. Without the Survey RUNNYMEDE will quickly find itself running dry not only of material to use, clues to pursue, ideas to develop but also of a developing understanding of race relations itself. RUNNYMEDE's own projected research commitments are not only not a substitute for the Survey: they are meaningful only in the context of the Survey's more basic work. In its turn RUNNYMEDE would certainly hope to throw up suggestions and clues for more systematic study by the Survey, but there can be no doubt that it is the Survey which will provide RUNNYMEDE with most of its impetus.

5. Criteria of Evaluation: The need for a body like RUNNYMEDE has become increasingly apparent to all those involved in race relations. It is novel and experimental, but nonetheless much is expected of it (not least by myself). It is important that RUNNYMEDE should be stringent in the assessment of its own performance and that it should not yield to the temptation to revise its criteria of evaluation to fit its actual performance. How these criteria might be formulated most rigorously I have not yet thought out. It seems to me important, however, to remember that RUNNYMEDE will be at best a shoe-string commando outfit, a small organisation with slender resources faced with a massive operation. It will be under pressure to show results within three years. The cost of making the criteria too stringent will be to guarantee failure, and the cost of that will be that the essential task to which RUNNYMEDE is committed will seem either to be not worth performing or impossible to achieve.

14.6.68 DIPAK NANDY

ACIV
ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING / 615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E. / ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / TELEPHONE 872-7367

A VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE OF ATLANTA CITIZENS • MEMBER OF COSERV • SUPPORTED BY THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND OTHER BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

December 31, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Dir.
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Again this year ACIV programmed over 1,100 foreign visitors to Atlanta, each of whom went away with a better impression of our city, and in many cases with some new and lasting friendships.

You made an important contribution to the success of this community effort, and not without some personal sacrifice. Please accept my sincere thanks.

I look forward to working with you toward another successful year in 1969. In the meantime, best wishes for the holiday season.

Sincerely,

Doug Smith

Douglas A. Smith
General Chairman

DAS/jw

file

ACIV

ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING / 615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E. / ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / TELEPHONE 872-7367

A VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE OF ATLANTA CITIZENS • MEMBER OF COSERV • SUPPORTED BY THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND OTHER BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

February 4, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are all looking forward to your visit to ACIV Tuesday, February 18th at 10:00 am. You have, of course, carte blanche as to what you wish to say to the group, but if it's any help to you, here are a few points we would appreciate your covering.

(1) What SRC is and does, what you talk about in your interviews with our visitors, what type visitors you particularly like; which visitors (if any) your people prefer not to interview.

(2) A brief run-down on the city's civil rights groups and which ones you think especially enjoy seeing our visitors or provide productive interviews for them.

(3) The present state of affairs in the south re civil rights. Are our volunteers giving the right slant? Do the visitors think we are showing them a fair picture?

(4) Your ideas on how we might get more Negroes involved in ACIV.

Thanks for all you have done for ACIV in the past.

Yours sincerely,

Rosalind Anderson

Rosalind Anderson
Vice President

RA/gar

file

ACIV

ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING / 615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E. / ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308 / TELEPHONE 872-7367

A VOLUNTEER COMMITTEE OF ATLANTA CITIZENS • MEMBER OF COSERV • SUPPORTED BY THE ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND OTHER BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS

February 21, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your talk at our small gathering was excellent. We are very grateful to you for contributing even more of your time and knowledge to ACIV. We now know why our visitors are so pleased with their SRC interviews.

Thanks to you especially and also to your colleagues.

Yours sincerely,

Ros Anderson

Mrs. James C. H. Anderson
Vice-President

RA/gar

ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308

ACIV

Dear Mr Anthony -

Attached is the bio. data on Mr Gurney from Israel. He will be at your office on Wednesday May 28 at 2' as planned. Thanks so much for all your help.

Sincerely

Mrs Luther Alverson

file

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 · Telephone (202) 265-8300

Biographic information on Mr. Erol GUNEY of Israel, who is visiting the United States at the invitation of the Department of State. Program arranged by Richard T. Hamilton. 1969

NAME:	Erol GUNEY
PRESENT POSITION:	Chief Foreign Affairs and Diplomatic Correspondent, Yedioth Ahronoth (Tel Aviv Hebrew-language daily); Foreign Correspondent of Le Soir and Agence France Presse for Israel.
PAST POSITIONS:	Various newspapers, including the Jerusalem Post and Le Monde, Paris.

Personal Data:

Born:	August 29, 1914 in Odessa.
Family:	Mr. Guney is married.
Academic Background:	M.A. in Philosophy and Literature.
Nationality:	Israeli.
Address:	6 Derekh Hatayassim, Tel Aviv.
Travel Abroad:	Europe, Africa, Asia and U.S.
Knowledge of English:	Excellent.
Publications:	Various translations, including works by Plato, Moliere, Gogol and Tchekov.

OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED STATES VISIT:

Mr. Guney is on his second visit to the U.S., having traveled rather widely here in 1963. The focus of the current visit is to explore both American policy and public opinion on the crucial foreign relations problems of the U.S.

Naturally, he is most interested in American thought and policy with respect to Middle East affairs, and will spend a considerable portion of his time exploring this subject within the Government, academic and media communities. Additionally, he is concerned with both short and long-range American thinking with respect to relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the U.S. and Communist China. Mr. Guney visited Vietnam three years ago under U.S. and Vietnamese sponsorship, and, of course, has a lively interest in this issue.

Over

On all of these foreign policy matters Mr. Guney is interested in the interaction of U.S. foreign commitments and the effect which these commitments have on domestic politics and public opinion.

Lies with Office for International Visitors

June 4, 1969

Mrs. Charles Perrone
Program Officer
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mrs. Perrone:

We have today received your letter to Mr. Anthony regarding Judge Ahmed. Judge Tuttle's secretary was kind enough to forward it to us.

While Mr. Anthony will have just returned from Europe when Judge Ahmed comes to Atlanta and will likely not be able to see him personally, this does not preclude having the Judge visit our office. There will be several staff persons available to talk with him and to do whatever is necessary to help to make his visit profitable.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
cc: Miss Julia Williams

June 3, 1969

Mrs. Charles Perrone
Program Officer
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc.
256 South 16th Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

Dear Mrs. Perrone:

By error, your letter of May 29th to Judge Tuttle was sent to Mr. Anthony. I am, today, forwarding your letter on to the Judge. I would assume that there is some correspondence to Mr. Anthony regarding The Honorable Mohamoud Sheikh Ahmed floating around somewhere.

If there is anything the Council can do for Judge Ahmed while he is in Atlanta, please let us know.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

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256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102
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CABLE: EIFFELL

May 29, 1969

The Honorable Elbert P. Tuttle
Circuit Judge, Fifth Judicial District
United States Court of Appeals
U.S. Courthouse
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Judge Tuttle:

Our records show that for a number of years we have picked the time in June when you go to the Cornell Commencement to ask that you meet with one of our Eisenhower Fellows. I hope that my request this year is better timed. And I hope you will forgive my persistence.

Our current Fellow from the Somali Republic is the Honorable Mohamoud Sheikh Ahmed, Vice President of the Supreme Court of Somalia. Judge Ahmed is spending six months of travel and observation in this country under our sponsorship, studying our approach to judicial administration, arbitration, and international legal procedures. He says that the work of the Somali Supreme Court is more similar to that of our appellate courts than to the U.S. Supreme Court. The enclosed resume will provide more information about him.

Judge Ahmed will be in Atlanta June 14-18, and he would welcome an opportunity to meet you or one of your colleagues, and if possible to visit your court. We in this office would be very grateful if arrangements could be made to receive him.

If you would like to meet Judge Ahmed, would you kindly let me know? And also, it would be very helpful if you would send a copy of your reply to Miss Julia Williams at the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors at 615 Peachtree, N.E. I have asked Miss Williams to coordinate Judge Ahmed's Atlanta program, and final arrangements are best made with her office.

Thank you very much for any courtesies that may be extended to our guest from Somalia.

Sincerely,

Marguerite Perrone

Mrs. Charles Perrone
Program Officer

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FIFTH JUDICIAL CIRCUIT

ELBERT P. TUTTLE
CIRCUIT JUDGE
P. O. BOX 893
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30301

June 3, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The enclosed letter was received in our office this morning in an envelope addressed to Judge Tuttle. While it is a matter in which Judge Tuttle may have some interest, unfortunately he is out of the city for a month or so.

Very truly yours,

Lynda Coffey

Secretary to Judge Tuttle

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Former Secretary of the Treasury
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for Reconstruction and Development
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General Electric Company, New York
CLIFFORD ROBERTS, *Partner*
Reynolds & Company, New York
WILLIAM E. ROBINSON, *Former Chairman*
The Coca-Cola Company, New York
JOHN A. ROOSEVELT, *Partner*
Bache & Company, New York
WILLIAM W. SCRANTON
Former Governor of Pennsylvania, Scranton, Pennsylvania
PHILIP T. SHARPLES
Haverford, Pennsylvania
COURTNEY C. SMITH, *President*
Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
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The Gillette Company, Boston
THEODORE O. SPAULDING, *Judge, Philadelphia*
JAY TAYLOR, *Rancher, Amarillo, Texas*
JUAN T. TRIPPE, *Chairman*
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FRAZAR B. WILDE, *Chairman Emeritus*
Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Hartford
ALFRED H. WILLIAMS, *Former President*
Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia
ROBERT W. WOODRUFF, *Chairman, Finance Committee*
The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

J. HAMPTON BARNES
PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102

KINGSLEY 6-1738

CABLE: EIFFELL

May 29, 1969

Mr. Paul Anthony, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our current Eisenhower Exchange Fellow from The Somali Republic is The Honorable Mohamoud Sheikh Ahmed, Vice President of the Supreme Court of the Republic. Judge Ahmed is spending six months of travel and observation in this country under our sponsorship, learning about our approach to judicial administration. The enclosed resume will provide more details about him.

Judge Ahmed is, naturally, interested in other aspects of the American scene, and I believe he would benefit from an opportunity to learn about the work of the Southern Regional Council. We would be very grateful therefore if arrangements could be made to receive him when he visits Atlanta June 14-18.

If an appointment could be made for Judge Ahmed, would you kindly let me know? And also, it would be very helpful if you would send a copy of your reply to Miss Julia Williams of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors at 615 Peachtree Street, N.E. I have asked Miss Williams to coordinate Judge Ahmed's Atlanta program, and final details are best settled with her office.

Thank you very much for your continuing cooperation with our program and for any courtesies that may be extended to our guest from Somalia.

Sincerely,

Marguerite Perrone

Mrs. Charles Perrone
Program Officer

enc.

1969 EISENHOWER FELLOW
FROM THE SOMALI REPUBLIC

Mohamed Sheikh AHMED
P.O. Box 380
Mogadiscio

Age: 31

Married

EDUCATION

Southampton University, (England) LL.B.

PRESENT POSITIONS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

Vice President and Judge, Supreme Court of Somali Republic
Member, Consultative Commission for Legislation
Member, Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration Commission, Organization for African Unity

PREVIOUS POSITION

Legal Adviser, Ministries of Justice and Foreign Affairs

INTERESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. Judicial administration, especially in higher courts
2. Legal techniques and procedures in international relations
3. Legal education in the United States
4. Organization and administration of private law offices
5. Arbitration techniques

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

Origin

Established in 1953 to honor President Eisenhower "for his contribution to humanity as a soldier, statesman, and world leader." Founded as a unique contribution to the furtherance of world peace through international understanding, the Fellowships are independent of any governmental, political, or academic affiliation.

Purpose

Unlike academic and research fellowships they are essentially leader grants, providing a period of travel and observation for men who have already demonstrated outstanding leadership achievement in their respective countries and professions. The Fellowships enable these rising leaders to meet their professional counterparts, as well as leaders and ordinary people from other walks of life, throughout the United States. The Eisenhower Fellows thus acquire broad experience to apply to their own countries' development, as well as a thorough understanding of the United States, its people and institutions, its accomplishments and aspirations.

Selection Procedure

The countries to receive Fellowships each year are designated by a Trustees' Selection Committee after consultation with businessmen, economists, the Department of State, and other authorities familiar with current trends and developments abroad. With the aid of the American diplomatic mission in each designated country, a local nominating committee is appointed, usually consisting of three prominent citizens of that country and two resident Americans. The nominating committee also includes a former Eisenhower Fellow when possible. This committee chooses one of the economic or social fields of greatest importance to that country's advancement and nominates several key candidates from that field, a process sometimes requiring competitive screening of many applicants. Final selection of one nominee from each designated country rests with the selection committee in the United States.

What the Fellowships Provide

The Fellowships provide six to eight months of professional consultations. visits, seminars, field trips and on-the-job assignments in all parts of the United States. EEF pays all expenses for travel to, from and within the United States for each Fellow and provides a reasonable allowance for living expenses during his stay. Each Fellow is invited to bring his wife, provided she can remain in the United States for at least three months, and provided she has a reasonable knowledge of English.

A detailed program tailored to his individual professional objectives is drawn up and administered for each Fellow by the Executive Director and the Fellowships' staff. Arrangements are made to introduce the Fellows to business executives, government officials, educators, engineers, scientists, and professional leaders of all kinds. The Fellows visit industries, schools, banks, farms, marketing centers, laboratories, transportation hubs, historic sites, and other places of special or general interest. They also have opportunities to meet private American citizens and to observe American home life. Each Fellow is urged to undertake intensive inquiries along the lines he believes will be most useful to him and to his country. At the same time, however, he is expected to explore his field broadly throughout the United States, rather than spend a major portion of his time in any single location.

Support of the Fellowships

Since their inception in 1953, the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have been generously supported by more than 1500 corporations, foundations, and individuals, whose imaginations have been captured by the Fellowships' concept of "training in leadership as a positive force for international understanding." Each year the number of contributors has been higher than the year before, a further evidence of the growing esteem in which the Fellowships are held.

Sponsored Fellowships

In 1967 the concept of Sponsored Fellowships was established. Under this arrangement, corporations, foundations, and individuals, with an annual commitment of $10,000, may specify an area of interest, such as medicine, legal training, or agriculture, and a broad geographical area, such as the Middle East, which coincides with their interests. The selection of the individual Fellow, however, remains basically a function of EEF.

Success of the Fellowships

Beginning with fifteen Fellows in 1954, the number of Fellowships awarded each year has gradually increased to a current level of 45.

Almost all of the Fellows, both foreign and American, have risen to even higher positions of responsibility as a consequence of their Fellowship experience. The Honorable Suleyman Demirel, is now Prime Minister of Turkey, the first Eisenhower Fellow to rise to the pinnacle of his country's leadership. Dr. Luis A. Siles has been elected Vice President of Bolivia and Yien-Si Tsiang has recently been appointed Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan, the highest administrative position in the Republic of China. Four former Fellows currently hold cabinet posts in Argentina. Other cabinet and subcabinet posts are or have been held by Fellows in Afghanistan, The Republic of China, Indonesia, Iran, Norway, Philippines and Saudi Arabia. Several Fellows have become ambassadors, governors and members of parliaments and legislatures. Many hold other high posts in government, public health, education, transportation, agriculture, finance, marketing, manufacturing, construction, utilities, and communications, to cite representative fields.

Board of Trustees

Control of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. is vested in a Board of Trustees drawn from leaders in business, government, communications, and education. Robert O. Anderson, Chairman, Atlantic Richfield Company, was elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees in February 1969, succeeding Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Scott Paper Company, who had served as Chairman since 1953.

Staff

President and Executive Director: J. Hampton Barnes. Assistant Director: Samuel C. Townsend. Four Program Officers. Two Secretaries.

Headquarters Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., 256 S. 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

February 26, 1970

Robert F. Kennedy Memorial
1816 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Gentlemen:

I deeply regret that I will not be able to attend the Second Annual Dinner for the Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

You are cordially invited to attend

The Second Annual Dinner

for the presentation of

The Robert F. Kennedy Journalism Awards

at the

Federal City Club

Sheraton - Carlton Hotel

on Friday, the twentieth of March

at eight o'clock

R. S. V. P.
Robert F. Kennedy Memorial
1816 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036
296-2529

THE ROBERT F. KENNEDY JOURNALISM AWARDS

Honoring Outstanding Achievements in Newspaper, Magazine and Broadcasting Coverage of Poverty, Discrimination and the Disadvantaged

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Richard Harwood — Washington Post

Jules Witcover — Los Angeles Times

JOURNALISM AWARDS JUDGES

Simeon Booker — Ebony Magazine

David Brinkley — NBC

Charlayne Hunter — New York Times

Nick Kotz — Des Moines Register and Tribune

Stanley Tretick — Look Magazine

MAY 14 1970

May 13

ATLANTA COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
TELEPHONE 872-7367

ACIV

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you so much for meeting with the Langdowns on May 28th at 10:30 Am. They will probably be walking from their hotel, the Dinkler Plaza.

Anne Hansen

April 27, 1970

Mr. B. J. Stiles
Director
The Robert F. Kennedy Memorial
1816 Hefferson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear B. J.:

We will be more than happy to be of any possible assistance to Mr. and Mrs. Langdown.

Come to see us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

THE ROBERT F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL
1816 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

APR 27 1970

ROBERT S. McNAMARA
Chairman

THOMAS J. WATSON, JR.
Chairman, Finance Committee

FREDERICK G. DUTTON
Executive Director

PETER B. EDELMAN
Associate Director

B. J. STILES
Director RFK Fellows

April 23, 1970

AREA CODE 202 296-2529

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I am assisting in arrangements for a visit to the United States by Mr. A.A. Langdown, a South African artist. I saw his work when I was in South Africa and met numerous people who spoke enthusiastically about his talents and his concerns. I believe it is a rare privilege for a Cape Coloured to exit the country on an unrestricted visit.

Mr. and Mrs. Langdown will be in Atlanta May 21 - June 2, and I hope you will be able to meet them and give them some insights into the work of SRC. Miss Julie Williams, Atlanta Council for International Visitors, 615 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30308 (404/872-7367), is hosting their visit in Atlanta, and I'm sure would welcome a call from you if you are able to spend some time with the Langdowns during their stay. Thanks for any help you can offer.

Cordially,

B.J. Stiles
Director
RFK Fellows

si

3/26/70

A. A. Langdown - April 6 - June 30, 1970

Friday, March 27	Johannesburg
Saturday, March 28	Blantyre
Tuesday, March 31	London
Monday, April 6	Greenwich, Connecticut
Thursday, April 16	Springfield, Massachusetts
Sunday, April 19	New York, New York
Monday, April 27	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Monday, May 4	Washington, D. C.
Tuesday, May 12	Williamsburg, Virginia
Friday, May 15	Richmond, Indiana
Thursday, May 21	Atlanta, Georgia
Tuesday, June 2	Albuquerque, New Mexico
	Grand Canyon
Saturday, June 13	Los Angeles, California
Tuesday, June 16	San Francisco, California
Tuesday, June 23	New York, New York
Tuesday, June 30	Amsterdam
Thursday, July 9	South Africa

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

CURRICULUM VITAE

AMOS ARCHIBALD LANGDOWN

DATE OF BIRTH: 7th May, 1930.

EDUCATION: Primary Lower Teachers Course, Primary Higher Art Course. One year Graphic Art at Rijks Academy, Amsterdam.

ACTIVITIES: I have been interested in art as long as I can remember. After completing the Primary Lower Teachers Course, I followed the Primary Higher Art Course at Zonnebloem College, Cape Town. In 1951 I took up my first teaching appointment, and two years later I was appointed Art Instructor at Athlone Training School, Paarl, where I am still teaching.

During the past fourteen years I have practised in various media in the field of art, especially the Graphic Arts. In 1959 I held my first one-man exhibition in Cape Town. In 1961 my second exhibition opened in the South African Association of Arts Gallery, Cape Town. Subsequent to this exhibition two of my works were selected by the S.A. Arts Association and were exhibited at an International Art Exhibition in Munich, Germany.

In 1962 I was awarded bursaries from the Cape Tercentenary Foundation and the Department of Coloured Affairs respectively, which enabled me to pursue a one year course of study in Graphic Art at Rijks Academy in Amsterdam. During my studies in Holland I specialised in the following Graphic Techniques: Woodcuts, Linocuts, Engravings, Etchings and Lithographs.

On my return in 1963 I held a third one-man exhibition in the S.A. Association of Arts Gallery in Cape Town, and was represented with the South African Group in the 1964 "Venice Biennale", Italy. Besides the abovementioned International Exhibitions I partook in the Fourth Cape Salon Exhibition in 1964, and held a one-man exhibition at Stellenbosch in that same year.

My latest Graphic Art Exhibition was held in March 1965 in the local Gallery, Paarl. Apart from my teaching and personal practice in art, I do book illustrations and cover designs. A recent publication "Die Bruin Kokon", contains a collection of my Graphic works and adapted verse by the poet P. J. Philander.

(OVER)

OBJECT OF VISIT: My main interest would be to study and observe the practical teaching of art, art and crafts, in elementary, Junior and High Schools, and to visit Academies in the United States of America. As important would be an urge to meet Graphic Artists from all sections of the American Society. Naturally it would be stimulating to meet American Negro and American Indian Artists. I have always been grossly intrigued by the art of the Aborigines of our own country and for a very long time now, the Arts and Crafts of the American Indians have become a major part of my leisure time reading and study.

March, 1968

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
41 West Putnam Avenue
Greenwich, Conn. 06830

CURRICULUM VITAE

MRS. R. A. LANGDOWN

NAME: RHONA, ALICIA, LANGDOWN.

DATE OF BIRTH: 29:1:35.

EDUCATION: Primary Lower Teacher's Course.

ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS:

I was educated at the Athlone Institute in Paarl where I completed my teacher's training course in 1954. In the field of teaching, my interests coincide largely with those of my husband; mine are, however, more confined to the teaching of Kindergarten and Junior classes.

I have, in all, eleven years of teaching experience, and have a keen interest in the teaching of needlecraft, and theatrical costume design, especially in the Junior Secondary classes.

I should also like to gather more information and become better acquainted with the running and management of youth organizations which are such a vital necessity to our people. Furthermore, I am very much interested in art, especially the graphic arts, which is one of the main interests of my husband.

It would therefore be both inspiring and stimulating to meet people with similar interests in the abovementioned activities.

March, 1970

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
101 South 39th Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

CURRICULUM VITAE

AMOS ARCHIBALD LANGDOWN

DATE OF BIRTH: 7th May, 1930.

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(OVER)

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March, 1968

UNITED STATES - SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.
41 West Putnam Avenue
Greenwich, Conn. 06830

CURRICULUM VITAE

MRS. R. A. LANGDOWN

NAME: RHONA, ALICIA, LANGDOWN.

DATE OF BIRTH: 29:1:35.

EDUCATION: Primary Lower Teacher's Course.

ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS:

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March, 1970

ATLANTA COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
615 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30308
TELEPHONE 872-7367

MAY 12 1970

May 13, 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you for arranging the meeting with our visiting European journalists at the Southern Regional Council at 4 PM Monday, May 18. I understand that Mr. John Lewis will meet with you also.

I am enclosing the bio-data on the visitors and look forward to our meeting on Monday.

Very sincerely,

Pat Orrell

Mrs. E. C. Orrell
Coordinator

REVISED

file

INTER*AGENCY JOURNALISTS' TOUR
PARTICIPANTS BIO DATA

AUSTRIA: FRITZ HENDRICH
Foreign Policy Editor (Designate)
Die Kleine Zeitung, Graz

Born: February 25, 1944, Schwanenstadt, Austria.
Formerly Political Editor, Kleine Zeitung

BELGIUM: IVO FRANS JAN VAN HASSEL
Foreign Affairs Analyst
Het Laatste Nieuws, Brussels

Born: November 9, 1936, Ruisbroek, Belgium
Studied at Athenee de Bruxelles and at University Institute for Overseas Administration (Antwerp). Specialist in East European Affairs for Het Laatste Nieuws.

CANADA: WILFRED MARTIN
Foreign Affairs Commentator
La Presse, Montreal

Born: 1918, Riviere du Loup, Quebec
Studied at L'Universite de Lille and at L'Institut Orientale de Beirut. Formerly (1958-65) Professor at Institut de Traduction de l'Universite de Montreal. Member, Association de Journalistes de Montreal.

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY: HANS-JOSEF STRICK
European Correspondent
Sueddeutsche Zeitung, Munich

Born: June 16, 1930, Cologne
Formerly head of Economic News and of German News Bureau for UPI in Frankfurt.

FINLAND: YRJO JUHANI LANSIPURO
Chief, TV News
Finnish Broadcasting Co., Helsinki

Born: April 18, 1940, Lapua, Finland
Master of Political Science, Tampere University. Reporter for Aamulehti in Tampere, 1960-67. Journalism lecturer at Tampere University, 1967. Served as Chief Foreign Editor, TV News, of Finnish Broadcasting Co.

FRANCE: (1) JACQUES-OLIVIER CHATTARD
Foreign Affairs Editor, Channel Two
O. R. T. F., Paris

Born: 1925
Formerly member of French Service for the B. B. C. Has worked for O. R. T. F. since 1962. Major responsibility for foreign news content on daily, one-hour, news and news features program.

FRANCE: (2) GEORGES PITOEFF
Foreign News Staff, Channel One
O. R. T. F., Paris

Born: 1927
Presently develops news features for Channel One Public Affairs Programs. Coordinated coverage of President Pompidou's U. S. visit. Formerly headed two UNESCO assignments in Ankara lecturing at the Turkish High Institute for press, radio and television.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY- ARNOLD ~~GEHLEIN~~ GEHLEN
Deputy Chief Editor,
Neue Ruhr Zeitung, Essen

Born: October 14, 1926, Dusseldorf.

ITALY: ALBERTO CAVALLARI
Editor-In-Chief
Il Gazzettino de Venezia, Venice

Born: Sept. 1, 1927, Piacenza
Formerly foreign affairs correspondent, for Corriere della Sera. Has also contributed to Corriere Lombardo and OGGI. Edited EPOCA magazine.

NATO: RICHARD NORTON-TAYLOR
Brussels, NATO, EC Correspondent
The Economist

Born: 1944, U. K.
Studied at Hertford College, Oxford. Certificate of Higher European Studies from The College of Europe, Bruges. Former correspondent, London Sunday Times and The Observer.

NETHERLANDS: HANS GORISSEN
American Desk Chief
A. N. P. (Netherlands Wire Service)

Born: 1931, The Netherlands.

NORWAY: KARL EMIL HAGELUND
Foreign Affairs Editor
Dagbladet, Oslo

Born: February 16, 1925
Has worked for Dagbladet since 1949, formerly as London Correspondent, and later as Editorial Secretary. Chairman, Norwegian/Israeli Association.

POLAND: (1) DANIEL LULINSKI
Senior Editor
Trybuna Ludu, Warsaw

Born: 1925
Specialist in West European affairs. Served formerly as political correspondent in Peking.

POLAND: (2) JERZY JARUZELSKI
Economic and Domestic Affairs Reporter
Zycie Warszawy, Warsaw

Born 1931.
Member of Zycie staff since 1951. Formerly U. N. Fellowship Participant (1961). Extensive travel in U. S. S. R., Mongolia, Peoples' Republic of China.

PORTUGAL: MANUEL ~~MARIGA~~ MARIA BEA MURIAS
Editor
Flama, Lisbon

Born: January 22, 1938.
Experienced reporter for Diario Illustrado and for Diario de Lisboa. Studied at University of Lisbon. Special interest in folk music.

SPAIN: JULIO CAMERERO CUSTANTE
Assistant Editor,
Pueblo, Madrid

Born: 1939, Ceuta, Spain
Graduate of the National School of Journalism. Wide experience as an international affairs reporter. Former London correspondent.

TURKEY:(1) ALI GEVILILI
Assistant Publications Director, Economics Edi[illegible]
Milliyet, Istanbul

Age 32. Attended Economics Faculty, Istanbul [illegible]ersity. Eight years experience with Milliyet. Organize[illegible] [illegible]d writes a weekly symposium of Turkish experts on vario[illegible] subjects.

TURKEY: (2) CEMIL DEVRIM
General Managing Editor
Yeni Asir, Izmir

Born: 1930
General managing editor of Turkish Provencal D[illegible]ly. He handles editorial side. Studied in Switzerland and at Ankara University.

UNITED KINGDOM: ANGELA CROOME
News Reporter, Feature Writer, Member of Scie[illegible]e Staff
Daily Telegraph

Born: February 22, 1925, Peking, China.
M. A., Oxford University. Contribures regulari[illegible] Nature New Scientist, Science Journal, Illustrated Lond[illegible] [illegible]ews, BBC Radio. Participated in the Salzburg Semina[illegible] 1951.

YUGOSLAVIA: MIRKO KOVAC
News Editor
Vjesnik, Zagreb

Born: June 30, 1932, Osijek.
Journalist of eleven years' experience. Chief of [illegible]eign news, 5 years. Correspondent in Japan, Mongoli[illegible] and Iran. Has traveled in Sinai and Gaza regions.

MRS. ELWOOD C. ORRELL
370 HERRINGTON DR., N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30305

MAY 22 1970 file

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you so much for receiving our European visitors on Monday afternoon. I know those hardy ones who persisted through that exhausting day found the conversation very meaningful - both from their attention and by later comments.

We all at ACIV do appreciate your giving your time so graciously and I thank you personally for a rewarding experience. Godspeed in your work.

Very sincerely,
Pat Orrell

May 20, 1970

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Chairman of the Finance Committee
Scott Paper Company, Philadelphia

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I B M Corporation, New York
JOHN HAY WHITNEY, *Chairman*
Whitney Communications Corporation, New York
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Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Hartford
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The Coca-Cola Company, Atlanta

EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS, INC.

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Atlantic Richfield Company, New York

J. HAMPTON BARNES
PRESIDENT AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

256 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19102
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CABLE: EIFFELL

APR 1 1971

March 30, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Recalling your kindness to past Eisenhower Fellows, I am writing on behalf of Mr. Michael Hancock, our 1971 Eisenhower Fellow from England. Mr. Hancock is the Regional Television Manager for the BBC Midlands, responsible for all the television output originating in the Midlands for the BBC: a daily 25 minute program, a weekly half-hour program, the presentation of BBC programs originating in the Midlands, sports coverage, and the entire news output in both radio and television.

Mr. Hancock will be in Atlanta on April 19 and 20 and would very much like to visit SRC during that time. He would be particularly interested in your work in community relations to discuss the active programs and be exposed to changing attitudes. Perhaps Mr. Reese Cleghorn would be able to speak with him. His complete interests are clearly outlined, I think, on the enclosed resume.

The Atlanta Committee for International Visitors will be coordinating Mr. Hancock's program for the city. I hope it will be all right for them to contact you shortly to confirm these arrangements.

Thank you very much for your cooperation, and for any courtesies that may be extended to our guest from the BBC.

Sincerely,

Laura Feldbaum

Mrs. Laura J. Feldbaum
Program Officer

LF:eas
Enclosures

Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships

Origin

Established in 1953 to honor President Eisenhower "for his contribution to humanity as a soldier, statesman, and world leader." Founded as a unique contribution to the furtherance of world peace through international understanding, the Fellowships are independent of any governmental, political, or academic affiliation.

Purpose

Unlike academic and research fellowships they are essentially leader grants, providing a period of travel and observation for men who have already demonstrated outstanding leadership achievement in their respective countries and professions. The Fellowships enable these rising leaders to meet their professional counterparts, as well as leaders and ordinary people from other walks of life, throughout the United States. The Eisenhower Fellows thus acquire broad experience to apply to their own countries' development, as well as a thorough understanding of the United States, its people and institutions, its accomplishments and aspirations.

Selection Procedure

The countries to receive Fellowships each year are designated by a Trustees' Selection Committee after consultation with businessmen, economists, the Department of State, and other authorities familiar with current trends and developments abroad. With the aid of the American diplomatic mission in each designated country, a local nominating committee is appointed, usually consisting of three prominent citizens of that country and two resident Americans. The nominating committee also includes a former Eisenhower Fellow when possible. This committee chooses one of the economic or social fields of greatest importance to that country's advancement and nominates several key candidates from that field, a process sometimes requiring competitive screening of many applicants. Final selection of one nominee from each designated country rests with the selection committee in the United States.

What the Fellowships Provide

The Fellowships provide six to eight months of professional consultations. visits, seminars, field trips and on-the-job assignments in all parts of the United States. EEF pays all expenses for travel to, from and within the United States for each Fellow and provides a reasonable allowance for living expenses during his stay. Each Fellow is invited to bring his wife, provided she can remain in the United States for at least three months, and provided she has a reasonable knowledge of English.

A detailed program tailored to his individual professional objectives is drawn up and administered for each Fellow by the Executive Director and the Fellowships' staff. Arrangements are made to introduce the Fellows to business executives, government officials, educators, engineers, scientists, and professional leaders of all kinds. The Fellows visit industries, schools, banks, farms, marketing centers, laboratories, transportation hubs, historic sites, and other places of special or general interest. They also have opportunities to meet private American citizens and to observe American home life. Each Fellow is urged to undertake intensive inquiries along the lines he believes will be most useful to him and to his country. At the same time, however, he is expected to explore his field broadly throughout the United States, rather than spend a major portion of his time in any single location.

Support of the Fellowships

Since their inception in 1953, the Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships have been generously supported by more than 1500 corporations, foundations, and individuals, whose imaginations have been captured by the Fellowships' concept of "training in leadership as a positive force for international understanding." Each year the number of contributors has been higher than the year before, a further evidence of the growing esteem in which the Fellowships are held.

Sponsored Fellowships

In 1967 the concept of Sponsored Fellowships was established. Under this arrangement, corporations, foundations, and individuals, with an annual commitment of $10,000, may specify an area of interest, such as medicine, legal training, or agriculture, and a broad geographical area, such as the Middle East, which coincides with their interests. The selection of the individual Fellow, however, remains basically a function of EEF.

Success of the Fellowships

Beginning with fifteen Fellows in 1954, the number of Fellowships awarded each year has gradually increased to a current level of 45.

Almost all of the Fellows, both foreign and American, have risen to even higher positions of responsibility as a consequence of their Fellowship experience. The Honorable Suleyman Demirel, is now Prime Minister of Turkey, the first Eisenhower Fellow to rise to the pinnacle of his country's leadership. Dr. Luis A. Siles has been elected Vice President of Bolivia and Yien-Si Tsiang has recently been appointed Secretary-General of the Executive Yuan, the highest administrative position in the Republic of China. Four former Fellows currently hold cabinet posts in Argentina. Other cabinet and subcabinet posts are or have been held by Fellows in Afghanistan, The Republic of China, Indonesia, Iran, Norway, Philippines and Saudi Arabia. Several Fellows have become ambassadors, governors and members of parliaments and legislatures. Many hold other high posts in government, public health, education, transportation, agriculture, finance, marketing, manufacturing, construction, utilities, and communications, to cite representative fields.

Board of Trustees

Control of Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc. is vested in a Board of Trustees drawn from leaders in business, government, communications, and education. Robert O. Anderson, Chairman, Atlantic Richfield Company, was elected Chairman of the Board of Trustees in February 1969, succeeding Thomas B. McCabe, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Scott Paper Company, who had served as Chairman since 1953.

Staff

President and Executive Director: J. Hampton Barnes. Assistant Director: Samuel C. Townsend. Four Program Officers. Two Secretaries.

Headquarters Eisenhower Exchange Fellowships, Inc., 256 S. 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

1971 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW
FROM ENGLAND

Michael D. HANCOCK
BBC Midlands
52 Carpenter Road
Edgbaston, Birmingham 15
England

AGE: 37

Married

PRESENT POSITION

Regional Television Manager, BBC Midlands

RESPONSIBILITIES

Responsible for all the television output originating in the Midlands for the BBC: a daily 25 minute program, a weekly half-hour program, the presentation of BBC programs originating in the Midlands, sports coverage and the entire news output in both radio and television.

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Reporter - Dewsbury Reporter Series
Reporter - Leicester Mercury
Reporter - Yorkshire Evening News, Doncaster
Reporter - Yorkshire Evening News, Leeds
Sub-editor - BBC World Service
Television News Assistant - BBC Manchester
Reporter for radio and television - BBC London
Assistant News Editor - BBC Birmingham
Presentation Editor - BBC London
Station Manager - BBC Radio Merseyside

PROFESSIONAL INTERESTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Mr. Hancock's concern is the future of broadcasting and communications; the impact of the media on local communities. He wishes exposure to:

1. Editorial decisions on management and productivity.
2. Editorial styles in public service and free radio organizations.
3. Personnel in radio and television stations - especially operating alongside each other.

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PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Reporter - Dewsbury Reporter Series
Reporter - Leicester Mercury
Reporter - Yorkshire Evening News, Doncaster
Reporter - Yorkshire Evening News, Leeds
Sub-editor - BBC World Service
Television News Assistant - BBC Manchester
Reporter for radio and television - BBC London
Assistant News Editor - BBC Birmingham
Presentation Editor - BBC London
Station Manager - BBC Radio Merseyside

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3. Personnel in radio and television stations - especially operating alongside each other.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Jay Brothers
Friday Feb. 25, 1972

Soviet Union Journalist
10 Members - Including
Interpreter

Talked to Jim Wood

ACIV NEWS

ATLANTA COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

1809 GAS LIGHT TOWER ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

TELEPHONE: (404) 577-2248

SUMMER, 1972

THE THIRD NATIONAL COSERV CONFERENCE

Heads spinning with new ideas, arms loaded with pamphlets, notes and booklets, legs weary from numerous corridor conversations -- this was the state of those who attended the Third National COSERV Conference in Washington, D.C. the latter part of March at the Shoreham Hotel.

Our own Pat Mutzberg is the outgoing President of COSERV (National Council for Community Services to International Visitors), and we should be proud of the conference she and her committee arranged. Those attending from Atlanta were Joan Schwartz, Pat Orrell, Carol Dew, Anne and Lew Hansen, Dr. Joseph Hertell, Lloyd Whitaker, Red Mutzberg, Rose Cunningham (Atlanta Chamber of Commerce), and Louise Gerrity (from the Governor's office).

The conference was a three-day whirlwind of panel discussions, speakers, workshops, a marvelous reception at the State Department, and parties at four Embassies. Although the delegates felt a lot like Pandora opening "the box," when they realized how much Atlanta could be doing, many ideas and suggestions are now being discussed. Just a few of the suggestions: a program for foreign medical personnel who staff most of our private hospitals, fund-raising ideas (such as a membership fee), use of volunteers in the office on a scheduled basis, and participation in the Bicentennial Celebrations in 1976. You will be hearing more about these ideas in the near future.

SPREAD THE WORD....

We are pioneers in the internationalization of Atlanta. Since ACIV began in 1962, we have hosted over 10,000 visitors!

PROGRAM COORDINATORS LEARNING ABOUT ATLANTA

During the last several months, the program coordinators and other interested volunteers have had a series of "learning experiences." Each of these meetings has been a combination of koffeeklatsch, tour of a community resource, and lunch.

Marge McDonald of "Tour Gals" spoke to the group on sightseeing suggestions at the first meeting, followed by a tour and lunch at the new John F. Kennedy Community Center. At the next meeting Mr. Howard Openshaw outlined the activities of the Urban Life School at Georgia State University. Then the group toured the new home of ACIV, Peachtree Center, including John Portman's offices and the model room, with lunch at the Midnight Sun. The third program included a talk by Amanda Brown of Ball, Cohn, and Weyman on the plans for Colony Square; a tour by Anne Hansen of the new Modern Image Show and Junior Activities Center at the Memorial Arts Center; and lunch at the Brothers Two Restaurant. On May 25th the volunteers met at the Fernbank Science Center for a tour of the facility, including a Planetarium Show, and afterwards a picnic lunch at Charlotte Moran's.

Future plans include a mid-summer bus tour of historic Atlanta, Roswell, and Vinings for volunteers (bring your school-aged children on this one!), Georgia Mental Retardation Center, Atlanta University Complex, and the Federal Reserve Bank. These get-togethers are an excellent opportunity to learn more about our exciting city and to get to know the other volunteers in ACIV better. We hope more of you will join us for future outings. Give us suggestions of places you would like to visit.

WITH THE GOVERNOR IN SOUTH AMERICA

Our guest columnist, Miss Louise Gerrity, International Relations Liaison for the Governor's office, is the daughter of Diplomatic Corps. parents, born in Dublin, Ireland; lived in Spain, Panama, Japan, Italy, and Switzerland; speaks Italian, French, Spanish, and Russian. Recently touring South America with the Carter's, she has recorded her impressions of the trip for us:

MERIDA, APRIL 8. Governor Carlos Loret de Mola was most cordial, escorting us on a very interesting tour of the Governor's Palace. Merida is an old colonial town and very proud of its history. If our guide had had his way, we would still be at Uxmal, where restoration of the ruins is superb. The one hour ride from Merida to Uxmal through small towns of the Yucatan was fascinating.

MEXICO CITY, APRIL 9-10. From the beautiful handicrafts (bright, happy flowers), made for us at the Ciudadela, to the highly-industrialized manufacturing plants, Mexico is a fascinating city of contrasts. We left the city and went into the 17th century at Tepozotlan. There we found an old convent, complete with cloister, in the midst of a very charming little town. We learned to tell the difference between 17th and 18th century columns, not to mention Aztec, Mayan, and Spanish architecture! A representative of the foreign ministry took us on a most impressive tour of IMAN (Mexican Institute for the Assistance to Children). Several years ago, Lady Bird Johnson became very interested and involved with the Institute, and the services which they provide for orphaned children are truly commendable. The Director of the Institute of Cardiology would like to see a greater exchange program for both students and professionals between our two countries. This idea of exchange programs was to reoccur throughout our trip.

BOGOTA, APRIL 11-12. In Bogota, where Ambassador and Mrs. Saccio were our hosts, we learned the meaning of the word "altitude!" It seems you can't get high enough. Although part of the city is on a plateau 8000 ft. above sea level, all the new construction insists on going up the side of the mountain. What struck us was the abundance and variety of beautiful flowers everywhere: in window boxes, in office corridors, all adding a very delicate touch to a most formal city.

MANAUS, APRIL 12. We were excited about our refueling stop on the Amazon. Back when the Rubber Barons were the lords of the land, they built an Opera House and imported opera companies from Europe. The Opera House is still used, and the Government is planning to restore it. The Amazon is something else! I didn't expect it to be as big and wide as it is. The most fascinating part was flying over the point where the Amazon and Rio Negro meet. The Rio Negro is appropriately named, and there is no mistaking it from the Amazon where the two become one.

BRASILIA, APRIL 13. It is hard to believe that this city celebrated its 12th anniversary this past April! The diversity of architecture is most impressive. Every structure is well-planned, be it housing complex, private housing or offices. Dr. and Mrs. Pereira Lopes, President of the Chamber of Deputies, were our hosts, showing us a Brasilia which we otherwise might not have seen. The meeting with President Medici was most cordial. It was interesting to hear the comments of Brazilians living in Brasilia about their city. The majority, connected with the government, have been transferred from Rio. There are two distinct groups: those who miss Rio terribly and those who have fallen in love with Brasilia. Many feel that it is great for family life, others feel that they are isolated. We wondered how long they would last without traffic lights!?

BUENOS AIRES, APRIL 14-15. We wasted no time falling in love with Argentina and her people. Buenos Aires is a very European city in many respects, and we were also impressed with the high-fashion consciousness of the people. It was the first opportunity we had to do any shopping, and Buenos Aires is really a shoppers' paradise. We made our contribution to the Argentine economy on the Avenida Florida and felt very proud of the beautiful purchases. Our trip to Bahia Blanca (200 miles south) was an unexpected delight. We visited a Frigorifico (slaughter plant) and an Estancia (ranch) El Ombucito. The ombu is the only tree indigenous to Argentina. Ambassador and Mrs. Lodge entertained at a reception and dinner. It was the most informal formal affair we experienced. The Ambassador is given to breaking into song during dinner,

and it wasn't long before we had many soloists and sing-alongs!

RIO DE JANEIRO, APRIL 16-17. When we think of Rio, we see mental pictures of Sugarloaf and Corcovado, and it was a thrill to see them. We were guests of Governor Chagas Freitas, Governor of the State of Guarnabara, who provided his helicopter for a tour of the city. The enthusiasm of the crowds at the soccer game was really something to experience. The field has a moat and a high fence so that no fan can get on the field; they also have the "dug-outs" guarded! We left Rio by launch to the airport, and it was like leaving one of those famous Brazilian gems nestled against luxurious green velvet. I think we still have some of the Copacabana sand in our shoes.

SAO PAULO, APRIL 18-19. Brazilian propaganda or not, Sao Paulo must be the fourth largest city in the world; it just seems to go on for miles! We had lunch atop the Terracao Italia, Sao Paulo's tallest building, and had a panoramic view of the city. We noticed much helicopter activity, and it was explained that since the helicopters had played such an important rescue role during the terrible fire a few months before, their force and responsibilities had increased. Sao Paulo's Easa echoed Paris' Les Halles. Although we were there a little before midnight, there was a good bit of activity. Most of the vegetables in Brazil are grown by the Japanese, and we couldn't help but be impressed by these Japanese-Brazilians.

AMERICANA, APRIL 19. Americana is like something out of a novel. Many Southerners imigrated here after the War Between the States. We were impressed that even the land looked like parts of south Georgia. These people have held onto their heritage, and although they speak Portuguese, they still fly the Confederate flag. It is not possible to describe the reception they gave the Governor of Georgia; words would not do it justice. It was a very moving ceremony.

RECIFE, APRIL 20-21. Recife, capitol of Pernambuco, Georgia's sister-state, is a charming colonial town, partially constructed by the Dutch. It reminds one of Amsterdam with its numerous canals. We were now into our third and final season, having gone from spring to fall and now to summer! We thoroughly enjoyed our tour to Olinda, a few miles from Recife. It is older, with narrow cobblestone streets and bright multi-colored homes. The State dinner at the Governor's Palace, followed by a concert of the Amorial Chamber Orchestra, specializing in Brazilian music, was a fitting conclusion to our brief, but wonderful visit to Brazil.

SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, APRIL 22-23. In San Jose we were guests of Sr. and Sra. Juan Edgar Picado. Their warmth and hospitality were matched only by their graciousness and friendship. They arranged for us to spend an unforgettable day at the President's Finca at La Luche, outside San Jose. After a drive through the beautiful countryside (partly on the Pan American Highway) we spent a very informal afternoon over lunch with the President (Don Pepe) and Mrs. Figueres. We couldn't believe this was our last city. From the very beginning we always felt after we left a city the trip couldn't possibly get any better, and it always did. Each stop had its own unique character and charm, and a wonderful two weeks had come to an end.

ACIV is always in need of funds. Have you contributed this year?

I would like to contribute to the Atlanta Council for International Visitors to help promote international understanding.

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____ Zip _____

Name of firm or organization--if applicable _____

Enclosed is my check for $_____ Date _____

Contributions are deductible from Federal and State income taxes. Please make your check payable to the Atlanta Council for International Visitors and sent to 1809 Gas Light Tower, 235 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

ACIV'S SPEAKERS' BUREAU

That peppy, enthusiastic red-head on the soapbox is Peg Van Bergen, star of ACIV's newly-formed Speakers' Bureau. Peg has spoken to eleven clubs and groups since last fall about ACIV activities, and has recruited many new volunteers. Carter Barron and Anne Hansen have also spoken to groups this year. We are increasing our list of speakers, so if you would like to arrange for an ACIV speaker to talk to your group, contact the ACIV office for more information.

DID YOU KNOW...?

ACIV has a new location: 1809 Gas Light Tower Building, Peachtree Center; new phone is 577-2248. Come visit.

We have a new president, Lloyd Whitaker, with the Downtown Development Corp. His wife, Mary Ann, is a newly-trained program coordinator.

Joan Schwartz (Mrs. Stephen) has been Executive Secretary of ACIV for one year.

That new voice on the phone belongs to Linwood Olson (Mrs. John), who comes to us from Jackson, Miss., after several years of working at the United Nations in New York City. Her husband is a securities analyst with Kohlmeyer and Co.

If your international visitor becomes ill over the weekend, contact Dr. Joseph Hertell, an ACIV board member, at 261-0724. During the week, call the ACIV office.

This newsletter will come to you four times a year compliments of Porter Printing Company. We appreciate their generosity.

HAVE YOU HEARD...?

There are 40 new host families in our files since January.

So far ACIV has programmed 300 visitors from 65 countries this year. We expect lots more this summer to observe election year activities.

We need photographs or slides of you and your visitors. We would like to compile a scrapbook or slide presentation on ACIV activities. Please send pictures with names and dates to the ACIV office.

PERHAPS YOU SAW...?

20 Eastern and Western European journalists visiting Lockheed.

A member of Congress from Pernambucco, Brazil (Georgia's sister state) meeting with members of the Georgia General Assembly.

Professors and doctors at Grady Hospital and Emory University conferring with a clinical psychologist from South Africa.

The labor member of Parliament from the Netherlands having dinner with the Head of Atlanta's Charter Commission.

23 Soviet journalists viewing the slide presentation on Atlanta at the Chamber of Commerce.

The Deputy Financial Secretary of Sierra Leone conferring with officials of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company.

A journalist from England having an appointment with the Executive Director of the Voter Education Project.

The associate editor of "New Society" magazine, London, visiting Dr. Geoffrey Bourne at the Yerkes Primate Center.

ATLANTA, NEW INTERNATIONAL CITY

Atlanta Council for International Visitors
1809 Gas Light Tower
235 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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Southern Regional Council
52 Fairlie Street
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1809 GAS LIGHT TOWER
235 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
TELEPHONE: 577-2248

Oct. 16, 1972

Dear Mr. Esser,

thank you for seeing Bishop and Mrs. Knapp. Fisher on Monday, Oct. 30, at 10 a.m. I am enclosing biographical data which may be helpful.

Sincerely,
Harriet Harris (Mrs. R.L.)
Program Coordinator

UNITED STATES — SOUTH AFRICA
LEADER EXCHANGE PROGRAM, INC.

41 WEST PUTNAM AVENUE, GREENWICH, CONN. 06830

JAMES BREWER
GENERAL SECRETARY
TELELPHONE
(203) 661-8744

WILLEM GROBLER
SOUTH AFRICA DIRECTOR
P. O. BOX 4132, PRETORIA
CABLE ADDRESS: US-SALEP

The Right Reverend E.G. and Mrs. Knapp-Fisher

11 September - 12 November 1972

Proposed Project for Study

The work of the Churches in reconciliation and human relationships in the United States and South Africa, with particular reference to the following questions:

A. Between Black and White

i) To what extent are divisions due to racial difference, i.e. skin colour? How far do cultural, educational and economic factors contrubite towards this division?

ii) How are blacks prepared and equipped to undertake responsibility posts? How do they discarge such responsibilities when given them.

iii) How effective is co-operation between Black and White? Between Black and Black? What are the reactions twards Blacks in responsible positions of:

a) Their fellow Blacks?
b) Whites?

B. Between Christian Churches

i) What is the attitude of members towards unity?
ii) To what extent does the Black/White problem affect denominational differences?
iii) Cultural differences as well as racial?

Curriculum Vitae of

EDWARD GEORGE KNAPP-FISHER

Born:	8 January 1915	
Education:	1929 - 1933	King's School, Worcester. King's Scholar
	1933 - 1936	Trinity College, Oxford Law Moderations - Distinction Honours School of Jurisprudence - First Class B.A. 1936 M.A. 1940
	1938 - 1939	Wells Theological College General Ordination Examination - Distinction
Positions:	1939 - 1941	Assistant Curate. Brighouse, Yorkshire
	1941 - 1946	Chaplain R.N.V.R. H.M.S. Newcastle
	1946 - 1948	Chaplain of Cuddesdon Theological College Lecturer in Morals
	1948 - 1952	Chaplain of St. John's College, Cambridge M.A. Cambridge (by incorporation)
	1952 - 1960	Principal of Cuddesdon Theological College Lecturer in Theology
	1955 - 1960	Fellow of the Woodard Foundation (Educational Board of Woodard Schools)
	1960 -	Bishop of Pretoria
Commissions:	Member of -	International Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission from 1967
		Southern African Anglican/Roman Catholic Commission from 1969
		Church Unity Commission (South Africa) from 1968
Publications:		The Churchman's Heritage. A. & C. Black 1952
		Belief and Prayer. Darton, Longman and Todd 1964
		To Be or Not To Be. S.P.C.K. 1969
Contributor:		To Theology and other Church publications

ACIV ATLANTA COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL VISITORS
ATLANTA BILTMORE HOTEL, 817 W. PEACHTREE ST., N. W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30383

either Before 11:00 - 10:00 - 1:00 pm

Dear Miss Johnson,

Enclosed is the Bio-data for Mr. T. K. Mahadevan. I am holding time on Monday and hope that you will be able to arrange some interviews for him with Mr. Anthony, Mr. Woods, or anyone in your office whom you think would be helpful.

We certainly appreciate your help and hope that this tentative arrangement will work out alright. Please call me at 634-0102 when you know the time most convenient.

Thanks so much.

Pat Watters
12:00?

Sincerely,

Edna Knox

Edna Knox, (Mrs. R.W.)

Paul: This pertains to the note left on your desk last night

Make free:
Atl. Ctte for International Visitors

See Visitors, Foreign

To: Ed and Paul

On Thursday, June 8, Mrs. McDonald of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors will bring her Ghanaian to the office to lunch with Ed Stanfield at 12:30. Immediately after lunch, Paul, the gentleman will come back to the office to have a session with you, after which he will do whatever is next on his agenda.

Mrs. McDonald has put in the mails today a biog. sheet on the gentleman -- which I hope at least gives us his name!

Mrs. Joseph F. Haas, Chairman

Atlanta Committee for International Visitors
Atlanta Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Haas:

This is to express to you again our appreciation for the work of the Atlanta Committee for International Visitors. You are providing a real service for the community and certainly have been of considerable assistance to us at ~~SRC.~~ The Council.

For a number of years SRC was the only place to turn when visitors from Asia and Africa wished to visit ~~the South~~ Atlanta and learn first hand of race relations in the region. ~~Because of segregation~~ Until recently this required, of course, the entire programming of these "special" visitors. This was a drain on our resources, but we felt it a necessary one.

As your Committee has grown, we have been delighted to see this function being taken away from us. This properly allows us to be to be one of the resources available and the Atlanta Committee to become - also properly the host and scheduling agency for all visitors.

We hope you continue to grow and hearterly endorse any efforts you make toward finding resources which will make that possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

1619 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036 · Telephone (202) 265-8300

Biographical information on Mr. Carlos Roberto REINA Idiaquez of Honduras, a participant in the International Visitor Program of the U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C. Program arranged by Mr. David E. Baker.

NAME:	Mr. Carlos Roberto REINA
PRESENT POSITION:	Director of the opposition Liberal Party newspaper, El Pueblo President, Central Executive Council, Liberal Party
KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH:	Excellent
PERSONAL DATA:	
Born:	March 13, 1926, Comayaguela (Tegucigalpa), D. C. Honduras
Family:	Married, 4 children
Addresses: Home:	5a. Ave. #709, Tegucigalpa, D. C. Honduras
Business:	Bufete Sandoval, 112 Calle El Olvide, Tegucigalpa
Religion:	Catholic
Dietary Restrictions:	None
ACADEMIC BACKGROUND:	University of Honduras, (LLB, 1953) London Institute of World Affairs (1956-58) Sorbonne (Institute D'Haute Etudes Internationales) Diplome (1963)
PAST POSITIONS:	Secretary at Embassy in Great Britain (1955-57) Charge´d'affaires (1958) Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1958-59) Counselor of Honduras to the International Court of Justice, The Hague (1959) Ambassador to France (1960-63) Elected to Congress (1965)
TRAVLES ABROAD:	USA (1955, 1959, 1961, 1963), United Kingdom, Netherlands, France, West Germany, Austria, Algeria, Colombia
HOBBIES AND INTERESTS:	Swimming, Poetry, Theatre
MEMBERSHIPS:	Rotary Club International

Biographical Information
Mr. Carlos Roberto Reina

MEMBERSHIPS continued

Vice-President Alliance Francaise
Britannic-Honduran Association
Boy Scouts

PUBLICATIONS:

Theses - "Law of Special Purchasing Agreements"
"Law of Usufructs"
"The Honduras-Nicaragua Border Case at the International Court of Justice" (in French)

OBJECTIVES OF UNITED STATES VISIT

1. To observe the political campaign at first hand through discussions with candidates, campaign staff members and party leaders, and attendance at political rallies and speeches. Mr. Reina will be attending the Democratic Convention in Chicago, and thus is interested in building up a knowledge of what to expect there, and in reactions about the outcome later. He also hopes to learn national reaction to the new Republican ticket. A particularly important aspect of the campaign is the stand of the National parties on Latin American relations and the Alliance for Progress.

2. To meet with international lawyers and professors of international law to discuss the Pan-American legal system under the Organization of American States. He is also interested in Public InternationalLaw in general, jparticularly in curriculum for the teaching of it. He will beteaching a course in International Law at the University of Honduras in the Fall.

3. To visit newspapers and television stations in order to see their production set-up and to discuss the campaign with political editors.

4. To have a chance to visit the various regions of the United States in order to talk with people about their views on the campaign, as well as to see industrial sites, examples of American agricultural production, and sights of touristic interest.

Foreign

1967 EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOW
FROM GHANA

Kofi Andoh SEKYI
Senior State Attorney
Attorney General's Office
Accra, Ghana

Single
Age: 33

EDUCATION

University of Nottingham, LLB (Honors), 1955-1959.
Middle Temple, London, Barrister-at-Law, 1960.
Council of Legal Education, London, Post Final Certificate, 1960.
Certificate of Attendance, Hague Academy of International Law, 1959.
Participant, Dag Hammarskjold Seminar on International Law at the Hague Academy of International Law, August-September, 1966.

PRESENT POSITIONS

Senior State Attorney, Attorney-General's Office, Accra. (Prosecution and Advice)
Part-time Tutor, Ghana Law School, Accra. (Ghana Legal System)

PREVIOUS POSITIONS

Lands Officer (Legal), Lands Department, Accra.
Secretary, State Lands Tribunal and the Concessions Tribunal.

FIELDS OF INTEREST

1. Degree of Cooperation between the police and prosecuting attorneys.
2. Effect of recent Supreme Court decisions in relation to police confessions.
3. Organization of offices of Government Legal Officers.
4. Anti-trust laws.
5. Constitutional law reform and land law reform.
6. United States foreign policy; foreign aid policy.
7. Penal law reform.

Live Visitors, Foreign

GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS INSTITUTE

TENTH RESIDENT FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS PROJECT - 1966

BIOGRAPHY

NAME:	Minoru HIRANO
POSITION:	Since December, 1965, Washington Bureau chief, the Yomiuri Shimbun, daily newspaper of Tokyo, Japan (circulation: 3,500,000).
MAILING ADDRESS:	742 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004 Telephone: 783-0186
HOME ADDRESS:	816 Easley Street, Silver Spring, Maryland Telephone: 587-0242
BORN:	February 26, 1925, in Tokyo, Japan
NATIONALITY:	Japanese
HOME CITY:	Tokyo
EDUCATION:	Graduated in 1946 from the Tokyo Foreign Language University, where he majored in French.
FAMILY:	Wife; one son, 11 years old.
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION:	Buddhist
PREVIOUS POSITIONS:	Mr. Hirano has been with Yomiuri Shimbun since 1950 in the Foreign News section. He was New Delhi staff correspondent in 1957, Cairo staff correspondent from 1957-61, and was promoted to Foreign Sub-editor before coming to Washington.
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIPS:	National Press Club, Washington; Japanese Press Club, Washington.
PREVIOUS TRAVEL OUTSIDE THE U.S.:	Widely throughout Eastern and Western Europe, the Soveit Union, Africa, India, and the Middle East.
PREVIOUS TRAVEL WITHIN THE U.S.:	Mr. Hirano has visited Chicago, New York, Los Angeles, and San Francisco since his arrival in the United States in December, 1965.
INTERESTS:	Mr. Hirano would like to learn about U.S. relations with Communist China, civil rights, the War on Poverty, and American home life.

File
All Office for Informal Visitors

file

Mr. Raymond James Perriam
Industrial Officer, New
South Wales Branch,
Electrical Trades Union
of Australia
Sydney, Australia

Programmed by:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
Bureau of International Labor Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20210

Trade Union Exchange Programs Division
Mr. Edward M. Lonergan, Director
Mr. Arthur O. Maxwell, Program Officer Tel. 386-4622
Area Code 202

For the:

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs
Mr. John B. Lanum
Office of East Asian and Pacific Programs

PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Mr. Perriam is in the United States under the auspices of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the U.S. Department of State. The Trade Union Exchange Programs Division of the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor has been assigned the responsibility for his program.

Mr. Perriam, Industrial Officer, New South Wales Branch of the Australian Electrical Trade Union is enroute home from the International Metalworker's Federation (IMF) Congress in the Hague, Holland. The primary objectives of his program are to visit U.S. colleagues in counterpart American unions and to familiarize himself with American trade union practices and procedures, outlooks, and personalities.

To attain these objectives, Mr. Perriam will begin his program in Washington where he will meet with the national officers of those metal producing and fabricating industry unions that are affiliates of the IMF. Subsequent visits will then be arranged in selected cities with local and regional affiliates of such national unions. Depending on the visitor's interest in specific branches of the electrical manufacturing and power generating industries, he will then undertake a series of plant visits in various parts of the country.

Mr. Perriam will also have an opportunity to observe the general cultural and social scene in the United States through sight-seeing, home hospitality, and visits to museums of his choice.

ITINERARY

WASHINGTON, D.C. October 19 - October 28	Windsor Park Hotel 2300 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. Telephone: HU 3-7700 20008
NEW YORK, NEW YORK October 28 - November 3	Park Sheraton Hotel 870 - 7th Avenue Telephone: 247-8000 10019
NIAGARA FALLS, NEW YORK November 3 - November 5	Red Coach Inn Main Street and Buffalo Avenue Telephone: 285-8431 14303
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA November 5 - November 7	Pittsburgh Hilton Hotel Gateway Center Telephone: 391-4600 15230
ATLANTA, GEORGIA November 7 - November 10	Peach Tree Manor Hotel 826 Peachtree Street, N.E. Telephone: TR 4-2791 30383
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA November 10 - November 14	Olympic Hotel 230 Eddy Street Telephone: GR 4-8100 94102

TRAVEL SCHEDULE

Depart: Washington, D.C. on Friday, October 27 at 4:30 p.m.
via American Airlines Flight #445
Arrive: New York, New York at 5:30 p.m.

Depart: New York, New York, on Friday, November 3, at 3:00 p.m.
via American Airlines Flight #723
Arrive: Buffalo, New York at 5:10 p.m.

Depart: Buffalo, New York, on Sunday, November 5, at 1:25 p.m.
via United Airlines Flight #841
Arrive: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania at 2:29 p.m.

Depart: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on Tuesday, November 7, at 5:00 p.m.
via United Airlines Flight #583
Arrive: Atlanta, Georgia at 6:24 p.m.

Depart: Atlanta, Georgia, on Friday, November 10, at 11:40 a.m.
via Delta Airlines Flight 819
Arrive: San Francisco, California at 3:31 p.m.

Depart: San Francisco, California, on Wednesday, November 15, at 8:00 p.m.
via Quantas Airlines Flight #531
Arrive: Sydney, Australia at 7:10 a.m. on Friday, November 17

Make file
file in "P"

July 26, 1966

Mrs. Mary Lee Ward, Treasurer
The Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten
600 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 20314

Dear Mrs. Ward:

Following our several conversations with Mrs. Sue Rusche, we are pleased to offer the Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten a research grant of $200. It is our understanding that this will go toward the establishment of a kindergarten, likely to be associated with the Atlanta University School of Education.

In return, we would be grateful to have a brief report from you at some future date as to whether or not your project was successfully developed, and how it has affected the community and contributed to Atlanta University School of Education's concern in this area.

With every good wish on this very much needed program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

July 15, 1966

Dear Paul,

Regarding our phone conversation this morning, I am zeroxing copies of the (1) original and the (2) most recent proposals for the foundation of the nursery school to give you an idea of the purposes and aims the parents have in mind. A list (3) of the founding parents and a very general accounting (4) of the budget, expenses, and losses to date are included. The following should bring you up to date.

Headstart work throughout the country has not only demonstrated the learning potential of the preschool child but has also made educators aware of the lack of trained teachers for this age group. No university in the region offers a degree program in preschool education. With this knowledge, the founding parents were motivated to establish a nursery for children aged 2½-5 in the Atlanta University area. The original proposal (see attached) was sent to Dr. Clement April 6.

At about the same time, Mrs. C. S. (Chessie) Stevenson, who directed the Quaker House Headstart Program last year, proposed to the A. U. Center the suggestion that they offer a preschool education program and as a beginning she was hired by Morris Brown College to teach a course in child development starting this September with a view to eventually expanding her course into a broader preschool education program. The mothers asked Mrs. Stevenson to help get the nursery started by teaching this summer. She agreed to do so and to help the mothers find an appropriate director-teacher for the winter. The mothers, Mrs. Stevenson, and university officials agreed to use the nursery as a demonstration or laboratory school for the training of those students studying under Mrs. Stevenson at Morris Brown.

Dr. Clement's interest in the school was such that he agreed to give the mothers two basement rooms rent-free in Old Oglethorpe School on the Morris Brown campus and also pay half of anything up to $1270 that they spent in renovating the two rooms. This was a formal agreement in writing. The renovation was done by the parents working closely with public health officials whose qualifications were met. A license was to be granted to the school opening day. All equipment had been moved into the school and set up the day before the fire. Early the following morning (last Thursday, July 7) the entire building was gutted and nearly everything was destroyed.

Since then, a committee of mothers including Mrs. Stevenson, has met with Dr. Clement who expressed the university's support of their efforts to begin again. He gave them a verbal commitment to rebuild Old Oglethorpe School and promised them the use of the basement rooms under the same conditions as before. In addition, he told them of his efforts to hire a professor of elementary education under whom the mothers and Mrs. Stevenson will work.

[redacted]

Meanwhile, the Central Methodist Church has agreed to let the mothers have its parish house (one block from the Oglethorpe School on Mitchel Street) as a temporary place to house the nursery at no rent for the present but at retroactive rent when they are able to pay. They will pay utilities from the beginning. (It is hoped the school will open next Tuesday.) The church agrees that even if "temporary" means as long as a year the nursery may use its facilities until it can get back on the Morris Brown campus.

Some outdoor and indoor equipment and supplies were salvaged from the fire, but not many. Each family will donate one piece of equipment temporarily; new equipment will be purchased as funds are available.

Tuition is presently $20 a month for the first child and $10 for any other child in non-cooperating families and $10 for the first child and $5 for every other child in cooperating families. A cooperating family is one whose mother will be an assistant teacher a given number of times per month (depending on the total number of cooperating mothers) or a mother who will drive a car pool or perform some other useful function on a regular basis for the school. The tuition fees will be adjusted upwards in September when the nursery expands from three to five days a week. The director will be paid enough to cover her expenses. My own arrangement with the group is to receive enough "salary" as art teacher to scholarship a child from Egan Homes for the year. There is a strong feeling among the mothers that the nursery should provide as many scholarships as possible. One, and possibly two other children will be given scholarships to start school next Tuesday. More children will be given aid as funds increase. The money accrued from tuition will pay the director, the rent, and as many other operating expenses as possible.

Since the fire the parents have met several times (a good number of them to ready the parish house). They have decided to incorporate to be able to apply for and accept grant money without which it will be impossible to go on. They feel qualified to seek funds on the grounds that their school will not only fill a need in the community but will also be instrumental in helping to create and serve a field of higher education that is necessary and does not now exist.

Last night they voted to change their name from the Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten to The Atlanta University Center Preschool, Incorporated. Permission is being sought from Dr. Clement to use this name. Incorporation papers are being drawn up by Howard Moore; tax exemption status is also being sought. The presidents of the colleges making up the A. U. Center in addition to all of the founding parents are being approached to serve as a board of directors; a president of that board will be chosen as soon as it is established. Applications for immediate and long-range grants are being sent to approximately 20-30 local foundations as well as to the Ford, Field, Rockefeller Brothers and Marsden Foundations.

You will see from the financial statement that some emergency funds are vital to the survival of the nursery. All of the people concerned with getting this nursery on its feet join me in thanking you from the bottom of our hearts for your interest in helping us. Please call me if you have any questions. Thank you, Paul.

Sincerely

Sue

Sue Rusche

1. original

PROPOSAL FOR A COOPERATIVE MORNING NURSERY SCHOOL

I. General. A group of about twenty families in and around the Atlanta University Center desire creative group experiences for their pre-school age children. Presently all that is offered by the community are various day care centers, which care for children of working mothers with little special attention to the children's educational and social needs. The families supporting this proposal are in favor of there being established a morning nursery school under the auspices of the AUC which would concentrate on a creative and modern pre-school program. Any children three to five years in age would be accepted, and the period of operation would be three hours each morning, five days a week.

The nursery school would be administered by a committee of mothers,* and would employ one professional teacher as director. Teacher-trained mothers would be used regularly as assistant teachers, in such a way that at all times there would be at least one adult per eight children. Precedents for this sort of nursery school presently exist in other university centers; some material describing the cooperative nature of the Champaign-Urbana Cooperative Nursery is included at the end of this proposal, along with a short bibliography.

Three obvious ways in which the AUC would benefit from the establishment of this nursery school are as follows:

*See additional notes for elaboration.

(1) A good morning nursery school program would encourage young faculty members to live in the neighborhood of the AUC.

(2) The school could be used as a useful training center for students specializing in pre-school education.

(3) This school would be a racially integrated pre-school facility, unique to the city of Atlanta.

II. Space requested. Adequate space for this nursery school presently exists in the basement of the old Oglethorpe School, on the Atlanta University campus. This space is particularly suited to such a program because of its previous use as a kindergarten. The lavatories and means of access have been planned for small children. The nursery school could be housed in two rooms of the basement, with a 30' x 40' fenced area at the side of the building for outside play.

* Budget. Estimated yearly expenses are as follows, assuming an enrollment of 30 to 40 children.

Salary of Director	$3000
Equipment	500
Heat and Light	200
Insurance	100
Total Expenses	$3800

These expenses would be met by fees charged to the participants, along with private contributions.

* See additional notes for elaboration.

Bibliography

Gesell, Arnold, and Ilg, Frances L., Infant and Child in the Culture of Today. New York, Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1943.

Gore, Lillian L., What is a Good Nursery School? School Life, June, 1963.

Hymes, James L., Jr., Three to Six -- Your Child Starts to School. Public Affairs Pamphlet; Government Printing Office.

Leitman, Allan, and Churchill, Edith H. E., A Classroom for Young Children. Progress Report, Educational Services Inc.

McVickar, Polly, The Cooperative Nursery School: Educational Resposibility. National Association for Nursery Education, Chicago, Ill.

Read, Katharine H. The Nursery School. Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1950.

2. Most recent proposal

I. General. After much informal discussion and probing of Atlanta's early education centers, twenty-five families (fairly equally divided between Negro and white families) met formally for the purpose of forming a non-profit co-operative nursery school. These parents had certain defin te philosophies and goals for pre-school educat not met by any existing school in their com they resolved to pool their resources in th this new school. The parents hoped to prov more than any one home could. This co-operative group hopes the following benefits might accrue to children of their school:

1. Understanding and liking of self and others in a fully integrated environment. (It is hoped and planned that the composition of the group will retain the same racial balance).
2. Independence increased by a secure relationship with adults who are not family members.
3. Self-discipline helped to develop.
4. Greater language skills promoted.
5. Self-expression in the arts fostered.
6. Increased ability to observe, investigate, seek and acquire information, and think critically.
7. Physical growth and competence promoted.

Why a co-operative nursery school? The wholesome growth of the child depends in large measure upon the continuing growth of his parents. The co-operative nursery school offers to the child all the advantages of the usual nursery school and at the same time provides for the parents the opportunity to gain in experience and understanding. Through regular participation at the nursery school under the direction of a trained teacher, a mother can observe the behavior of not only her own child but of young children in general. She can gain objectivity toward her own child by realizing that many of the problems she faces are common to many families. She can increase her skill in handling her own child and groups of children. She can clarify and articulate her experiences at monthly parent's meetings. Often insights occur, and new attitudes develop which are helpful to a mother both at home and at school.

Experience in Co-operative Nursery School equips parents with a knowledge of the values which come from teachers and parents working together and with an understanding of what constitutes good education for young children... "An additional advantage of the co-operative nursery school is the reduced cost to parents. Private nursery schools are expensive because of the high teacher-student ratio required by a group of pre-school children. By using parents as assistant teachers co-operative nursery schools can lower costs significantly".

---

[1] Parent's Manuel, Champaign-Urbana Co-operative Nursery.

II. Organization. The school will be named The Parents Co-operative Kindergarten(nursery school).* The officers elected by the co-operating parents are:

Chairman: Mrs. Ruth Neff
Secretary: Mrs. Lois White
Treasurer: Mrs Rebecca Meredith.

The nursery school will open with an eight week session on July 6th. The school will be fully integrated; any child from three to five years of age will be admitted. The school will be open from 9:30 A.M. to 12:30 P.M., three days a week. The school will be located at Old Oglethorpe School of Atlanta University. Two rooms and an outside play area will be made available for the use of the school.

One well-qualified teacher who has a background in early childhood education will be employed. This teacher will direct and supervise the mothers who are working as her assistants. The ratio of one adult to eight children is planned. Working with the teacher as a source-guide, the co-operating parents will determine policies and program for the school. In general the program will be one of observed free play structured by freely available resource materials in; arts and crafts, music, nature study, imaginative playthings, outdoor play equipment, etc.

*

III. Finances. To finance the school a small registration fee ($10.00) and a monthly fee ($20.00) will be charged for each child. Money raising projects are planned by the parents. The estimated budget for the first year is:

Teacher's salary-	$3,000.00
Equipment-	$1,500.00
Insurance-	100.00
Fencing-	$ 409.00
Janitors fees	
Total	$5,009.00

* See additional notes for elaboration.

3. A NEARLY COMPLETE LIST OF FOUNDING PARENTS

Mr. and Mrs. Sam Tucker	Professor of Psychology, Morehouse College
Mr. and Mrs. Joe McIntyre	Graduate student in guidance & counseling, A. U.
Mr. and Mrs. James Ward	Woodrow Wilson Fellow at Spellman College; summer work in pre-college program
Mr. and Mrs. Clarence Martin	Community resident, carpenter
Mr. and Mrs. George White	Community resident, public housing work
Mr. and Mrs. Howard Moore	Community resident, lawyer
Mr. and Mrs. John Miller	Community resident
Mr. and Mrs. Charlie Helm	Graduate student, guidance & counseling, Emory U.
Mr. and Mrs. John Ingersole	He, Professor of History, Spellman College She, Professor of French, Spellman College
Mr. and Mrs. Jasper Sessions	Graduate student in Dentistry
Mr. and Mrs. Sam Neff	Professor of Physics, Morehouse College
Mr. and Mrs. Vincent Harding	Chairman, History Department, Spellman College
Mr. and Mrs. Jim Bishop	Professor of English, Clark College

4. AN INCOMPLETE FINANCIAL STATEMENT
(Most figures are only estimates.)

INCOME

1. Auction	$300
2. $10 registration fee	140
3. July tuition	160
4. Founding parents' long-term, interest-free loans:	
Verbal pledges	450
Actual funds	80

EXPENSES

1. Renovation	$1270 ($635 to be paid by A. U.)
2. Fencing	250
3. Fencing posts	114.70
4. Equipment	439.09

LOSSES

1. Fencing posts*	$114.70
2. Ceiling	180
3. Paints	60
4. Plaster and cement	11
5. Hardware	28
6. Incidentals	50
7. Labor	300
8. Equipment	439.09
9. Library books	51
10. Library print	50

IMMEDIATE EXPENSES NECESSARY TO OPENING OF SCHOOL NEXT TUESDAY

1. Children's insurance	$ 21
2. Fire & theft "	75
3. Incorporating fees	110
4. Tax exemption fees	?
5. Utilities	?
6. Equipment	?

*The fencing posts are possibly not a loss; it depends on whether or not they survive the rebuilding of Old Oglethorpe School. There is no way to retrieve them; they are sunk in cement.

The Parent's Cooperative Kindergarten
c/o Mrs. Mary Lee Ward, Treasurer
600 Beckwith St. S.W.
Atlanta 30314

(6)

File Parent's Cooperative Kindergarten

August 2, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony,

On behalf of the Parent's Co-operative Kindergarten I would like to express appreciation for the $200 research grant we have received from the Southern Regional Council.

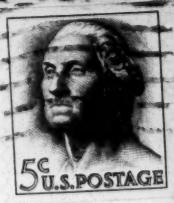
We hope our endeavor will prove worthy of your support, and the report you requested will be made as our program is more fully developed.

Come to visit us if you have an opportunity.

Cordially,

Mary Lee Ward, Treas.

Mrs. James Edward Ward III



Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

600 Beckwith St., S.W.
Atlanta, Ga.
30314

Fine
Parents' Cooperative
Kindergarten
Mrs. Neff

November 12, 1966

Mrs. Ruth H. Neff, Chairman
Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten
855 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Mrs. Neff:

Thank you for your interesting and very thorough report on the nursery. We are very pleased that you have made so much progress.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Mrs. Ruth H. Neff, Chairman
Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten
855 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
November 24, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council Inc.
3 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In reply to your letter of July 26, I would like to give you the following progress report on our nursery school:

The nursery school opened for a six-week summer session on July 18, in the parsonage of the Central Methodist Church, on Mitchell Street near Northside Drive. This program involved about twenty children, aged 3 to 5. Teacher for this session was Mrs. Chessie Stevenson. She was aided by participating mother helpers. Both parents and children were satisfied with the program.

During the month of September the nursery school was reorganized for the coming year. Mrs. Aurelia Kennedy was hired as teacher for the year, and the children were divided into two age groups in order to improve the quality of the program for both groups. Presently a group of four-year-olds meets three times each week, while the younger children attend twice. Each mother participates in the program two or three times each month; parents also take responsibility for maintenance and cleaning.

Presently there are 24 children involved in the program, three of which are on scholarship. Scholarships are awarded to children whose parents could not otherwise provide good pre-school experience for their children. The only requirement for parents of scholarship children is that they participate as fully as possible in the nursery school program. Working mothers may participate by helping with fund-raising campaigns and by attending monthly meetings.

The Old Oglethorpe School building has been rebuilt, and we expect to move into its basement rooms within the next month. The resulting increase in space will enable us to enlarge our program to include about 50 children. The nursery school

would then be available to the Atlanta University School of Education as an observation school for use in the training of teachers in pre-school education.

In answer to your specific questions: we feel that our nursery school is very successful, but has only just begun to grow. It has great potential for having an affect on the community in this area. It is well-integrated socially, culturally and economically.

We would be pleased to have you observe our nursery school. In the meantime I am enclosing some snapshots of a session in progress.

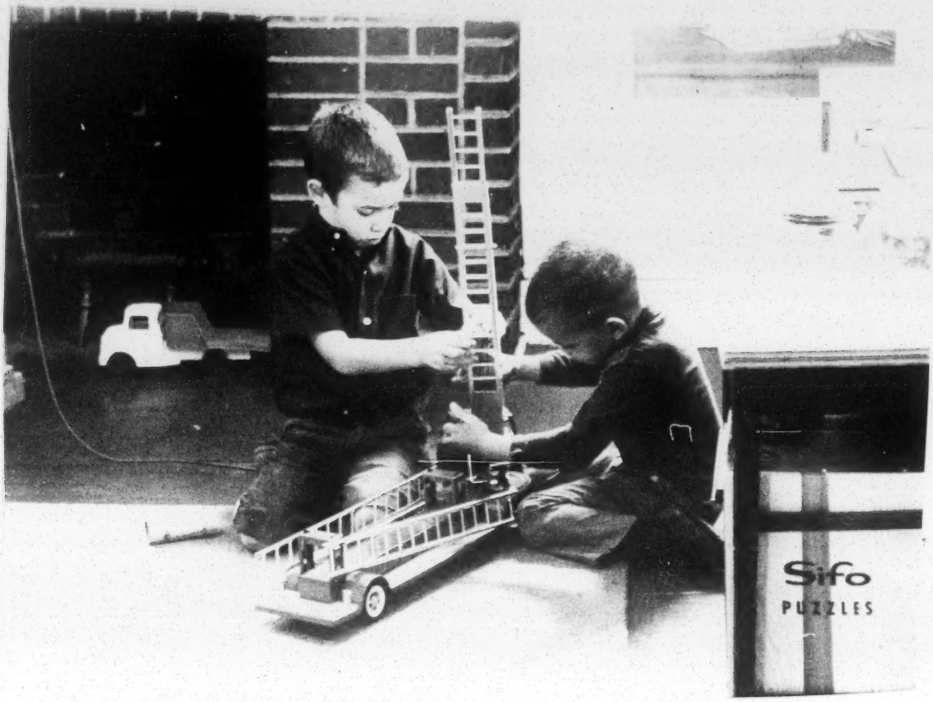
Many thanks for your interest and help.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth H. Neff

Mrs. Ruth H. Neff, Chairman
Parents' Cooperative Kindergarten

PARENTS' COOPERATIVE KINDERGARTEN (FALL, 1966)



4-YEAR-OLDS

3-YEAR-OLDS

PARENTS COOPERATIVE KINDERGARTEN (FALL, 1966)

TEACHER AND CHILDREN
(MRS. AURELIA KENNEDY)

MOTHER-HELPER AND CHILDREN

PARENTS' COOPERATIVE KINDERGARTEN (FALL, 1966)

SCIENCE TABLE (3-year-olds)

HOME MAKING

File "Ca" - gen

A COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCY OF YOUR UNITED APPEAL

ATLANTA COUNCIL OF Camp Fire Girls INC.

Telephone JAckson 5-7635 — 167 WALTON STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
MRS. DORIS C. BRIDGES

OFFICERS
MR. MACK H. BARNES, JR.
PRESIDENT

MRS. DUDLEY COOK
FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

MR. EDWIN I. HATCH
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MR. JOHN S. SEIGLE
DR. WILLIAM M. SUTTLES
MRS. J. J. TOULON
REV. W. CLYDE WILLIAMS
REV. MILTON L. WOOD

Rec'd 7/19/65
(Receipt passed on to RHA)

July 15, 1965

PA
MJ

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you very much for the contribution of $183.00 which you so thoughtfully and generously sent us to be used for campership purposes. Our receipt is enclosed.

Following the close of our summer camping season, we will give you a report on the use of your contribution to our campership program.

Sincerely yours,

Frances Phillips

Mrs. Frances Phillips
Office Manager

FP/ph

cc: Mr. Edward J. Negri, Camping Chairman

CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Today's Program For Today's Girl

"CHARACTER is formed predominantly during leisure hours," said Luther H. Gulick, founder of Camp Fire Girls in 1910. Camp Fire supplements the work of the home, school, church and synagogue by offering all girls a program of enjoyable worth-while activities, stressing:

HIGH IDEALS and self-discipline. In their Camp Fire Girls groups girls have an opportunity to apply the spiritual teachings of home, church and synagogue.

HOMEMAKING and all the skills and personal attitudes that go into making a well-run home and a happy family life.

CITIZENSHIP AND SERVICE — through learning to work together, through helping with community service, developing a feeling of responsibility and considering the needs of others.

HEALTH — through camping, outdoor activities, games, sports, and the encouragement of good health habits.

BUDGETING — through wise management of money, time, and group resources.

APPRECIATION OF BEAUTY in art, nature, and human relationships, and the ability to add to the beauty and graciousness of living.

FUN AND FRIENDSHIP — through companionship with other girls and the friendly guidance of their leader, through increasing their self-confidence, ability to make friends, and meet life situations with poise and good judgment.

CAMP FIRE GIRLS

Today's Program For Today's Girl

CAMP FIRE GIRLS GROUPS are open to all girls from the age of 7 through high school and are sponsored by churches, synagogues, schools and service clubs. The girls have the friendly guidance of volunteer leaders and the work is directed by local councils, financed by individual and foundation contributions, participation in community fund-raising organizations, and/or money-raising projects. Membership is $2.00 a year. (Blue Birds $1.00)

THERE IS A JOB for everyone to do as leader, sponsor, council member, or donor. Help Camp Fire Girls help our American girls on their way to happy, useful womanhood. Get in touch with your local office or write to:

CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC.

65 WORTH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10013

ATLANTA COUNCIL OF CAMP FIRE GIRLS, INC.
167 WALTON ST., N. W. ATLANTA 3, GA.

D-257/100M/7-64 **PHONE 525-7635**

JMJ - Copy for Vernon Eagle
PA PW
MJ - file

Rec'd 8/31/65

A COMMUNITY CHEST AGENCY OF YOUR UNITED APPEAL

CAMP FIRE GIRLS

ATLANTA COUNCIL OF Camp Fire Girls INC.

Telephone JAckson 5-7635 — 167 WALTON STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

File

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MR. JOHN S. SEIGLE
DR. WILLIAM M. SUTTLES
MRS. J. J. TOULON
REV. W. CLYDE WILLIAMS
REV. MILTON L. WOOD

August 30, 1965

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It is with pleasure that I report to you of the wonderful camping experience that was made possible by your donation to our Campship Fund. Because of your generosity 3 girls whose parents could not afford to pay the cost of a session at camp enjoyed a never to be forgotten two weeks at Camp Toccoa.

For each child we feel it was a time of "Firsts" - her first experience away from home; her first adventure in the out-of-doors; the first time she rode a horse, hiked in the hills, swam in deep water, or baited a hook with a worm.

Not only was it a first of these children, but a very different kind of experience of these youngsters from the inner city. They were placed in a cabin of eight girls with a counselor living with the group. To the children who had never lived in an atmosphere of harmony and peace, the experience of living in a relaxed and tension free "home away from home" was a joyful one. This is not to say that everyone always got along well together. With the firm and loving guidance of their counselor, however, they did learn the importance of getting along with others.

A spirit of cooperation pervaded as the cabin did their kapers (rotating chores) of setting tables, sweeping the lodge, or cleaning the cabin. Each child learned to do her share and work with the cabin as a whole. A more direct lesson in democratic living was the period each afternoon when the cabin voted on an activity which one of their members had suggested. Near the end of the session ideas had gained momentum and vigorous plans for sleepouts, cookouts, and fishing trips were made and carried out.

Physical changes for the better became evident as the camp session progressed. Weight was gained because of the regular and wholesome meals. These children fairly glowed after the exercise and days spent in the sun.

If the number of tears shed at departure had any bearing on the success of these children's camping experience then it was a very very successful one. To be more realistic, however, our observation of these children indicated that the experience was meaningful, worthwhile and again, never to be forgotten two weeks.

Thank you for making these children's camping experience possible. We appreciate your sharing with us the interest of the young girls of the Atlanta community.

Sincerely,

Mary Ann Morgareidge

Mary Ann Morgareidge
Director, Camp Toccoa

MAM/ph

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Emory Via

File

George ~~H~~

You are right, basically, about our being low key or non-participant in local programs as a general rule. However, in this case Art has been very active as consultant, facilitator, provider of background information, and now "worrier" that the effort may not go quite as designed.

I don't feel we need play a specific organizational role other than what Art is already doing.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

George Esser

To: U.a

Is there any role SRC as an institution should play? Am I right that SRC has not traditionally been involved in programs local in impact? Are any SRC staff members?

INVOLVEMENT PLEDGE - You can count on me for this work and support.

NAME _____

STREET OR BOX _____

CITY _____ ZIP _____ PHONE _____

ORGANIZATION _____

[___] Task force to determine services needed for dispersal of public housing (schools, jobs, transportation, shopping, etc.)

[___] Task force to maintain good city services in integrated neighborhoods.

[___] Task force to monitor effective use of "Equal Opportunity" signs by real estate brokers & lenders beginning June 1.

[___] Speakers bureau. [___] Organizing area workshops.

[___] Research & interviewing. [___] Telephoning.

[___] Typing [___] Other office work.

Use back side to list your other talents and to make suggestions for other work areas.

CITY OF ATLANTA
COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMISSION
Memorial Drive Annex Bldg.
121 Memorial Drive, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

NEWSLETTER

ATLANTA REGION OPEN HOUSING COALITION

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

Secretariat: Atlanta Community Relations Commission / 121 Memorial Drive, S.W. / Atlanta, Georgia 30303 / 659-4463, Ext. 433

April 21, 1972

INVOLVEMENT: Involvement and Action was the theme of the April 13 Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition. The Aldermanic Chamber of Atlanta City Hall was filled to overflowing with participants in the third Coalition assembly.

OFFICERS: We have been successful in obtaining for the leadership of our Coalition co-chairmen who are outstanding in their civic interest and leadership in the Atlanta region. Willian VanLandingham, Executive Vice President of the Citizens and Southern Bank, and William Allison, Executive Administrator of Economic Opportunity Atlanta. As the first order of business the gavel was presented to Mr. Allison by Nat Welch.

PROGRAM PLANS: Bill Allison presented to the Coalition the proposals for program and planning for 1972 and called for further involvement by the Coalition members and supporters. (See attached statement for the text of Allison's remarks.)

QUESTIONS: What can I do personally?
How can I get involved actively?
In what way can I help?

These questions are continually asked. Here is your answer.

VOLUNTEER: By using the enclosed card, VOLUNTEER your services.
Register your willingness to work.
Fill out the card completely and be sure to check the areas of your talent and service. Check the ways you are willing to help. Your help is needed! Your help will be used! If you were at the Coalition meeting and turned in your card, give this one to a sympathetic friend.
RETURN THE CARD IMMEDIATELY.

MEMBERSHIP: Growing: We are now 136 strong. Add the following to your list to keep it current. Temple Sinai, John F. Kennedy Middle School, Reynolds Elementary School, Friendship Baptist Church, East Atlanta Co-ordinating Council, Evans and Mitchell Industries, Concerned Churches-Lynnwood Park, Candler School of Theoloty, DeKalb County Housing Authority, City of Decatur Housing Authority, Mt. Olive Baptist Church-Suwanee, Popular Hill Baptist Church-Buford, Parish Council of St. Josephs-Marietta, Pittsburg Civic League.

ACTION NOW:
URGENT

Call your Alderman.
Call the Mayor's office.
Send letters too.

Let them know that the recent action concerning the rezoning of the property at Howell Mill Road and Collier Road is not commensurate with the goals of the Coalition. In an April 20 press release Bill Allison said, "We think it is a sham and disgrace that a northside Atlanta civic group who fought for ten years against the rezoning of this property to commercial now completely reverse themselves after the Edenfield-Taylor committee recommended this site for public housing."

ATLANTA REGION OPEN HOUSING COALITION

APRIL 13, 1972

Statement by William W. Allison, Co-Chairman

I appreciate this opportunity to speak briefly with you this morning. Bill VanLandingham at C&S and I have accepted a very awesome responsibility in co-chairing what may prove to be one of the most challenging and rewarding ventures for metropolitan Atlanta in this decade.

We, as a coalition, are looking squarely at the two options which metro Atlanta faces: we allow the decay of conditions for citizens in the inner city while building a bridge for the affluent to cross back and forth each day, or we expand the opportunities - across the board - for all citizens for the ultimate benefit of all communities which make up our metro region.

We as a coalition have clearly opted for the path of opportunity with no fences and no walls and we choose to call this the goal of an "open city".

I'm not a military historian, but I believe that the term "open city" has its origin in military strategy. When battles were fought, the opponents might designate a city as an "open city" with free access to the troops of both sides. The reason for such an arrangement was that the city was worth nothing to either side.

We here today can turn that definition around. Atlanta's struggle does not have to be the Battle of the Suburbs versus the Inner City using the weapons of prejudice and fear. This has happened in other cities but it does not have to happen in Atlanta.

Instead, our struggle should be one of working together as a people from all walks of life to secure opportunity for all. Our open city can be one of open eyes to seek out the problems, open minds to seek solutions, and open hearts to take care of the rest. And our city can be one which, unlike the open city of military strategy which is worth nothing to either side, is worth everything to all citizens. In short, a city worth fighting <u>for</u>, not <u>in</u>.

We are here today in an open meeting to work for our goal of an open city. Let me review for you some of the events since the Atlanta Community Relations Commission launched the effort to form our coalition last December.

By January the coalition membership was 24, and a meeting was held at the DeKalb County Courthouse with some 200 persons present. There six positive goals were adopted and an executive committee was elected, empowered with the responsibility of securing two co-chairmen. In three meetings held since January, the executive committee drew up the set of by-laws mailed to you for your consideration.

Meantime, local radio and television stations have cooperated with the coalition in an agressive campaign broadcasting fair housing spots. Hoping to draw upon the experience of other cities, Art Campbell of the Southern Regional Council, Howard Jefferson of Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Peggy Breiland of Atlanta Regional Commission, and Nat Welch of the Community Relations Commission visited Louisville to study their Housing Opportunity Center and Dayton to study a five county fair housing dispersal plan.

Before returning home, the group also dropped by Washington to explore funding possibilities from HUD. They say they were greeted with open arms, but apparently a closed pocketbook.

In other developments, a proposal for a Housing Opportunity Center is being presented to the Office of Economic Opportunity by EOA.

(over)

But the major thrust of the last three months has been that of securing additional members for the coalition by the promoting of the six goals adopted in January. Those goals are: open housing for the Atlanta region, dispersal of public housing in small units throughout the five county area, leasing of public housing in private developments, the creation of a Housing Opportunity Center, the building of more middle and upper income housing in the central city, and the preservation of existing residential areas.

The executive committee and staff have approached numerous churches, business groups, boards of directors, and others. The response has been exceptional. Since January 98 additional groups have joined the coalition, bringing our membership to 122.

In developing our program of action, it is important for all of us to keep in mind the need for a large scale program of public education, and our responsibility for assisting individuals in exercising their constitutional rights to secure homes in any part of the metro area. We need to work with and encourage the business community and especially the real estate industry to accept and apply the principles of open housing. Further, we need to influence public policy decisions affecting housing patterns and to see to it that the voices of citizens are heard.

In all our efforts, we must not work blindly, without basic facts relating to urban growth and other developments in Atlanta. This means research - research of the quality presently by Research Atlanta today. We must know the amount and quality of existing housing in relation to population density, school, and job availability in various geographical areas of the metro region. We need to determine the probable impact that MARTA and a new airport location will have on Atlanta. We need to remember that inequities in education and employment in the past and the present are related to the lack of housing opportunities. The future can be different, if this city and our surrounding communities plan and work to eliminate discrimination.

In closing, let me present to you a four point action plan which has the fullest endorsement of the executive committee:

1. Development of a regional housing program consistent with the six goals of the coalition. Offering its assistance, the coalition is to call upon the Atlanta Regional Commission to reaffirm its position on open housing and to lead the way.
2. Establishment of a task force on services - social, economic, and educational - needed for dispersed public housing. Such a task force would have the fullest involvement of tenants of public housing.
3. Establishment of a task force to assure the maintenance of high quality city services in transitional neighborhoods.
4. Establishment of a task force to call on real estate and banking institutions in the next 60 days to distribute Equal Housing Opportunity signs and to secure involvement pledges from these firms.

Our goals, our philosophy, our plans for action are just. Let us continue to go forward.

William W. Allison
Executive Administrator
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

Massell Urged to Veto Shop Center

A co-chairman of the Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition called on Mayor Sam Massell Wednesday to veto a rezoning ordinance authorizing a shopping center on a site designated for open housing in the predominantly white Northside.

Massell said "in all probability" he won't veto the ordinance. The mayor said his policy is to respect the judgment of the aldermanic board and only veto illegal ordinances or those which the sponsor asks to be vetoed.

William Allison, coalition co-chairman, said the Atlanta Board of Aldermen failed in the first crucial test to disperse public housing when it voted 12 to 3 Monday to rezone a tract near the corner of Howell Mill and Collier roads from residential to commercial.

The 3.5-acre site is one of 11 within the city recommended by a federal court-appointed committee for a small public housing development.

"We are calling on Mayor Massell to veto this crucial rezoning decision," Allison said.

One of the coalition's goals is dispersal of public housing. Northside Atlanta must take its share, Allison said.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, Thurs., April 20, 1972

SOUTHSIDE NEIGHBOR

Housing Attack Started

A four-point action plan was outlined by Co-chairman William W. Allison, a southsider, at the meeting of the Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition at City Hall last week.

The plan, presented with the strong recommendation of the executive committee, calls for:

1. Development of a regional housing program consistent with the six goals of the coalition. Offering its assistance, the coalition is to call upon the Atlanta Regional Commission to reaffirm its position on open housing and to lead the way.

2. Establishment of a task force on services - social, economic, and educational - needed for dispersed public housing. Such a task force would have the fullest involvement of tenants of public housing.

3. Establishment of a task force to assure the maintenance of high quality city services in transitional neighborhoods.

4. Establishment of a task force to call on real estate and banking institutions in the next 60 days to distribute Equal Housing Opportunity signs and to secure involvement pledges from these firms.

The AROHC was launced by the Community Relations Commission in December. In his remarks, Allison announced that the membership of the coalition has grown to 122.

Coalition goals are: open housing for the Atlanta region, dispersal of public housing in small units throughout the five county area, leasing of public housing in private developments, the creation of a Housing Opportunity Center, the building of more middle and upper income housing in the central city, and the preservation of existing residential areas.

Allison, executive administrator of EOA, Inc., and Bill VanLandingham, executive vice president of C&S Bank, were named recently as co-chairmen by the executive committee.

The Atlanta Journal
Covers Dixie Like the Dew
Since 1883
Jack Tarver, President • Jack Spalding, Editor
20-A APRIL 19, 1972

Collier Rezoning a Mistake

WHETHER THE City of Atlanta and area governments are truly committed to a fair distribution of public housing will depend upon site selection and procurement.

Already the handwriting is on the wall that the effort is in danger.

The Board of Aldermen has granted commercial zoning to a 3.5 acre tract at Collier and Howell Mill roads — one of 37 sites named as possible locations for dispersal of public housing by a court-appointed panel.

The Howell Mill rezoning action is a clear warning. The history of the case and the manner in which it was approved indicate that selection of a site for likely public housing is almost a sure way to lose it.

Already the city is finding ways to legally circumvent its required 24-month waiting period for resubmission of rejected zoning applications. Selection of recommended public housing obviously served to prod developers, land owners and many aldermen into action before the land is used for public housing units.

The Howell Mill-Collier action, if not rescinded, will stand as an extremely bad precedent in favor of expedience to serve the fears of many and the financial selfish interests of a few.

The history of the Aldermanic Board's action on the property shows that rezoning for commercial purposes was rejected on two previous occasions, one as recently as last September.

But now, as Alderman Ira Jackson has noted, the property has suddenly become a welcome candidate for commercial development after it was reported as a likely site for public housing.

The rezoning was even approved recently by the Springlake Area Civic Association, which had previously strongly opposed commercial "encroachment" on the neighborhood site.

The board's action is not only disappointing but apparently counter to increasing public sentiment and support for open housing for all races and incomes evident in the growing membership of the Atlanta Regional Open Housing Coalition.

The low-cost housing report submitted to U.S. Judge Newell Edenfield pinpointing recommended sites is not worth the paper it is printed on if local government officials follow the aldermanic lead in this case.

They can't have it both ways.

The sooner the public commitment to distribution is put into action, the sooner the area can stake its claim to national and international recognition as a leader in human relations.

But not before.

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD Tuesday April 18, 1972

Allison Outlines Open Housing Plan

A four point action plan was outlined by Co-chairman William W. Allison at the meeting of the Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition at City Hall.

The plan, presented with the strong recommendation of the executive committee, calls for:

1. Development of a regional housing program consistent with the six goals of the coliation. Offering its assistance, the coalition is to call upon the Atlanta Regional Commission to reaffirm its position on open housing and to lead the way.

2. Establishment of a task force on services - social, economic, and educational needed for dispersed public housing. Such a task force would have the fullest involvement of residents of public housing.

3. Establishmen of a task force to assure the maintenance of high quality city services in transitional neighborhoods.

4. Establishment of task force to call on real estate and banking institutions in the next 60 days to distribute Equal Housing Opportunity signs and to secure involvement pledges from these firms.

The AROHC was launched by the Community Relations Commission in December. In his remarks, Allison announced that the membership of the coalition has grown to 122, following the active promotion of the six goals adopted at its January meeting. The executive committee, members of the coalition and staff have presented the open city program to many business, church, school, professional and women's organizations throughout the five country area.

Coalition goals are: open housing for the Atlanta region, dispersal of public housing in small units throughout the five county area leasing of public housing in private developments, the creation of a Housing Opportunity Center, the building or more middle and upper income housing in the central city, and the preservation of existing residential areas.

Allison, executive administrator of EOA, Inc., and Bill Van Landingham, executive vice president of C&S Bank were named recently as co-chairmen by the executive committee.

MEMO FROM THE DESK OF:

Arthur Campbell

Jim W. —

The Coalition has asked SRC to write a letter supporting the attached proposals. Is it possible for you to write such a letter?

I would be an swamp -- deadlines on proposal -- would appreciate an assist.

A.

16 May 72

NEWSLETTER

ATLANTA REGION OPEN HOUSING COALITION

EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY

Secretariat: Atlanta Community Relations Commission / 121 Memorial Drive, S.W. / Atlanta, Georgia 30303 / 659-4463, Ext. 433

May 10, 1972

MEMORANDUM

TO: 144 Member Organizations of
The Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition

FROM: Nat Welch

SUBJECT: Revision of Georgia Real Estate Commission's
Fair Housing Rules

The Georgia Real Estate Commission is considering the adoption of new rules concerning real estate practices. Anyone may respond to the commission in writing with their ideas and suggestions before May 22. The Executive Board of the Atlanta Region Open Housing Coalition accepted the recommendations of the Urban Life Associates of Georgia State University with a few changes. The attached proposals are endorsed by your executive committee. We hope you will take time to read them, and add your support to them by writing the Georgia Real Estate Commission before May 22 indicating your support for this plan.

The Georgia Real Estate Commission's set of rules only dealt with block-busting which is a symptom of discrimination in housing. Rule 520-7-03, the main addition - Fair Practices - deals with discrimination in housing and is essential if we are going to have a true open housing market. This is important. This will mark a major step forward in the area of Fair Housing.

Write to: Mr. Ed A. Isakson, Chairman
Georgia Real Estate Commission
166 Pryor St., S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

REVISED COPY OF THE GEORGIA REAL ESTATE
COMMISSION'S DRAFT OF ANTIBLOCKBUSTING RULES BY
THE URBAN LIFE ASSOCIATES OF GA. STATE UNIVERSITY

Chapter 520-7
Real Estate Practices
Table of Contents

520-7-.01 - Representations
520-7-.02 - Solicitation
520-7-.03 - Fair Practices
520-7-.04 - Advertisements
520-7-.05 - Neighborhood Disruptions
520-7-.06 - Broker's Responsibility

520-7-.01 Representations. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman, or agent or employee of a real estate broker or salesman shall represent, explicitly or implicitly, for the purpose of inducing or discouraging the purchase, sale or rental, or the listing for purchase, sale or rental, of any real property

a) that a change has occurred or will or may occur in the racial, religious or ethnic composition of any block, neighborhood or area;

b) that the presence of persons of any particular race, religion or ethnic background in an area will or may result in the following:

i) a lowering of property values in the neighborhood;

ii) a material change in the racial, religious or ethnic composition of the area;

iii) an increase in criminal or antisocial behavior in the area; or

iv) a decline in the quality of the schools or public services serving the area.

520-7-.02 Solicitation. -- No real estate broker or real estate salesman or any agent or employee of a real estate broker or real estate agent shall

a) Solicit by personal contact, advertising, phone or mail, the sale or other disposition of real estate property with such frequency as to amount to clear harrassment of the owner when the owner has made no indication he plans to sell the real property;

b) Solicit by personal contact, phone or mail, more than two times in a three month period at less than 45 day intervals, the sale or other disposition of real property the owner of which has indicated no desire to sell;

c) Solicit by personal contact, phone or mail the sale or other disposition of real estate property of any person who either as an individual or as a member of a group has notified Georgia Real Estate Commission by certified mail that he does not wish to be solicited, and it shall be the responsibility of the Georgia Real Estate Commission to notify licensed broker of receipt of said letter.

d) solicit by personal contact at his dwelling any person who has placed a sign on his premises visible from the street or on his front door that indicates he does not want to be solicited or does not want to sell his dwelling.

sell his dwelling.

520-7-.03 Fair Practices. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall

1) Refuse to sell, purchase, rent or lease, or otherwise deny to or withhold any housing accommodation from a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth, or

2) To discriminate against a person in the terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, purchase, rental or lease of any housing accommodations, or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith, or

3) To refuse to receive or transmit a bona fide offer to sell, purchase, rent or lease any housing accommodation from or to a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth; or

4) To refuse to negotiate for the sale, purchase, rental or lease of any housing accommodation to a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth, or

5) To represent to a person that any housing accommodation is not available for inspection, sale, purchase, rental or lease when in fact it is so available. or to refuse to permit a person to inspect any housing accommodations, because of his race, color, religion, sex, marital status or national origin or place of birth.

520-7-.04 Advertisements. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall refer to race, religion or ethnic background in any advertisement seeking real property for purchase, sale or rental. All real estate brokers, real estate salesmen or employees or agents of any real estate broker or salesman shall advertise that he is an Equal Opportunity Housing Company.

520-7-.05 Neighborhood Disruptions. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall utilize loud speakers, sound tracks or other voice amplifying equipment to advertise real estate for sale in any residential neighborhood.

520-7-.06 Broker's Responsibility. -- A real estate broker shall be held responsible for any salesman who violates any of the regulations of this Chapter. Every broker shall take such steps necessary to halt the use by his salesmen or employees of those prescribed activities set forth in this Chapter.

APR 17 REC'D

Housing Pact Approved by D.C., Suburbs

By LaBarbara Bowman
Washington Post Staff Writer

The board of directors of the Metropolitan Washington Area Council of Governments (COG) adopted a formula yesterday under which prosperous Montgomery and Fairfax counties would receive half of all new federally subsidized housing for low- and moderate-income families in the area.

The so-called fair share formula that was considered controversial by some board members was approved unanimously after little discussion. The Washington area is the second metropolitan area in the nation, after Dayton, Ohio, to adopt such a plan.

The board is composed of locally elected government officials who serve on the governing boards of the 15 jurisdictions that belong to COG. COG works to coordinate action by the jurisdictions on solutions to regional problems.

The fair share formula was devised by the COG staff as a means of dispersing public low- and moderate-cost housing throughout the suburbs. At present more than half of federally subsidized units are in the District and only 13 per cent are in Montgomery and Fairfax combined.

The fair share concept has been endorsed by George Romney, Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which decides what projects shall be subsidized.

Robert Harrigan, director of operations for the local HUD office, said yesterday that his office is willing to follow the formula as long as it "dovetails" with established project selection criteria.

The formula tells each jurisdiction how many units it should have each year, but there is no requirement that a jurisdiction accept that many.

Under the formula the jurisdictions with few units of subsidized housing and high numbers of jobs for low- and moderate-income workers would receive the highest share of subsidized units.

Sterling Tucker, vice chairman of the D.C. City Council and chairman of the COG sub committee that sponsored the plan, said there would "probably be no immediate impact" because of the plan since there is only a small number of units allocated to the area each year and it takes about two to three years to build new housing.

HUD annually has allocated about 2,400 units to this area under its public housing, home ownership and subsidized rental programs.

The board of directors amended the formula by asking HUD for more units to insure that Washington and Alexandria, the jurisdictions that most need subsidized housing, would not lose any new units under the formula.

Tucker said District officials backed the fair share plan, although it might mean a reduction in the number of units Washington receives because, "there has got to be a greater distribution of low-and moderate-income housing across the metropolitan area."

Low- and moderate-income families are usually defined as those with annual incomes from $5,00 to $15,000. Persons eligible for public housing usually earn below $5,000.

The problem now is where to put the subsidized units in the suburbs, Tucker said. COG staff members will visit all the local jurisdictions and explain the formula to government officials and citizens.

The formula is a sensitive issue in the suburbs because it implies they are being asked to help the city solve its housing problem by providing for the dispersal of low- and moderate-income families.

Housing Table

The following table shows how federally subsidized housing would be distributed in the Washington area under a fair share formula approved yesterday by the Metropolitan Washington Area Council of Governments. The table also shows, in percentages and numbers of units, the existing distribution of federally subsidized housing for low- and moderate-income families.

	Fair Share By %	Present Distribution By %	Present Distribution By Units
Montgomery	26.7	7.7	2,628
Fairfax	24.4	5.8	1,990
Washington	20.3	58.7	20,077
Prince George's	10.9	17.8	6,093
Arlington	9.0	none	none
Alexandria	2.6	5.1	1,729
Loudoun	1.4	.5	156
Rockville	1.0	1.2	426
Falls Church	.9	none	none
College Park	.8	.3	109
Fairfax City	.6	.2	54
Greenbelt	.6	none	none
Takoma Park	.4	.5	786
Bowie	.2	none	none
Prince William	.2	2.2	747

REAL ESTATE BOARD

Panel Drafts Rules on Blockbusting

The Georgia Real Estate Commission has drafted a set of strong anti-blockbusting rules to be considered for adoption in real estate licensing law.

The proposed new rules have been distributed to groups interested in real esate for their consideration and comment. E. A. (Ed) Isakson, chairman of the commission, said that objections or suggestions on the proposed rules should be submitted to the commission in writing before May 22.

At that time, said Isakson, the commission will take the steps necessary to adopt the anti-blockbusting rules.

The Real Estate Commission has received criticism in the past for not doing more to combat blockbusting.

Blockbusting is a practice of appealing to fear of a major racial change in a neighborhood to force homeowners to sell out.

The practice is forbidden by law, but enforcement has been difficult.

If adopted, the new rules will become a part of the Georgia Real Estate Law booklet, a book of regulations for real estate brokers and salesmen.

The commission has the authority to suspend or revoke real estate licenses.

The proposed rules spell out the responsibility of the broker and make him accountable for his salesmen.

"A real estate broker shall be held responsible for any salesman who violates any of the regulations of this chapter. Every broker shall take such steps necessary to halt the use by his salesmen or employes of those proscribed activities set forth in this chapter," reads one of the proposed rules.

Other proposed rules read in part:

"No real estate broker, real estate salesman or agent or employe of a real estate broker or salesman shall represent, explicitly or implicitly, for the purpose of inducing or discouraging the purchase, sale or rental, or the listing for purchase, sale or rental, or any real property.

"No real estate broker or real estate salesman or any agent of employe of a real estate broker or real estate agent shall:

(A) solicit by personal contact, advertising, phone or mail, the sale or other disposition of real estate property with such frequency as to amount to clear harassment of the owner when the owner has made no indication he plans to sell the real property;

(B) solicit by personal contact, phone or mail more than two times in 30 days the sale or other disposition of real estate property the owner of which has indicated no desire to sell;

(C) solicit by personal contact, phone or mail the sale or other disposition of real estate property of any person who has notified said broker by certified mail that he does not wish to be solicited, and has sent a copy of such notice to the Georgia Real Estate Commission."

GEORGIA REAL ESTATE COMMISSION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

COMMISSIONERS

E. A. ISAKSON
Chairman
Atlanta, Ga.

DAN BLACKSHEAR
Albany, Ga.

J. NORWOOD CLARK
Cairo, Ga.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
166 PRYOR ST., S. W.

BEN W. FORTSON, JR.
SECRETARY OF STATE

C. L. CLIFTON
JOINT SECRETARY

April 27, 1972

Dear Sirs:

Enclosed you will find a copy of rules that have been drafted by the Georgia Real Estate Commission that are being considered for adoption in the rules and regulations of the Georgia Real Estate License Law booklet.

Please consider this an authorization to copy and distribute as you see fit. Any objections or suggestions in regard to the enclosed rules should be returned to this office, in writing, prior to May 22, 1972. At this time, the Commission will take the necessary steps to adopt rules concerning blockbusting.

We will be waiting for any suggestions or objections that you may have.

Sincerely,

E. A. Isakson

E. A. Isakson, Chairman
Georgia Real Estate Commission

EAI/DWG/ah

Enclosure

GEORGIA REAL ESTATE COMMISSION

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

COMMISSIONERS

E. A. ISAKSON
Chairman
Atlanta, Ga.

DAN BLACKSHEAR
Albany, Ga.

J. NORWOOD CLARK
Cairo, Ga.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
166 PRYOR ST., S. W.

BEN W. FORTSON, JR.
SECRETARY OF STATE

C. L. CLIFTON
JOINT SECRETARY

April 24, 1972

Chapter 520-7

Real Estate Practices

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520-7-.01 - Representations

520-7-.02 - Solicitation

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520-7-.04 - Neighborhood Disruptions

520-7-.05 - Broker's Responsibility

520-7-.01 Representations. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman, or agent or employee of a real estate broker or salesman shall represent, explicitly or implicitly, for the purpose of inducing or discouraging the purchase, sale or rental, or the listing for purchase, sale or rental, of any real property

a) that a change has occurred or will or may occur in the racial, religious or ethnic composition of any block, neighborhood or area;

b) that the presence of persons of any particular race, religion or ethnic background in an area will or may result in the following:

i) a lowering of property values in the neighborhood;

ii) a material change in the racial, religious or ethnic composition of the area;

iii) an increase in criminal or antisocial behavior in the area; or

iv) a decline in the quality of the schools serving the area.

520-7-.02 Solicitation. -- No real estate broker or real estate salesman or any agent or employee of a real estate broker or real estate agent shall

a) solicit by personal contact, advertising, phone or mail, the sale or other disposition of real estate property with such frequency as to amount to clear harrassment of the owner when the owner has made no indication he plans to sell the real property;

b) solicit by personal contact, phone or mail more than two times in thirty days the sale or other disposition of real estate property the owner of which has indicated no desire to sell;

c) solicit by personal contact, phone or mail the sale or other disposition of real estate property of any person who has notified said broker by certified mail that he does not wish to be solicited, and has sent a copy of such notice to the Georgia Real Estate Commission;

d) solicit by personal contact at his dwelling any person who has placed a sign on his premises visible from the street or on his front door that indicates he does not want to be solicited or does not want to sell his dwelling.

520-7-.03 Advertisements. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall refer to race, religion or ethnic background in any advertisement offering or seeking real property for purchase, sale or rental.

520-7-.04 Neighborhood disruptions. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall utilize loud speakers, sound tracks or other voice amplifying equipment to advertise real estate for sale in any residential neighborhood.

520-7-.05 Broker's responsibility. -- A real estate broker shall be held responsible for any salesman who violates any of the regulations of this Chapter. Every broker shall take such steps necessary to halt the use by his salesmen or employees of those proscribed activities set forth in this Chapter.

REVISED COPY OF THE GEORGIA REAL ESTATE
COMMISSION'S DRAFT OF ANTIBLOCKBUSTING RULES BY
THE URBAN LIFE ASSOCIATES OF GA. STATE UNIVERSITY

Chapter 520-7
Real Estate Practices
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520-7-.04 - Advertisements
520-7-.05 - Neighborhood Disruptions
520-7-.06 - Broker's Responsibility

520-7-.01 Representations. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman, or agent or employee of a real estate broker or salesman shall represent, explicitly or implicitly, for the purpose of inducing or discouraging the purchase, sale or rental, or the listing for purchase, sale or rental, of any real property

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i) a lowering of property values in the neighborhood;

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520-7-.02 Solicitation. -- No real estate broker or real estate salesman or any agent or employee of a real estate broker or real estate agent shall

a) Solicit by personal contact, advertising, phone or mail, the sale or other disposition of real estate property with such frequency as to amount to clear harrassment of the owner when the owner has made no indication he plans to sell the real property;

b) Solicit by personal contact, phone or mail more than two times a year at six month intervals the sale or other disposition of real estate property the owner of which has indicated no desire to sell;

c) solicit by personal contact, phone or mail the sale or other disposition of real estate property of any person who either as an individual or as a member of a group has notified Georgia Real Estate Commission by certified mail that he does not wish to be solicited, and it shall be the responsibility of the Georgia Real Estate Commission to send a copy of said notice to licensed brokers doing business in that area.

d) solicit by personal contact at his dwelling any person who has placed a sign on his premises visible from the street or on his front door that indicates he does not want to be solicited or does not want to sell his dwelling.

520-7-.03 Fair Practices. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall

1) Refuse to sell, purchase, rent or lease, or otherwise deny to or withhold any housing accommodation from a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth, or

2) To discriminate against a person in the terms, conditions or privileges of the sale, purchase, rental or lease of any housing accommodations, or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith, or

3) To refuse to receive or transmit a bona fide offer to sell, purchase, rent or lease any housing accommodation from or to a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth; or

4) To refuse to negotiate for the sale, purchase, rental or lease of any housing accommodation to a person because of his race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, sex, marital status or place of birth; or

5) To represent to a person that any housing accommodation is not available for inspection, sale, purchase, rental or lease when in fact it is so available, or to refuse to permit a person to inspect any housing accommodations, because of his race, color, religion, sex, marital status or national origin or place of birth.

520-7-.04 Advertisements. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall refer to race, religion or ethnic background in any advertisement seeking real property for purchase, sale or rental. All real estate brokers, real estate salesmen or employees or agents of any real estate broker or salesman shall advertise that he is an Equal Opportunity Housing Company.

520-7-.05 Neighborhood Disruptions. -- No real estate broker, real estate salesman or employee or agent of any real estate broker or salesman shall utilize loud speakers, sound tracks or other voice amplifying equipment to advertise real estate for sale in any residential neighborhood.

520-7-.06 Broker's Responsibility. -- A real estate broker shall be held responsible for any salesman who violates any of the regulations of this Chapter. Every broker shall take such steps necessary to halt the use by his salesmen or employees of those prescribed activities set forth in this Chapter.

Make folder Atlanta

LWD ✓

CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE
Drawer A, Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia

January 22, 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

A group of concerned people from the colleges of Atlanta is planning a Conference on Religion and Race, having as its objectives, 1) improved communication between college students of the Atlanta area; 2) a broader understanding of the present social revolution in our country; and 3) discovering our place in all of this.

The Conference will convene on February 28 and end on March 1. The place and program are not yet determined, but as soon as they are we will let you know. About 150 students will be in attendance. The total cost of the Conference will be about $1500.00.

There are bound to be some students who should come to the Conference but who would find it financially impossible. We are trying to make it possible for them by letting your organization know what we are doing. We believe this is the kind of thing about which you are deeply concerned. If you would consider making a contribution towards the cost of the Conference, we would appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,
Edmund B. Gaither
Judith Fennell
Judith Fennell, Edmund Gaither
Finance Committee

The members of the Planning Committee are:
The Rev. Norman Rates, Spelman College Minister
Dr. S. C. Guthrie, Columbia Seminary
The Rev. Vincent Harding, Mennonite House
The Rev. Warren Scott, Episcopal Chaplain, Atlanta University Center
Michael Baer, Emory University
Edmund B. Gaither, Morehouse College
Lamar Alford, Morehouse College
Walter Paketee, Emory University
John Studstill, Emory University
Judith Fennell, Spelman College
Leila Potts, Spelman College
Thomas Hoyt, Interdenominational Theological Center
Eugene Guerrero, Interdenominational Theological Center

Memo from **MILDRED JOHNSON**

Lord — Discussion Leader

It would be advantage if you could spend all day Sat. with the Student Devils. → ugh!

Fred Mac would be in touch.

Can't — please call him

MM

Done 2/24/64

file

AN ATLANTA STUDENT CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

The Atlanta Student Conference on Religion and Race scheduled for February 28 through March 1, 1964, at Gammon Theological Seminary (old campus), Atlanta, is an outgrowth of the Student Leadership Conference on Religion and Race (SLCRR) held in Washington, D. C., November 17 to 20, 1963.

SLCRR was sponsored by college religious organizations--B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundations, National Federation of Catholic College Students, National Newman Club Federation and National Student Christian Federation.

SLCRR convened student leaders from across the nation for the purpose of looking at the racial problems, which so acutely affect our lives; and examine their (students') responsibility in causing a social and moral change for the betterment of mankind.

Present at the Washington conference were students and adults from Atlanta who think that a like conference for Atlanta students will provide them an opportunity to take an objective look at the Atlanta social and moral revolution and explore, out of their religious convictions, their role in this situation.

The Atlanta Student Conference on Religion and Race is designed to go beyond theory; it will be a real encounter on how the "I" may work to effect the "Beloved Community". The program format is as follows:

1) The facts on the interracial situation in Atlanta will be set clearly before the students.

2) City officials, inter-group relationists, clergymen and civil rights people will give a panel presentation on how they are dealing with these facts.

3) A panel of students will subjectively discuss the meaning of the facts as related to their lives as students.

4) Information on student opportunities to render themselves in the service of building a unified community will be presented.

5) Participation in all program areas will be out of religious convictions--worship will be an integral part of the entire conference.

The student and adult participant-planners do not represent their educational institutions per se; they represent themselves in search for their identity in this day and time. On the planning committee are individual students and adults from most of the higher educational institutions in Greater Atlanta.

For further information contact:

The Rev. Warren Scott, Episcopal Chaplain
Atlanta University
791 Fair Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
521-2748

The Rev. Lon Chestnutt, Methodist Campus Minister
Emory University Drawer "A"
Atlanta, Georgia 30322
377-2411 Ext. 571

This was a very beautiful ceremony. I told Mr. Embree that you were sorry not to be present. He said he regretted it too, and he had wondered where you and Dr. Reid were! I told him, also, that we were hoping that he would pay us a visit sometime & he said he would.
Bee

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

SEVENTY-SIXTH

COMMENCEMENT

LIBRARY QUADRANGLE

UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

JUNE FOURTH
NINETEEN HUNDRED AND FORTY-FIVE
SIX O'CLOCK

The Order of Exercises

PROCESSIONAL

HYMN

Rejoice, ye pure in heart,
Rejoice, give thanks and sing;
Your festal banner wave on high,—
The cross of Christ your King;

Rejoice, rejoice,
Rejoice, give thanks and sing.

Bright youth and snow-crowned age,
Strong men and maidens fair,
Raise high your free, exulting song,
God's wondrous praise declare.

Yes, on through life's long path,
Still chanting as ye go;
From youth to age, by night and day,
In gladness and in woe.

Still lift your standard high,
Still march in firm array,
As warriors through the darkness toil
Till dawns the golden day.

PRAYER . . . . . The Rev. Maynard H. Jackson, A.B., B.D., D.D.
Minister of Friendship Baptist Church

SANCTUS . . . . . Gounod
Spelman College Glee Club

ADDRESS . . . . . Edwin Rogers Embree, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D.
President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund

THE LORD'S PRAYER . . . . . Mallotte
Spelman College Glee Club

CONFERRING OF DEGREES

ALMA MATER

BENEDICTION . . . The Rt. Rev. Lorenzo H. King, A.B., B.D., D.D., LL.D.
Bishop of the Methodist Church

RECESSIONAL

Candidates for Degrees

ARTS AND SCIENCES

MASTER OF ARTS

SANFORD DIXON BISHOP . . . . . *English*
A.B., Morehouse College, 1932.
Thesis: Milton's Attitude Toward Women.

GERALDINE LARI CLARK . . . . . *English*
A.B., Spelman College, 1943.
Thesis: A Study in Paragraph Comprehension and Vocabulary Development.

MARIE DAVIS COCHRANE . . . . . *English*
A.B., Georgia State College, 1938.
Thesis: A Freshman Vocabulary Experiment.

*VICTORIA LOUISE JOHNSON . . . . . *English*
B.S., South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1943.
Thesis: An Analysis and Evaluation of the Spelman-Morehouse Reading Program for the Year 1943-1944. (In collaboration with Vera Louise Sugg.)

MAMIE JOYCE BROUSSARD . . . . . *French*
A.B., Xavier University, 1943.
Thesis: The Creole and French of Lafayette, Louisiana: A Comparative Study.

*EDWIA MARGARET GRAHAM . . . . . *French*
A.B., Bennett College, 1941.
Thesis: Colette and Marriage.

EVELYN WYNONA MOORE . . . . . *French*
A.B., Talladega College, 1942.
Thesis: Une Etude des Premieres de Paul Bourget.

FRANCES MARGUERITE HAYES . . . . . *French*
A.B., Virginia State College for Negroes, 1939.
Thesis: A Study of the Principal Historical Characters of Six of the Dramatic Works of Alexandre Dumas Pere.

---

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.

*NAOMI HARRIS PIERCE . . . . . *French*
A.B., Spelman College, 1937.
Thesis: A Critical Analysis of Some of the Sources of Moliere's Genius.

*WILLIE ADELL COWANS . . . . . *Home Economics Education*
B.S. in H.E., South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1933.
Thesis: A Study of Dietary Patterns of One Hundred Negro Families in Anderson, South Carolina.

CLARA HUMPHREY CALDWELL . . . . . *Mathematics*
A.B., Bennett College, 1934.
Thesis: Projective Duals in Synthetic Metric Geometry.

*WILLIE EUGENIA CLARK . . . . . *Sociology*
B.S. in Ed., Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal College, 1930.
Thesis: Bluff City, The Social Accommodation of an Urban Negro Population.

IDA HAUSER DUNCAN . . . . . *Sociology*
A.B., Fisk University, 1927.
Thesis: The Chinese in the South.

JAMES STILES HADLEY . . . . . *Sociology*
A.B., Morehouse College, 1937.
Thesis: The Social Attitudes of Negro Servicemen.

*EVA LOUISE THOMAS . . . . . *Sociology*
A.B., Morris Brown College, 1935.
Thesis: The Social and Racial Attitudes of Negro Children (A study of 100 children 8-17 years of age in the public schools of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia).

MASTER OF SCIENCE

EMMA ELIZABETH BASKERVILLE . . . . . *Chemistry*
B.S., Knoxville College, 1942.
Thesis: The Action of Hydrogen Bromide and Chlorine on 1-p-Nitrophenyl-4-Phenylbutadiene-1, 3.

ETHEL VICTORIA SIMMONS CAMPBELL . . . . . *Chemistry*
B.S., Allen University, 1939.
Thesis: The Reaction of Allymagnesium Bromide with m—Tolualdehyde.

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.

DAVID CONRAD GANDY . . . . . *Chemistry*

B.S., Morehouse College, 1943.

Thesis: The Course of Reduction of 1-Phenyl-Butadiene and 1-Phenyl-3-Methyl Butadiene 1, 3.

ALPHONSE GREENE, JR. . . . . *Chemistry*

B.S., Winston-Salem Teachers College, 1939.

Thesis: The Preparation of 1-Para-Nitrophenylbutadiene-1, 3.

*LOUIS EUGENE JOHNSON . . . . . *Chemistry*

B.S., Emmanuel Missionary College, 1931.

Thesis: Studies of Conjugated Systems: The Preparation and Bromination of 1-Para-Iodophenyl-4-Phenylbutadiene-1, 3.

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK

IRENE POPE ALEXANDER

B.S., West Virginia State College, 1939.

Thesis: A Study of 556 Cases, Involving Men in the Armed Forces, Served by the Atlanta Legal Aid Society, Atlanta, Georgia, During 1943.

ELOISE CROWDER BEECH

A.B., North Carolina College for Negroes, 1942.

Thesis: A Study of Part-Time Employment of Youth Under Eighteen Years of Age Enrolled in the Booker T. Washington High School of Atlanta, Georgia, as of December, 1944, and January, 1945.

ANNIE ELIZABETH BLANTON

A.B., Virginia Union University, 1941.

Thesis: A Study of the Attitudes of Parents in Relationship to the Illegitimate Pregnancy of Their Daughters.

GWENDOLYN LUCILLE CARRINGTON

B.S., New York University School of Education, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of the Social and Economic Adjustments of the West Indians to the Negro Community in Brooklyn, New York.

SARAH MARGUERITE HUNTER

A.B., Fisk University, 1942.

Thesis: A Study of Twenty-Five Unmarried Negro Mothers Served by the Family Welfare Society, Atlanta, Georgia, 1941-1944.

DOROTHY LOUISE JOHNSON

A.B., Howard University, 1941.

Thesis: The Maternal and Child Health Program in Atlanta, Georgia, in Relation to the Infant Mortality Statistics for the Year 1943.

---

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.

MAUREEN TINSLEY JORDAN

A.B., Virginia Union University, 1936.

Thesis: A Study of the Group Work Methods Used in Treatment and Rehabilitation of the Mental Patients at the United States Veterans' Administration Facility, Tuskegee, Alabama.

LEOLA MORON

A.B., Morris Brown College, 1943.

Thesis: An Analysis of the References to Housing and Housing Problems in the Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1874-1943.

FLORENCE GWENDOLYN NELSON

B.S., Cheney State Teachers College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of the After-Care Services Given to Children Who Were Hospitalized in Grady Hospital, Atlanta, Georgia, for Rheumatic Heart Disease During the Years 1940-1943.

MARY ALICE NORMAND

A.B., Spelman College, 1940.

Thesis: An Analysis of the Content of Block Field Work in Group Work and Community Organization for the Years 1941-1943.

EMMA LOUISE PERRY

A.B., St. Augustine's College, 1940.

Thesis: A Study of the Background of the First Twenty-Six Girls Admitted to the State Training School for Negro Girls in North Carolina.

VIVIAN CONEYELLA PLUNKETT

A.B., Bennett College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of the Living Conditions of Seventy-Five Families of Servicemen Who Have Made Application for Public Housing in the City of Atlanta.

JUANITA CRESSIEJOE SAMUELS

A.B., Spelman College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of Welfare Activities in the University Homes Project, Atlanta, Georgia.

MARIAN VICTORIA SCOTT

A.B., Virginia Union University, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of Eleven Adolescent Boys Who Presented Behavior Problems to the Management of the Alonzo F. Herndon Homes Housing Project in Atlanta, Georgia.

VIVIAN LOUISE SLOAN

A.B., LeMoyne College, 1943.

Thesis: A Compilation and Interpretation of the Social and Recreational Needs of the Negro Women and Girls of Atlanta, Georgia, with an Analysis of These Needs in Relationship to the YWCA Program.

BLANCHE FLORINE SMITH

A.B., Clark College, 1941.

Thesis: Community Efforts Toward the Negro Blind and the Development of the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind.

BENNIE RUTH TOUCHSTONE

A.B., Philander Smith College, 1942.

Thesis: A Study of the Program and Activities of the Jackson, Mississippi, United Service Organization Club Which Is Serving Primarily the Patients of a Government Hospital.

DOROTHY GLADYS VANN

A.B., Virginia State College for Negroes, 1942.

Thesis: A Comparative Study of Causes for the Placement of Children in Foster Homes as Made by the Children's Division of Fulton County Department of Public Welfare 1937-1939 and 1942-1944.

ERNESTINE MARIE WALLACE

A.B., Spelman College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of Negro Nursing Services in Atlanta, Georgia.

BARBARA ALLDRIDGE WARREN

A.B., New York University, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of the Recreational Facilities in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Area of Brooklyn, New York.

ELIZABETH JEAN WASHINGTON

B.S., Miner Teachers College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of the Program and Activities of the Junior Police and Citizens Corps in Washington, D. C.

ANNIE LUCILLE WHEELER

A.B., Howard University, 1930.

Thesis: A Medical and Social Analysis of Twenty-Seven Crippled Children Known to the Social Service Department of Freedman's Hospital, Washington, D. C., 1940-1943.

DOROTHY ELIZABETH WILSON

A.B., Morris Brown College, 1943.

Thesis: A Study of Georgia's New Penal Reform Movement.

JESSIE MAE WILSON
A.B., Tillotson College, 1943.
Thesis: A Study of the Community Resources for the Negro of Austin, Texas, 1944-1945.

JENNIE ELBERTA YOUNG
A.B., Benedict College, 1942.
Thesis: A Study of Tuberculosis Among Negroes in Richland and Lexington Counties in South Carolina.

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY SERVICE

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN LIBRARY SERVICE

BETSIE LOU BAXTER
A.B., Kentucky State College, 1941.

SARAH JANE BELL
B.S., Langston University, 1938.

ROBERTA TATE BROOKS
A.B., Johnson C. Smith University, 1944.

RUTH ANNETTE BROTHERS
A.B., Talladega College, 1943.

ANNIE MARIE DORSEY BROWN
B.S., Lane College, 1939.

MAE ISOM DAVENPORT
A.B., Tougaloo College, 1940.

DAISY JUANITA DILLARD
A.B., Virginia State College for Negroes, 1940.

HELEN CLARICE HORNE
B.S., Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1942.

OLLIE JUANITA JOHNSON
A.B., Louisville Municipal College, 1941.

GEORGIA VIVIAN HADDON NEWSOME
B.S., Virginia State College for Negroes, 1938.

ELLA LOUISE PARKER
A.B., Bennett College, 1944.

LOYCE MARIE PLEASANTS
A.B., Houston College for Negroes, 1944.

BESSIE DAVIS RANDALL
A.B., Fisk University, 1931.

MAUDE DERENA SMITH
A.B., Paine College, 1944.

MARY LOUISE TURNER
A.B., Stowe Teachers College, 1944.

JEANNE MARIE WATSON
A.B., Howard University, 1944.

MIRIAN JEANETTE WHITE
A.B., Bennett College, 1943.

RUTH ELIZABETH WIMBERLEY
A.B., Shaw University, 1944.

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

MASTER OF ARTS

*Etheline Jones Acox

A.B., Straight College of Arts and Sciences, 1935.

Thesis: A Study of the Effectiveness of Differentiated Assignments in Teaching Fourth Grade Geography in The Valena C. Jones School of New Orleans, Louisiana.

*Dorothy Pitts Chapman

B.S., Alabama State Teachers College, 1941.

Thesis: A Study of the Interests of 286 Elementary School Children in Henry County, Georgia.

*Lois Yvonne Cooper

A.B., Spelman College, 1942.

Thesis: A Study to Determine the Achievement in Arithmetic Fundamentals of Upper Eighth Grade Pupils at Booker T. Washington High School in Atlanta, Georgia.

Rebecca Eloise Dickerson

A.B., Morehouse College, 1929.

Thesis: A Study of Withdrawals in the David T. Howard Elementary-Junior High School for the First Semester, 1943-1944.

*Herbert James Greene

B.S., South Carolina State Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1932.

Thesis: The Status of the Teaching Personnel in the Negro Public Schools of Duval County, Florida, for the School Year 1943-1944.

*Annie Mae Kenion

B.S., Fayetteville State Teachers College, 1940.

Thesis: Individual Case Studies of the Twenty Children in the Big Elementary School, Kenansville, N. C., Who Have Been Most Frequently Reported Over a Period of Four Years by Each of The Three Teachers as Being Children in Greatest Need of Disciplinary Attention.

Mabel Smith Lott

B.S., Tuskegee Institute, 1939.

Thesis: An Analysis of the Extra-Curricular Activities Program in the Booker T. Washington High School, Houston, Texas.

Willa Acquilla McIver

A.B., Atlanta University, 1930.

Thesis: A Study to Determine the Causes Affecting Withdrawals in the Guilford County Negro High School in Sedalia, North Carolina, 1937-1944.

---

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.

*Thelma Taylor Murray
A.B., Wilberforce University, 1920.
Thesis: A Study of the Effectiveness of A Developmental Reading Program on the Scholastic Achievement of Ninth Grade Students of Western High School, Owensboro, Kentucky, 1944.

*Ruby Lucille Oats
A.B., Atlanta University, 1928.
Thesis: A Study of Selected Superstitious and Erroneous Beliefs of One Hundred Two Students in Duval County Schools, Jacksonville, Florida.

*Caesar Bacchus Piper, Jr.
B.S., Leland College, 1936.
Thesis: A Comparative Study of the Scholastic Attainment of the Highest Ranking Graduates From Each of Three Elementary Schools When Placed in McKinley High School, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

*Susie Inez Robertson
A.B., Talladega College, 1924.
Thesis: A Comparative Study of the Laboratory and Recitation Methods of Teaching American History in the Eighth Grade in the Negro City School at Jacksonville, Alabama, 1943-1944.

William Alexander Watson
A.B., Morris Brown College, 1927.
Thesis: A Diagnostic Study of Difficulties in Percentage Among Seventh Grade Pupils of the Buford Colored High School, Buford, Georgia.

MASTER OF EDUCATION

*Benjamin Francis Baker
B.S., Tuskegee Institute, 1931.

*Joseph Elbert Beck
A.B., Morehouse College, 1927.

Eula Dunning Britton
A.B., Southern University, 1937.

*Henry Edward Bryant
B.S., Hampton Institute, 1932.

*Thelma Lois Cary
B.S., Southern University, 1935.

Eula Elizabeth Coleman
A.B., Spelman College, 1938.

*Wilhelmina Marie Collins
B.S., Fort Valley State College, 1942.

*Evangeline Moss Cook
B.S., Bluefield State Teachers College, 1924.

*Charles Wesley DuVaul
A.B., Georgia State College, 1925.

*Amanda Cato Franklin
B.S., Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1938.

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.

*Rose Jefferson Gary
A.B., Knoxville College, 1934.

*Edith Terry Hawley
A.B., Virginia Union University, 1930.

*Welton Hamlet Henderson
A.B., Virginia Union University, 1932.

Annie Lee Holley
B.S., Fayetteville State Teachers College, 1939.

*James Benjamin Hylick
B.S., Tuskegee Institute, 1937.

*Lulu Dent Holmes†
A.B., Fisk University, 1919.

*Thelma Lee Johnson
A.B., LeMoyne College, 1938.

*Narvie Mozelle Jordan
A.B., Clark College, 1939.

*Evelyn Gilpin Kindle
A.B., Virginia Union University, 1938.

*Eurgia Charlie Land
A.B., Bishop College, 1935.

**Lucile McLendon Lemon
A.B., Georgia State College, 1936.

**Mozella Dorsey Lee
A.B., Clark College, 1938.

*Magnolia Yvonne Myles
A.B., Spelman College, 1931.

*Hazel Edith Rucker
A.B., Morehouse College, 1933.

*Bessie Mae Scott
B.S., Tuskegee Institute, 1931.

*Evelyn Wiggins Sharpe
A.B., Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1934.

**Wilhelmenia Bertha Shefton
B.S., Cheney State Teachers College, 1939.

Alma Lirline Stegall
A.B., Mississippi Industrial College, 1931.

**Ella Mae Tate
A.B., Morris Brown College, 1936.

*Kennon Thompson
A.B., Morris Brown University, 1932.

*Helen Maxine Toliver
A.B., Morehouse College, 1933.

*Arcola Maxwell Yokley
B.S., Knoxville College, 1930.

*Requirements completed August 19, 1944.
**Requirements completed January 27, 1945.
†Posthumously awarded.

Memo from GUY B. JOHNSON

to SRC Staff

Please note these Seminars at Atlanta University. We are all invited.

GBT ✓

MP

MM

M.S. ✓

GBC - 10/9

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

DIVISION OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Seminars in Foundations of Social Science

1946-1947

October 7-9,1946

SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES, ITS NATURE AND DIRECTIONS

Dr. Lee M. Brooks
Professor of Sociology
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill

1. Seminar - Monday, October 7 - 7:15 p.m.
"Social Processes; Dynamics of Social Change"
Seminar Room A, University Library

2. Seminar Tuesday, October 8 - 7:15 p.m.
"Social Change and Social Organization, Yesterday and Today"
Seminar Room A, University Library

3. Seminar Wednesday, October 9- 4:15 p.m.
"Social Change and Social Organization, Today and Tomorrow"
Seminar Room A, University Library

4. F O R U M Wednesday, October 9- 8:00 p.m.

"The Cooperative Movement: Highway in Democrary"

Exhibition Room, University Library

Doctor Brooks will be available for conferences with interested students and workers in the field. These may be arranged through the Division of Social Sciences office, Room 209, Administration Building - Walnut 7956.

November 21, 1946

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Clement:

As always, the hospitality extended to us by Atlanta University last week was all that could be wished for.

We are grateful not only for your generosity in making such lovely surroundings available to us for our meetings, but also for the quiet, friendly spirit of all of your personnel who happened to have a share in making our stay out there thoroughly enjoyable. I hope you will let them know that this did not go unnoticed.

With all good wishes,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Mozelle Hill
Atlanta University

FROM: Guy B. Johnson

DATE: March 17, 1947

Here is the biographical information you wanted about the speakers at the seminar series ~~once a~~ next week:

Dr. Guion Griffis Johnson

B. in Texas; A.B. from Baylor College for Women 1921; Bachelor of Journalism degree fr. U. of Missouri 1923; Ph. D., U. of North Carolina 1927; head of Dept. of Journalism, Baylor College for Women 1922-24; Research Associate in Institute for Research ~~and~~ Social Science, U. of North Carolina, 1924-33; member of staff for Study of St. Helena Island, South Carolina, 1928; member of staff of Myrdal Study of the Negro in America, 1939-40; teacher of Naval History and Strategy in V-12 program, U. of North Carolina, 1943-44; author of A Social History of the Sea Island, U. of N. C. Press, 1930, and Ante-Bellum North Carolina, U. of N. C. Press, 1937; Executive Secretary, Ga. Conference on Social Welfare, 1945 to present; member Board of Directors, Natl. Publicity Council; President, American Association of State Conference Executives.

Alexander F. Miller

Graduate, N. Y. School of Social Work; for past several years has been with the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in New York, Florida, and Georgia.

Dr. George S. Mitchell

B. in Virginia; educated at U. of Richmond, Johns Hopkins, and Oxford (Rhodes Scholar); taught Economics, Columbia U., 1929-35; held several positions with Federal Government, notably as Assistant Administrator, Farm Security Administration, 1939-43; southeastern director, CIO-PAC, 1944-45; director of Veterans Services, Southern Regional Council, since 1945; will become Executive Director of Southern Regional Council, April 1947.

Dr. William B. Stubbs

B. in Savannah, Ga.; educated at Emory U. and Oxford (England); professor of Political Science, Emory U.; practiced law six years in Savannah, after which he was executive of Emory Junior College, Valdosta; professor at Emory U. for past seven years.

-0-

MEMORANDUM

March 20, 1947

TO: Speakers at Seminar Series,
Atlanta University

FROM: Guy B. Johnson

I am enclosing for your information a copy of the program for the series of seminars, March 24, 25, 26, under the auspices of the Southern Regional Council.

Please note that all of the meetings take place in Seminar Room A, University Library Building, with the exception of the Wednesday evening forum, which meets in the Exhibition Room of the Library Building.

Also enclosed is a copy of the bibliography on the Southern Region which has been distributed to the students by Dr. Mozelle Hill of the Atlanta University Department of Sociology. Dr. Hill has been giving the students a survey of the South and the students have been reading from the works listed in the bibliography.

It is expected that each speaker will talk for about 40 minutes and that a discussion period will follow his talk. Naturally, the speaker can only hit the high spots of his subject, pointing out the main problems and trends, and opening up questions for further study.

The Southern Regional Council is delighted to have an opportunity to sponsor these seminars at Atlanta University and it is deeply grateful to those who have consented to participate.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
247 HENRY STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON
DIRECTOR

April 10, 1947.

RECEIVED
APR 10 1947
Southern Regional Council

To : Members of Part Time Faculty

From: Mr. Washington

The School is inviting you to be a member of the academic procession at the Commencement and Baccalaureate exercises June 1st and 2nd this year and will be glad to have you accept.

If you plan to attend will you kindly fill in the enclosed slip so that we may secure the academic dress for you.

This information has to be sent off April 19th. Therefore we will appreciate an immediate reply.

June 1 3 P. M. Baccalaureate Exercises Sisters Chapel
Spelman College Chapel

June 2 6 P. M. Commencement Campus in front of Library.

X

Will send slip
soon

May 7, 1947

Mr. Forrester Washington
~~Atlanta School of Social Work~~
247 Henry Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Washington:

I do greatly appreciate your letter of May 6. The Council can get only as far as its friends carry it.

It is good to know that we can continue to count on your help.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:r

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
247 HENRY STREET, S.W.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON
DIRECTOR

May 6, 1947.

RECEIVED
MAY 7 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This is just a line to congratulate you on your election of Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council. I am sure your scholarly leadership will be just what the Council needs.

Cordially,

Forrester B. Washington

Forrester B. Washington
Director.

W

Atlanta University

November 28, 1947

Mrs. Virginia Lacy Jones, Acting Librarian
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Jones:

It was mighty kind of you to send back my earnest of good faith. Your librarian on duty accepted me without question but as I had no formal entitlement to take out a book, I thought it would be business-like to make a deposit.

The book is a great help to my student at Oglethorpe. I will get it back in due time.

My wife is a trained librarian so I feel a special kinship to everyone in your job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

LIBRARY
ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
273 CHESTNUT STREET
ATLANTA, GEORGIA
~~WALLACE VAN JACKSON~~
LIBRARIAN

November 26, 1947

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. George S. Mitchell:

It was not necessary for you to leave the five dollar deposit on the book borrowed from the Atlanta University Library. Therefore, I am returning your five dollar bill.

We are pleased to extend to you the services of the Library.

Sincerely,

Virginia Lacy Jones

(Mrs.) Virginia Lacy Jones
Acting Librarian

VLJ:k
Enc. 1

a.U.

December 11, 1947

Atlanta University
Atlanta
Georgia

Att: Mrs. C. Nabrit

Dear Mrs. Nabrit:

It gives me much pleasure to enclose the attached check for the very delightful luncheon which the University provided for our member guest on the day of the Annual Meeting November 12. It was much enjoyed and we are very grateful to the University and to you personally for all the careful thought and good planning which characterized the arrangement for the entire day.

If at any time we can be of service to you in any way, I hope you will not hesitate to call on us.

With kindest good wishes for the holidays and the coming year, I am

Most sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

encl.

AM:s

a. u.

February 6, 1948

Mr. Mozell C. Hill
Department of Sociology
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hill:

I shall be delighted to serve as a resource person for the Civil Rights Meeting of the Conference on Intergroup Education.

As you know, I shall be tied up with the Council's meeting all day Friday, February 27 (except for the evening meeting at Sisters Chapel), but I am at your service at any time on February 28.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

Atlanta University

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

March 3, 1948

RECEIVED
8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell, Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

The teachers of sociology and the College Study in Intergroup Relations of the Atlanta University Center wish to express their appreciation of your services in helping us to conduct our recent All-Atlanta Student-Faculty Conference on Civil Rights. We think you will be interested in knowing that over two thousand students and faculty members participated, and that the conference from our standpoint was a success. This would not have been possible were it not for the enthusiastic support which you and others gave, for which we are indeed grateful.

Within the next few days, the Student Steering Committee will meet and design ways and means by which we may work toward the goals upon which the conference agreed. We also intend to publish Proceedings of the conference which we shall send you.

Again, we would like to thank you.

Cordially yours,

Mozell C. Hill

Mozell C. Hill, Chairman
College Study in Intergroup Relations

MCH:b

1a - Misc
Atlanta University

June 2, 1949

The Library
Atlanta University
273 Chestnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

The attached book, Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth, which was found here, appears to be astray from the Atlanta University Library.

We do not know whether it is a book, borrowed by us, or whether it was left here by some one else. If the former, accept our thanks for its use and our regrets for any delay in returning it.

At any rate, we are glad to get it back to you.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

April 7, 1944

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

As I said in conversation last week, I am terribly sorry that I have been on the go so constantly that I have not had time to give proper attention to your letter of March 21. I quite understand the feeling which prompted you to write me, and I want you to know that I appreciated your letter. I have had much of the same feeling myself. In fact I have been considerably worried during the interval which has elapsed since the charter meeting in February. I suppose that many people do not realize that the Council did not exist as an organized body until February 17, and that the by-laws which were adopted at the charter meeting set up such a democratic structure that the Executive Directors are in the position of having to wait for further actions by the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors before they can proceed with some of the steps which should be taken. For example, we should have put on a membership drive before now, but we were up against the fact that the by-laws provide that members are elected by the membership or by the Board of Directors under such conditions as the Board may prescribe. You may recall that when the Board met just after the charter member meeting, I urged them to take time to consider a number of things so that the Council could function more efficiently, and that the Board members were so worn out with a two-day meeting and so anxious to catch trains home that they did not want to stay very long. Dr. Reid and I were completely smothered with details for several weeks, and it was not until March 22 that we could get a date for a meeting of the Executive Committee on which we would be assured of a quorum. The Committee elected Dr. Odum president to fill the place of Bishop Moore, who had decided that he could not give time to the presidency, and it helped with various other actions, but there were still some important matters which can be settled only by the Board. For some time we have been trying to arrange a date for a meeting of the Executive Committee and of the Board, and I believe that in a few days we can send out a call for these meetings to be held some time during the first week of May. The executive Committee will have certain definite recommendations to make to the Board, and after these recommendations are acted upon I am sure that we can proceed more effectively.

Let me make the following brief comments on the specific points which you raised:

1. The charter membership of the Council up to the time of the charter meeting consisted of those members of the Interracial Commission and of the Durham-Atlanta-Richmond conferences who had accepted election to

charter membership up to February 16. This made a group of about 215. You will recall that at the meeting it was voted to extend charter membership to all of the signers of the Atlanta statement. There are about 200 persons in this group and we are receiving every day acceptances from them, so that we will probably soon have about 400 members. As I stated above, any general membership campaign will have to wait until the Board has set up the machinery. In a way this seems ridiculous, but it is the price of having a democratic structure. As soon as possible we shall put on a campaign for members and contributors, and I see no reason why the membership should not be fully representative.

2. As for the channels through which the membership can participate in the program of the Council, we have been working on this problem at the office and in the Executive Committee. Again we need definite implementation by the Board, since our counsel has advised us that the matter of affiliation by other groups or subsidiaries involves legal as well as strategic considerations. We want all the advice we can get on the question of the best way to utilize the service of Council members, and particularly on the question of whether we should undertake to organize numerous local Councils patterned after the Southern Regional Council.

3. In the meantime, we have been doing everything we can until further limitations are removed by action of the Board. We have had a tremendous amount of detail to take care of in the office, and Dr. Reid and I have prepared the March issue of Southern Frontier, spoken at numerous meetings of organizations which are interested in cooperating with us, and made some progress toward finding new personnel for the staff. We have also started on a quiet campaign to get influential white people in several states to issue statements similar to the one issued in South Carolina by way of rebuke to the people who have been rabble-rousing lately.

4. It is obvious from what I have said that certain questions can not be answered at present by the Executive Directors. All final authority is of course vested in the members, but I hope that the members and the Board will define general policies and strategies and will leave the details of implementation to the discretion of the Executive Committee and the Executive Directors.

As I have mentioned above, we had an Executive Committee meeting on March 22. Five of the seven elected members of the Executive Committee were present. Fortunately the Board of Directors had specifically authorized the Executive Committee to fill any vacancy caused by any person's failure to accept election. Consequently they were able to elect Dr. Odum and to get his acceptance by telephone before the meeting adjourned. The Committee helped further by taking further actions which it had authority to take, but it was handicapped by the fact that the Board had not passed any specific resolution defining its authority. We have been trying recently to line up another meeting of the Executive Committee and a meeting of the Board.

In a few days I think we can announce these meetings for some date during the first week of May. Dr. Reid and I will have certain definite recommendations to make to the Executive Committee, which in turn will act upon them and make recommendations to the Board. It will be a great relief to get the Board together and to get action on several important questions so that we can operate more effectively.

Through some hitch, the person who was handling the story about the Executive Committee and the election of Dr. Odum failed to get it in the papers. The Executive Committee is composed of: Francis R. Bridges, Jr., Tallahassee, Florida; Dr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Georgia; Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Richmond, Virginia; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Nashville, Tennessee; Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Georgia; and Miss Josephine Wilkins, Atlanta, Georgia; plus the four officers of the Council, Dr. Howard W. Odum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Dr. Homer P. Rainey, Austin, Texas; Carter Wesley, Houston, Texas; and Dr. P. B. Young, Norfolk, Virginia.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

March 21, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I have really wanted to send you a letter ever since the incorporation meeting of the Southern Regional Council but because of the pressure of other matters, and my reluctance to appear impatient or unduly critical in the early stages of a large and time consuming undertaking, I have not written until now. It seems to me extremely important however that certain fundamental questions about the Council be answered, or at least that sound processes for arriving at the answers be set in motion soon. Many people hope that the Council will be able to realize substantial gains toward the larger objectives which have been defined, but some people also feel that any such realization of objectives will be influenced by the extent to which democratic processes are established and operative in the early stages of the Council's development.

Trusting that you will understand the spirit in which this comes, my concerns are these:-

What is to be the Council's membership, and what steps can be taken to make it "fully representative" of the interests encompassed by the Council's proposed program?

What should be the basis of support for the work of the Council, and what are to be the channels through which the membership, present and future, can participate in its program?

When, how and within what areas of the Council's proposed program, is some program activity to be initiated?

I am most of all concerned about how, when and by whom such questions as these are to be answered.

Some of the membership hoped that there would be provision for the consideration of these matters in the February membership meeting, or if that proved to be impossible that the first board meeting would have set in motion procedures through which recommendations might have been developed for the early consideration of the membership.

The increasing number of comments appearing in print about the Council and its program, or lack of it, and the inability of people who have confidence in its possibilities to speak with any real knowledge about these fundamental questions, seem to me to be debilitating influences.

Since time does march on, I am sure that you are eager to have the Council realize its full potentialities, I, as an interested member, pass these queries on to you for whatever they may be worth.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Grace T. Hamilton

Grace Towns Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League

GTHAMILTON:MLB

May 5, 1944

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Thank you very much for your memorandum entitled "A Proposal for The Field Service of The Southern Regional Council." I think it is splendid, and I want the Council to plan right away to inaugurate this consultative service and make it available to public and private agencies of all sorts.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

May 4, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson, Director
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I suppose many suggestions from many sources are coming to you about the program, and program methods of the Southern Regional Council. I have been thinking about how the Council's objectives can come to have impact in Southern communities, and about the ways in which such individuals and groups as have an interest in these objectives can be helped to know "what to do", and their efforts to do something promoted.

The enclosed proposal for the field service of the Council is submitted for your hopper of ideas to be considered if and as you see fit in the development of a program and a staff to implement it.

Yours cordially,

Grace T. Hamilton

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary

GTH:B
ENC.

63 Auburn Avenue Room 432

January 24, 1945

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Herndon Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

In behalf of the Southern Regional Council and with the indirect approval of the Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association, I wish to confirm the understanding reached at our conference last week with respect to the promotion of a work conference on "Techniques in Human Relations" to be sponsored by the Atlanta Urban League in cooperation with the Southern Regional Council, the Social Planning Council and such other agencies as might care to participate.

Perhaps I should set forth at this time some of the principles underlying such a conference. Sometime ago, Dr. Charles S. Johnson mentioned to me the fact that the American Missionary Association in cooperation with the Department of Social Sciences at Fisk University was tremendously interested in establishing a series of Race Relations Institutes in the South. It was our understanding that these institutes need not be specifically designated as our race relations ones, but that their emphasis might be upon the problems which are faced in human relations generally. I think that the plan agreed upon by you, Mrs. Chester and myself will be quite acceptable to Dr. Johnson.

In this connection, the American Missionary Association was preparing to help with the program and the provision of speakers as desired for these specific meetings.

I trust that the Board of the Atlanta Urban League will approve what I sense to be a unique and distinct step in

the field of developing adequate practices in a co-area of social welfare.

Sincerely yours,

Ira De A. Reid
Associate Executive Director

IDR:rha
cc:
Dr. Charles S. Johnson
Dr. Guy B. Johnson

Atlanta Urban League

February 8, 1945

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. Charles Johnson
Mr. Charles H. Lawrence
Dr. Ira DeA Reid

From: Grace T. Hamilton

Re: The Georgia Institute

Thank you for the memorandum of February 5. In view of the Southern Regional Council's willingness to assume sponsorship of a three or four day Institute for Georgia, and of the impossibility of securing financial assistance for a one day workshop, it would seem best for the Council to proceed without the involvements of the workshop cooperatively sponsored by the Atlanta Urban League.

The Atlanta Urban League's board, staff and staff representatives of the Social Planning Council have considered the possibility of a longer meeting planned for a state-wide constituency, and have agreed that we cannot accept sponsorship responsibility for such a meeting at this time. We believe that a one day workshop for lay and professional personnel of the agencies in metropolitan Atlanta engaged in the planning and administration of health and welfare service would contribute a good deal to improved community relationships. We also believe that such a workshop would have an influence indirectly throughout the state, because of Atlanta's strategic position. We regret very much that such a proposal cannot have the financial assistance of the American Missionary Association's Race Relations Department. We will probably postpone our plans for such a workshop, since another less concentrated meeting held in Atlanta would too greatly diffuse the interest and attention given by the participants whom we would hope to have. We feel that the time available for continued participation by the Atlanta group, and our staff resources for assistance in the planning and execution, permits only a one day meeting. We also believe it inadvisable for our agencies to disregard certain public relation considerations, by sponsoring a state-wide meeting to which would be invited many of the same people who would have been active participants in other state conferences, which have been recently cancelled in compliance with the government's request.

We hope to be kept in touch with the developing plans of the Southern Regional Council for the Georgia Institute, so that we may be able to encourage our board and staff members' participation in parts of the program.

cc: Mrs. Mildred Chester, Atlanta Social Planning Council
Dr. Guy Johnson

The School Executive

VOLUME 65 OCTOBER, 1945 NUMBER 2

KEYNOTES

An American Problem

THE educational disadvantages suffered by Negro children constitute a story that has been written many times. Never has the story been better portrayed than in the recent report of the Atlanta Urban League describing the Negro schools of that city. Factual, concise, pictorial, and impersonal, this document spreads the facts for all to see and ponder. Investment in school property is six dollars per white child; one dollar per Negro child. The average class for white teachers is 29 pupils; for Negro teachers, 40 pupils. Kindergartens are found in every elementary school for white children; not a single kindergarten for Negroes.

Such data are not merely a problem for Negroes in Atlanta. The problem of vast and dangerous educational inequalities exists in many cities and in many states, North and South. It is not exclusively a problem of racial differentiation, for there are many white children who do not have kindergartens or decent elementary schools, or school libraries, or vocational training opportunities.

This is an American problem. It must be dealt with by the citizens of Atlanta and of thousands of other local communities, by the states, by the nation. Until *all* Atlanta youth and *all* American youth have a decent and inalienable minimum of educational opportunity, the foundations of this democracy will be weakened, its idealism tarnished, and its future imperiled.

The Atlanta Journal

18 THURSDAY, DEC. 13, 1945

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Better Schooling for All

IN A PETITION based on undisputed figures, a group of Negro parents says there is discrimination in the Atlanta public school system and asks educational equity for their children. The Board of Education has assigned the petition to committees for study

A survey shows that the amount Atlanta spends per Negro pupil educated is little more than one-third of the amount expended for each white child. It also shows: that one-third of Atlanta's school-age children are Negroes, but that the city's investment in land and buildings for Negro schools is only one-sixth of the total investment; that the proposed postwar building program for Atlanta public schools shrinks the Negro's share to less than one-sixth. This distribution of funds means that Negro children must be taught in what is known as the "double session," in which they receive in crowded classrooms only three and a half hours of schooling daily instead of the six hours received by white children; that there is a lamentable lack of vocational training facilities; that there is only one kindergarten for approximately 1,000 children of kindergarten age; that library facilities provide only 1.4 books per Negro child, compared with an average of 6.5 for each white child.

The petitioners are not asking that anything be taken away from the white pupils. They're asking only that facilities and opportunities for Negro pupils be expanded so that tax funds levied for support of all public school pupils will be more equitably distributed.

It is generally acknowledged that the well-being of a community is dependent upon the progress of all its people. So long as a segment of the population is denied adequate educational opportunities, the entire community will suffer in juvenile delinquency, crime, poor citizenship and economic distress. Those who are denied the opportunity to become self-sufficient will always be a drag on the community. The place to give them an opportunity is in our public schools.

One great hope for more funds with which to improve educational opportunities for both Negroes and whites suffered a blow Wednesday when the House Education Committee voted, 10 to 9, not to recommend passage of a federal-aid-for-education bill. A three-year fight for federal funds is over, at least temporarily, in the House, though a similar bill is pending in the Senate. This means there is no early prospect for federal aid.

It means that we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that public education is primarily a problem for the states and local communities; that we must help ourselves by providing as best we can for the educational opportunities for every child in the community; and that in order to do this we must dig into our own pockets.

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The
Atlanta Journal

Daily and Sunday

Issued Daily and Sunday and entered as second-class matter at the post office at Atlanta under Act of March 3, 1879. The Atlanta Georgian and Sunday American absorbed by purchase 1939.

The Journal Covers Dixie Like the Dew

THURSDAY, DEC. 14, 1944

Light on a Basic Problem

A REPORT presented to the Atlanta Board of Education by The Atlanta Urban League throws much light on a fundamental community problem, the inadequacy of public school opportunities for Negro children. According to figures compiled by the League, Atlanta ranks in this respect behind such Southern cities as Houston, Jacksonville, Nashville and Dallas, although it has a greater Negro school population per thousand than these cities. For instance, Atlanta, with 26,528 Negro school population, has only .5 schools per 1,000 population while Houston, with only 18,000 Negro school population, has 1.7 schools per 1,000; and Jacksonville, with 10,046 Negro school children population, has 2.6 schools per 1,000.

The analysis shows further that Negro children, comprising more than one-third of the total school age population, have only 20 per cent of the 65 public school buildings; that the total 1941-42 per-pupil expenditure for Negroes was $37.80 as against $108.70 for white pupils; that public school property represents an investment of $887 for each Negro pupil as against $2,156 for each white pupil; that under the "double-session" system in overcrowded Negro schools the pupils receive only three and one-half hours' instruction daily while the white pupil gets the full six hours. The analysis points up many other comparable discrepancies, in library, public health, vocational training and other school facilities.

While these are unpleasant facts, we think they deserve the public's attention as well as that of the Board of Education. If Atlanta is duly to progress, the progress will have to be measured in terms of her entire population, not in terms of two-thirds.

What to do about it? The League makes specific recommendations, among them that double sessions in all the public schools be eliminated, that the same teacher-pupil ratio be established for all schools, that Negro school facilities be expanded and improved, that new schools, particularly a high school, be built in central locations, that a total of 353 Negro teachers be added to the present staff, that the per-pupil expenditures be equalized, and that the number of books per pupil be equalized.

The recommendations would cost an esimated $4,605,000, exclusive of the land needed for the new buildings. It is an ambitious program, calling for the outlay of much money in a community which already spends in support of education a greater proportion of its revenue than that spent by many with more abundant resources. Any funds for expansion of facilities for Negro children must be in additiion to those already spent, since it would be folly to cripple one program simply to aid another.

The League has presented a tremendous problem to the Board of Education and to the entire community. The report deserves earnest and sympathetic study.

The Atlanta Journal
WEDNESDAY, DEC. 27, 1944

A Needed Voice

Milwaukee Journal

A REPORT of the Urban League of Atlanta, Ga., to the Board of Education of that city gives a statistical and factual picture of the status of Negro education there. To quote from The Atlanta Journal:

> The analysis shows that Negro children, comprising more than one-third of the total school age population, have only 20% of the 65 public school buildings; that the total 1941-'42 per pupil expenditure for Negroes was $37.80 as against $108.70 for white pupils; that public school property represents an investment of $887 for each Negro pupil as against $2,156 for each white pupil; that under the "double session" system in overcrowded Negro schools, the pupils receive only three and one-half hours' instruction daily while the white pupil gets the full six hours. The analysis points up many other comparable discrepancies, in library, public health, vocational training and other school facilities.

For The Atlanta Journal loudly to condemn the situation and demand action to improve school facilities for Negro children is further heartening proof of a growing concern among the white leaders of the deep South over the welfare of the colored population.

The vigorous stand of one outstanding Southerner or one leading Southern newspaper can be expected to influence more local public opinion, to bestir more real progress toward better race relations, than the most vehement denunciations that emanate from points north of the Mason and Dixon line.

Such a voice has long been needed. More power to it.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION . . EDITORIAL PAGE

CLARK HOWELL
President and Publisher

H. H. TROTTI
Vice President and Business Manager

SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1945.

RALPH McGILL, Editor

RALPH T. JONES, Associate Editor

JACK TARVER, Associate Editor

The Need for Additional Negro Schools

While based on conditions which have long existed, the shocking inadequacies of Atlanta's facilities for Negro education—as presented in concise form in a pamphlet "The Negro School Child in Atlanta"—are occasioning no little concern among the thinking people of this city.

The pamphlet, based on a comprehensive report compiled by the Atlanta Urban League, shows in graphic manner that, whereas 37.4 per cent of the Atlanta children of school age are Negro, we have only 13 Negro schools as against 52 white. It shows that, in terms of school property, we have invested six dollars in white schools for every dollar in Negro schools, that the per-pupil expenditure for education in 1941-42 was $108.70 for whites against $37.80 for Negroes.

These are startling figures. And the traditional answer—that Negroes pay an even smaller proportionate share of the tax burden—will not hold water in these enlightened days. It is obvious that the Negro will never be able to carry a larger portion of the cost of government until he is sufficiently educated to become an economic asset rather than a liability.

Johns-Manville

Sales Corporation

December 23, 1946

101 Marietta Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

I went out yesterday and talked with Mr. Charles R. Edwards at 1686 Westwood Avenue, S.W. and left with him the literature on the Atlanta Urban League. I found that he is a fine young chap who has just finished serving three years in the Navy and is now working with the Veterans Administration. He was under an entirely wrong impression as to the Atlanta Urban League, its purpose and work. He felt that this was a political organization with Communistic leanings. After talking with him for a few minutes I found that he was entirely in accord with the purpose and work that the Atlanta Urban League is carrying on.

Mr. Edwards suggested that perhaps other people in Atlanta have a wrong opinion also of this organization and that it would be well, at some future appropriate date such as during the next Chest campaign, to clarify the purpose of the Atlanta Urban League and the work being done by it.

I believe that it was very much worthwhile in this particular case to follow up Mr. Edwards' letter with a personal call so as to clear up his misunderstanding. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Wilson, Director of the Atlanta Community Chest, for his information.

May I also take this opportunity of wishing to you and all the staff of the Atlanta Urban League a Happy Christmas, continued progress in the good work you are doing, as well as increased happiness and prosperity during the coming year.

Sincerely,
(Signed)
T. J. Roberts

TJR/m

cc: Mr. Kenneth M. Wilson
P. O. Box 1038
Atlanta, Georgia

TELEPHONE:
WALNUT 2355

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

239 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. • ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

January 3, 1947

To: Members of the Board of Directors

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

The first meeting of the Board of Directors for the New Year will be held Wednesday, January 8, at 2:30 P. M. in the Assembly Room of the League's office.

You will recall that in our December meeting it was agreed that the January meeting would be held on Wednesday instead of Thursday in order to permit the attendance of some members who are unable to attend on Thursdays.

We sincerely hope that you will make every effort to be present.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

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February 1, 1947

To: The Membership of the Atlanta Urban League

From: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

From time to time announcements come to us which we think would interest you.

We are enclosing announcements of an album of records and two new books which are now available. Both the recordings and the books are of high quality and both may be regarded as unusual contributions to collections of Negro culture.

You will be interested to know that during 1947 the Atlanta Urban League hopes to greatly increase the number of individuals who are directly related to our program through memberships and direct contributions. May we ask you to help by introducing and interpreting our program to your acquaintances?

We enclose a membership blank in the hope that you will pass it on to someone who will use it. Will you also send us the names and addresses of individuals whom you suggest that we send information about our program, about the National Urban League and about Opportunity Magazine, a Quarterly Journal of Negro Life? In this way you will help to enlarge the number who are acquainted with our purpose and who may wish to help in its achievement.

SPELMAN COLLEGE
665 Ella Street, SW
Atlanta, Georgia

NOW READY

Album of 2 records (5 numbers) of the Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman Chorus, directed by Mr. Kemper Harreld, including the following numbers:

"Round the Glory Manger"
(Negro Jubilee)
Arr. Willis Laurence James
Mattiwilda Dobbs, Soprano

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"New Born"
(Negro Spiritual)
Arr. John W. Work
Mattiwilda Dobbs, Soprano
Robert Williams, Tenor

"I Wonder As I Wander"
(Appalachian Carol)
Arr. Niles and Horton
Mae Belle Finch, Soprano

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"Leaning on the Lord"
"Yonder Come Day"
(Negro Jubilee)
Mae Belle Finch, Soprano

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ORDER BLANK

I enclose $5.15 (check) (money order), payable to Spelman College, covering $5 for Album of two records (five numbers) and 15¢ postage. Please mail to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone No. _____ State _____

Ordered by _____

P.S. I should like to have you send me _____ additional order blanks to mail to friends whom I think may be interested.

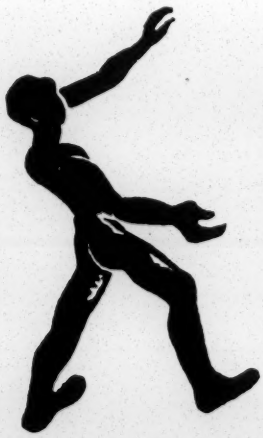
Dated _____

TWO UNUSUAL BOOKS
FROM AFRICA BY A GIFTED, NEW AUTHOR

HOW GOD FIX JONAH

By LORENZ GRAHAM
Wood engravings by
LETTERIO CALAPAI

THE best known and cherished tales of a people frequently find their way into the lore of another people and take on new forms without losing their basic dignity and meaning. Lorenz Graham has set down in this book the stories of the Christ Child, Jonah, Ruth, Job and the rest, in the words of a modern African boy unacquainted with Western civilization. He tells them in a dialect stripped down to the essentials of the life he knows, and in his wonderfully simple, rhythmic phrasing the Bible tales are re-endowed with the vitality and human qualities of their primitive origins.



Letterio Calapai's inspired wood engravings carry the same power and simplicity; they are, in his own words, "a direct outgrowth of the text."

Foreword by W. E. B. Du Bois

From our adult list
October $2.50

TALES OF MOMOLU

By LORENZ GRAHAM
Pictures by LETTERIO CALAPAI

THESE are stories of a Liberian boy who lives a gay and happy life in his own country, knowing nothing about the world beyond. Momolu learns the things a boy should know. He learns lessons the natural way. He faces danger and learns of courage. When his pet monkey waves good-bye, he discovers freedom. Momolu's father is Flumbo who is strong and brave and wise. Momolu is proud when he hears people say, "Flumbo can do." He wants to be like his father, so that some day people will say, "Flumbo can do and his son, Momolu, can do same way."

Lorenz Graham brought these stories from Africa for his own children. They are rich in color, and so simply told that younger children will hear them gladly, so beautifully written that older children will enjoy them as well.

Ages eight and up
Beautiful line illustrations
5½ x 8 October $2.50

REYNAL & HITCHCOCK
8 West 40th Street New York 18, N. Y.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

Thursday Evening, May 1, 8:00 P. M.

ATLANTA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AUDITORIUM

33 Pryor Street, N. E.

Atlanta, Georgia

PROGRAM

— • —

A. T. Walden, Chairman of the Board of Directors, Presiding

— • —

"AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL"

O beautiful for spacious skies, for amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties above the fruited plain!
America! America! God shed His grace on thee,
And crown thy good with brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for patriot dream that sees beyond the years
Thine alabaster cities gleam undimmed by human tears!
America! America! God shed His grace on thee!
And crown thy good with brotherhood,
From sea to shining sea!

INVOCATION.....Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
President Morehouse College

"NOCTURNE" .....Cain

"HOMING" .....Del Riego
Spelman College Quartet

INTRODUCTION OF SPEAKERS.....Dr. George Mitchell

MR. BERTRAM GROSS
Assistant to the Chairman, President's Council of Economic Advisers.

DR. CHARLES H. HOUSTON
Vice-President of American Council on Race Relations.

REPORT OF NOMINATING
COMMITTEE .....Mrs. Harry M. Gershon

COMMENTS ON THE YEAR'S WORK....Mrs. G. T. Hamilton

"LIFT EVERY VOICE AND SING".....James Weldon Johnson

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the list'ning skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling sea.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us:
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us;
Facing the rising sun
Of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who hast by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray,
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we
met Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world,
we forget Thee.
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God, true to our Native Land.

BENEDICTION.....Rev. Homer McEwen
First Congregational Church

CONFERENCE ON

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Friday, May 2, 1947 — 10:00 A. M.

239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. — Room 400

CONFERENCE ON ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE MAY 2, 1947

PREPARATORY MEMORANDUM NO. I

Subject: The Problem of Non-Promotability of Negro Firemen.

In the transportation division of the railroad industry two principles are of prime importance to workers: seniority and promotability. By seniority the worker is entitled to preference of jobs and lay-offs are always made from the junior man on the seniority list up. By promotion the fireman passes to the rank of engineer; the brakeman or flagman to the rank of conductor.

Negroes by tradition in the railroad industry are never given the chance to qualify and be promoted from fireman to engineer, from brakeman or flagman to conductor regardless of individual merit or experience. The results is the Negro fireman and brakeman are known as non-promotables, in contrast with the white firemen and brakemen who are known as "promotables."

The fact of non-promotability of Negroes makes the working conditions of the white firemen more onerous than those of the Negro firemen, for the following reasons:

1. Except as special restrictions are written into collective bargaining agreements covering firemen's wages, rules and working conditions, (under attack) Negroes are given the same seniority rights as whites. Whereas a white fireman after a few years passes into the rank of engineer, the Negro fireman remains a fireman, and exercise his seniority to pick the best jobs on the fastest main line trains. There are Negro firemen in the South on every seniority district where Negro firemen are working with more than 25 years seniority. This usually puts an indigestible lump of Negro firemen at the top of the seniority roster, with the best jobs; so that white firemen as firemen seldom have a chance at the best fireman jobs unless some special restrictions are placed on Negro firemen exercising straight seniority rights.

2. Nowadays the fireman earns almost as much as the engineer on the same train, yet his work is much less and his job much easier. Stoker fired engines on steem locomotives, and diesel electric locomotives have taken the labor out of firemen's jobs. Some firemen on main line trains make over $400.00 per month working less than three hours a day. "Working" means sitting up in the engine, watching valves and gauges, and signals for the most part, while the engineer runs the train.

3. The "reserve labor force" of firemen and engineers on railroads is maintained for the espansion and recession of business as follows: by seniority firemen and engineers pick their assignment; when all regular assignments are filled, a number of firemen and engineers are placed on the "extra board" from which they are called in rotation to fill emergency assignments or to take the place of regularly assigned men temporarily off duty; in addition there usually is a number of junior men who are waiting to take their places on the extra board as older men drop out or business expands. For firemen the process is from "cut off" (the extra board), on to the extra board according to seniority, then on to regular assignment. By Negro firemen holding top places on the firemen's seniority rosters because they never move up to engineers, the junior white firemen take the burden of the expansion and recession of business, by being the first to lose their jobs and being put on the extra board when there is a recession of business, and being the first to be cut off the extra board when the board becomes too full.

An engineer holds two seniorities; his seniority as fireman and his seniority as engineer. His seniority as fireman is older because all railroads require an engineer to fire two to five years before he can qualify or be eligible to take the examination for promotion to engineer. The white fireman must study on his own time to qualify himself -- the railroad undertakes no responsibility for his instructions. Practically all railroads require the white firemen to take the examination for promotion after a certain period of fireman's service; and if he fail the examination after two or three attempts he is either discharged or else forfeits all accumulated seniority and goes to the foot of the fireman's roster. The Negro fireman does not have to take these promotional examinations. He does not hold his job against the chance that if he fails to pass the examination he will either be fired or dropped to the foot of the roster. His seniority steadily accumulates.

Moreover the white fireman has another disability. Once he has passed his promotional examinations and becomes eligible as an engineer, when called as an engineer, he must give up his job as fireman and accept the assignment as engineer. This is what is known as "protecting" his assignment. If the railroad did not make it mandatory on white firemen to take the calls as engineers, they would never voluntarily do so. When called as engineers they frequently have acquired as many as ten or twenty years seniority as firemen and are on steady

jobs and mainline trains; and when called as engineers they go to the foot of the engineers roster, usually are put on the extra board, and have to take any job which happens to be unprovided for. This may mean that a white fireman may find himself taken off a main line passenger job as fireman, and put to running a yard switch engine as engineer, with many more hours work per day and at much less pay.

When there is a business recession, the engineers are set back or cut off beginning with the junior engineer and working up the seniority list. They do not pass out of the service but go back to firing as firemen until called back as engineers. It frequently happens that on one day a white engineer may be running a main line job or regular job with a senior Negro fireman; the next day he may be cut off as engineer and sent back to firing. He may also have to take an undesirable firing job if junior to the other fireman.

In short since the Negro remains a fireman throughout his service and by seniority holds the best jobs, the economic and employment hazards of the railroads operation fall on the white fireman.

The Negro would share these hazards if he were made eligible for promotion to the rank of engineer, and thus forced to take promotion on the same terms as the white firemen.

****

The factors operating against the promotion of Negro firemen to engineers are, among other things:

1. The fact that Negro firemen are employed only in the South, makes the very employment of Negro firemen in the South a sort of dispensation which Southern railroad management is always ready to point out that it is treating the Negro better by allowing him to serve as a fireman than does the North. The problem of promotion is inseparably connected with spreading the employment of Negro firemen over the entire United States.

2. The fact that Negroes are employed only in the South means that if Negroes were promoted to engineer they would be serving in the South. It is important to realize that a fireman or engineer on the railroad accumulates seniority only on one seniority district (a fraction of the entire road). If he

transfers to another seniority district, he loses all his seniority and becomes a junior man on the new district even if he has served forty years on the old. Part of this rule is the necessity of the fireman and engineer knowing the line backwards, in daylight, at night, in fair weather or storm until they have a second sight on where they are, what is in front of them and the conditions of the line at any given time and place. Recently I rode in the Diesel engine of the Humming Bird, the new L. & N. coach train. The engineer had 52 years seniority on the district between Louisville and Nashville, and had never served a day on any other part of the line. (The fireman on that engine was white with thirty years seniority. The Humming Bird is one of the best trains and best jobs. I asked the fireman what would happen if he got a call as engineer on a switch engine. He said he would have to take it, to protect his seniority as engineer, and get off the Humming Bird.)

The engineer is in charge of the movement of the engine, which in turn controls the train. (The conductor is in charge of the movement of the train, and has final responsibility even over the engineer.) The engineer bosses the fireman. The South has always hesitated or refused to put a Negro (with rank) in the position of exercising supervisory authority over white men. The South will let a Negro boss white men in fact, so long as he is not "officially recognized" as having the right to boss them.

Railroad management in the South -- as far as we have contacted it-has uniformly taken the position that the time is not "ripe" and the South "not ready" for the promotion of Negroes to engineers, with the official authority and official responsibility which such position carries.

Management claims to be afraid of sabotage, multiple damage claims, and all sort of difficulties with the public if it should try to promote Negroes to engineers. (If the war had gone on another year Negroes would have been promoted to engineers because of the manpower shortage, but we have consistently taken the position we do not want promotion at that cost of suffering and misery.) The truth is that the promotion of Negroes to engineers would meet some resistance, the degree depending upon the skill and judgment with which the movement was inaugurated and the circumstances surrounding the promotion. Management in raising all its so-called fears, is rationalizing its own prejudices.

3. The problem of promoting Negroes to engineers meets a human problem in regard to many of the old Negro firemen now in service. They entered the

service under conditions where they could expect no promotion, and they have never prepared themselves for promotion. The better educated and more ambitious Negro did not take a job as locomotive fireman because there was no future in it. Railroad was a hazardous industry in the old days and even with white firemen the level of education was low in the past, some of the old engineers do not have more than a grammar education. But the white man at least had a future on the railroad, limited only by his own ability to perform and sell himself to his employers. The Negro was arbitrarily kept down, with the result that the older Negro firemen are practical experts (they had to be to hold theur jobs -- they broke in most of the white firemen in the old days and did a lot toward instructing the white engineers in the actual operation of their engines), but they are woefully short on theoretical knowledge. If the ban to promotion were erased tomorrow, it would take two or three years before it would be reasonable to force the older Negro fireman up against promotional examinations. Some of the old firemen do not want promotion.

4. It is easy to see how removing the promotion bar might raise jealousies among the ranks of white firemen and enginemen. They gripe about the non-promotion policy throwing all the employment hazards of the railroad operation on them; but they would gripe about the new competition of Negroes for jobs as engineers. Their ready solution to the problem would be to eliminate the Negro from employment as fireman and confine him to the traditional Negro jobs: Pullman porter, dining car service, track work, and certain lower classifications of shop laborers. The basic approach to this reactionary attitude on the part of white firemen and enginemen is to make it unmistakably plain to them that the Negro is a permanent part of the labor force as firemen on the railroads all over the country, and that their own salvation is to work for the removal of the non-promotion policy in order to establish uniform working conditions for all firemen.

5. The problem of non-promotability is also inevitably tied up with the problem of employment: <u>that Negroes are a permanent part of the labor force and will continue to be hired.</u>

Unless the bar of non-promotion is removed management has no incentive to continue hiring Negro firemen. In the remote past, management hired Negro firemen chiefly to cripple the labor movement, to split the ranks of firemen between white and Negro and prevent the too rapid improvement of working conditions by playing one group off against the other; and secondly, because the Negro

fireman was economically profitable. The Negro did not get standard wages, and usually worked for a substantially less wage than the white firemen. The result was that management did not care whether the Negro was promotable or not, because it was still profitable to use him. But now that the railroad industry is regulated by law and unit collective bargaining by class or craft made compulsory under the Railway Labor Act, management cannot play the white and Negro fireman off against each other to the same extent as before. And since the Negro fireman obtained standard wages, the same as white firemen, under the U. S. Railroad Administration in the first World War, management would rather invest its money in a white fireman whom it can later use as engineer, foreman, superintendent and even president of the road, rather than put these standard wages in a Negro fireman whom it can never use except as a fireman.

The employment of Negro firemen has been dropping ever since standard wage rates were put into effect. The Brotherhoods have been consistently and maliciously hostile, as evidenced by their agreement with the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad in 1928 notto employ any more Negro firemen. The hiring of Negroes as firemen now is very rare; on some railroads no new Negro firemen have been hired since 1926.

Board Meeting

Atlanta Urban League

Thursday, April 24, 1947 - 3:00P.M.

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1947
Southern Regional Council

Present: Mr. Walden, presiding, Messrs Crawford, Greene, Henderson, Shulhafer, Mesdames Gershon, McClatchey and Wilson.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and R. A. Thompson.

Mr. Walden opened the meeting with prayer.

The minutes of the March 26th meeting were read and approved.

The executive reported the status of plans for the Annual Meeting on May 1, and for the Conference on Employment and Economic Opportunity, May 2. (Program and preparatory memorandum attached 1 and 2.)

Mrs. Gershon reported on board personnel for the Nominating Committee (Nominating Committee report attached - 3). She moved that the seven board members whose terms expire, be presented for reelection at the Annual Meeting, if they are willing to serve. Mr. Greene seconded the motion. Mr. Shulhafer questioned the advisability of automatically reelecting Board members as a matter of principal. Mrs. Gershon pointed out that the present board membership include more than one-third who have served less than one term. The motion was passed.

The executive presented a memorandum prepared by an informal and unofficial committee. The committee hopes to have the cooperation of all agencies and institutions in an effort to prepare the people against the "race hate" campaign which may be used in the State during the coming months. (Memorandum attached-4).

Adjournment.

Attached:
1. Annual Meeting Program
2. Preparatory Conference Memorandum
3. Nominating Committee report.
4. Confidential Memorandum

Nominating Committee Report

April 26, 1947

Elected in 1946 for terms 1946 - 1949

J. B. Blayton
Edward Kahn
A. T. Walden
George Mitchell
Walter Paschall
Mrs. C. R. Yates

Mrs. Howard Candler, Jr.

Elected in 1945 for terms 1945 - 1948

Mrs. Harry Gershon
Mrs. Devereaux McClatchey
Rev. J. M. Richardson
Mr. Philip Shulhafer
Mr. Daniel S. Thorpe
L. D. Milton

Elected in 1944 for terms 1944 - 1947

William Crawford
J. R. Henderson
A. V. Jett
Rufus Clement
Nelson Jackson
T. J. Roberts
F. B. Washington

Elected in 1946 for terms expiring 1947

Mrs. M. E. Tilly
C. W. Greene
R. L. Cousins

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM:

All indications are that race hate is going to be used in the forthcoming gubernatorial campaign inGeorgia to a degree heretofore unreached. Indications of this are already at hand. Concentration by state legislators on the white supremacy issue during the recent meeting of this body is but one example. ~~[illegible]~~ Distribution already has begun of inflamatory anti-Negro literature. The Ku Klux Klan is organizing desperately all over the State, attempting to get charter started in every hamlet and crossroad. The secret instructions have been issued by the Klan leaders that the Klan will be expected to play a major role in this political campaign, particularly in bringing this race issue to the fore. There will be heavy concentration by the Klan on rural areas. Rabble-rousers, like Gerald K. Smith, have beeen invited to invade Georgia to help this issue.

Main arguments being used to excite the fears of the white population -- particularly the underpriviledged -- are the following. Unless the white supremacy candidate is elected, we will have in Georgia: (a) abolition of segregation; (B) political control by the Negroes; (c) the FEPC will be passed and Negroes will be a threat to every white job holder in the state; (d) it will be an open invitation fpr every Negro man to violate white womanhood and mongrelize the race.

Raising the race issue during a political campaign is not only anti-religious, UnAmerican, and anti-Democratic, but it is also spurious (phony) because: (a) there is no political group in the State, including Negro groups, that advocate They only desire their rights as citizens in a Democracy. (c) There is no threat at this time of Negroes taking over white jobs. There is no political group in the State advocating passage of FEPC. (d) The charge that unless the white supremacy candidate is elected we will have wholesale intermarriages and violations of white womanhood by Negroes is an insult to the character and integrity of our white womanhood. As for the possibility of rape, we have and will have continued laws and police forces to prevent and protect all the women of this state against rape.

Why will the phony race issue be raised during the forthcoming campaign? It is a Hitler tactic used to hoodwink the prople of Georgia so that the corporations and important money interests can continue in control. In Hitler's Nazi Germany, it was "divide and conquer". In Georgia it is called "white supremacy".

The real issues in the forthcoming campaign will be those involving the welfare and w ell being of our people. These will include:

1. Better education
2. Better health
3. Increased living standards and jobs for all
4. Fair taxes.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE N. E. ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

May 28, 1947

Memorandum:

To: George Mitchell

From: Grace Hamilton

Herewith is the fact sheet in the housing situation. Suggested procedure is to write letter of protest to President Truman, with copy to Gale Sullivan, Chairman, Natl. Democratic Committee, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.; and letter to Raymond Foley, Administrator, National Housing Agency, Washington, D. C. Get others to write similar letters. Use whatever personal contacts may seem useful; and get others to do the same.

THE FACTS

Frank R. Creedon, National Housing Expediter, has announced termination of all Regional Racial Relations Advisers in the Veterans Housing Program, effective June 30.

This cuts off 23 professional and clerical workers, all but three of whom are Negroes. Eighteen of these are in field service, located as follows: Boston, 2; New York, 3; Chicago, 2; Atlanta, 2; Dallas, 3; San Francisco, 2; Seattle, 2; Cleveland, 2. Five were in the Washington office.

Neither Dr. Frank Horne, Special Assistant to the Administrator, and Chief of the Racial Relations service, nor his deputy, Dr. B. T. McGraw, were informed of the action until it was an accomplished fact.

Impact of Reduction-in-Force Action

The future of any racial relations service in Housing is very much in doubt. Without a field service, local operations would be ineffective.

The wiping out of the Racial Relations staff ends a ten year old governmental housing service considered by many as one of the most effective operations in the field of inter-racial relations.

Housing problems of minorities are right now most acute and are potential sources of racial tensions and conflict. The Racial Relations Service is geared up to do its most effective job at this crucial juncture.

Racial Relations field operations included assistance to builders, and financiers, in determining the private housing market among Negroes, help with site selection, construction labor problems and assuring community support for sound private and public developments available to racial minorities.

This is not the result of Republican budget slashing but rather insensitiveness of the present Administration to the housing needs and problems of Negroes and other racial minorities.

Background Information

Racial Relations operations in housing, now under direction of Dr. Frank S. Horne and his deputy Dr. B. T. McGraw, originated with the work of Dr. Robert C. Weaver in PWA and developed in USHA. This service, then available only to public housing, was expanded by Wilson Wyatt, former Housing Administrator-Expediter, into the Racial Relations Service as coordinated set-up available to Washington and field offices of NHA, FHA, FPHA and FHLBA. Its function was to assist all the housing agencies to assure equitable participation of Negroes and other minority groups in private as well as public federally-aided housing programs.

Interpretation:

This action by the Expediter could well be construed to indicate complete abandonment by the Administration of any productive efforts to help Negroes overcome the peculiar difficulties faced by them, by other racial minorities and low-income groups in securing livable housing at prices within their reach. If the service is to be upset now, at a time when it is sorely needed and when the housing problems of minority groups are in a most crucial state, it can only be interpreted as an arbitrary action to deny Negroes any fair representation and proportionate share in any governmental housing program; and as wasteful misuse of the government's investment in training and equipping representatives to deal with just such problems.

While the Regional Racial Relations Advisers operate under the office of the Housing Expediter at present, the vital point is that they be retained to continue doing the effective work for which they are equipped no matter under what agency. That is the important issue.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

June 3, 1947

To: Board of Directors - Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden - Chairman
G. T. Hamilton - Executive Secretary

The Atlanta Urban League's Board of Directors will meet on Wednesday, June 11, 1947 at 2:30 P.M. in the assembly room of the League's office.

The agenda will include:

(1) Approval of the 1948 budget request to the Greater Atlanta Community Chest.

(2) Endorsement of the proposed areas for expansion of Negro Housing in Atlanta developed by the Atlanta Housing Council.

(3) Discussion of proposed areas for program emphasis, and related personnel needs.

Due to the importance of every one of these questions, we hope that you will make a special effort to be present. This will be the last regular Board meeting of the summer. However, all Board members are asked to note on their calendars, Tuesday, July 15, 10:15 A.M., at which time the Budget Committee of the Greater Atlanta Community Chest will visit our agency to discuss with Board members our program and budgetory needs.

Please return the enclosed postal card.

RECEIVED
JUN 4 1947
Southern Regional Council

June 13, 1947

Mr. R. A. Thompson, Secretary
Atlanta Negro Housing Council
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Thompson:

I have read with much interest the enclosed plan. It seems to me imminently praiseworthy.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Collection Clarence Cannon Skinner

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

June 5, 1947

RECEIVED
JUN 6 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The praiseworthy efforts of many groups and interests, working together, are gradually overcoming the housing shortage. However, one phase of the housing problem cannot be solved until the future needs for Negro housing have been studied and anticipated, and provisions have been made to satisfy these needs. In order that future conflicts of interests may be avoided, a number of civic organizations have formed a temporary coordinating group, the Atlanta Negro Housing Council, to investigate and outline those sections of the Atlanta area best suited to expansion of Negro housing.

It is understood, of course, that no such plan could, constitutionally, have legal force, and could succeed only to the extent that it is generally accepted and recognized by civic leaders and those business interests which are most directly concerned with its development. Therefore, we are taking the liberty of sending you a copy of the plan, which we would like for you to study carefully. Kindly let us know what you think of it by appending your comments to the plan and returning it to us by July 1, 1947.

Thanking you for your interest and cooperation.

I am,

Yours cordially,

R. A. Thompson

R. A. Thompson
Secretary
Atlanta Negro Housing Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Enclosure.

RECEIVED
JUN 29 1947
Southern Regional Council

Board Meeting

Atlanta Urban League

Wednesday, June 11, 1947 ---------- 2:30 P.M.

Present: Messrs, Clement, Crawford, Henderson, Mitchell, Paschall, Roberts and Washington.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Messrs Thompson and Watson.

Mr. Clement presided in the absence of Mr. Walden.

The minutes of the May meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Thompson presented the plans and program of the Atlanta Housing Council for expansion of Negro residential areas. Endorsement of the plans are being requested of civic organizations in order to create a body of supporting public opinion. Upon motion by Mr. Paschall, approval of the plans was voted, and Mr. Paschall was asked to work with Mr. Thompson on drafting a letter expressing the support of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League. (Copies of the plans were distributed to Board members and are available.)

The executive presented a tentative budget request for 1948 for submission to the Community Chest. After discussion, the request was modified in the ways indicated and the budget request was approved. (Table attached shows 1947 approved budget, tentative request proposed for 1948, modified request submitted for 1948.)

The Board was reminded of the meeting with the Budget Committee of the Community Chest which will be held on July 15, at 10:00 A.M. in the League's office. Board members were asked to reserve this date on their calendars.

Adjournment.

The Atlanta Urban League
Analysis of 1948 Budget Request

The purpose and program of the Atlanta Urban League are described in the annual report, Timeless, which is appended hereto. The agency is increasingly looked to by the whole community for planning and community organization efforts for the civic and social welfare of the Negro population, and for the continued year around program of interpretation of all Red Feather Agencies serving Negroes in Atlanta. Its board of white and Negro citizens provides a regular channel for consideration of advisable courses of action in situations affecting the peace and well-being of the entire city. The normal existence and consistent operation of these consultative processes affords a service which is unique among Atlanta's social agencies. The services of the Atlanta Urban League have been described as a form of "social insurance" for the community.

Since the end of the war, the Atlanta Urban League has been involved in rapidly expanding programs of community action to remedy situations which threatened the amicable race relations in the city. The programs dealing with health, employment, education and housing are described in Timeless. In each program area during 1947, the community pressure for increased participation by the agency in developing sound plans and programs of action has been great with consequent taxing of the agency's resources. The extension of program required by efforts to remedy the critical situations caused by the acute housing shortage in the city illustrates best the urgency of the agency's need.

The Negro third of the city's population occupies somewhat less than one-sixth of the total land area within the city limits of Atlanta . In six of the nineteen census tracts where Negroes live, the population ratio exceeds 20,000 persons per square mile. Of the many thousands of Atlanta's Negro veterans of the last war, nea rly forty per cent are living doubled up in rooms without adequate sanitary and cooking facilities. The Negro population has overflowed the maximum possible use of present facilities with the result that colored families have been forced to move into housing areas in white fringe sections. Increasing friction between races and small scale attempts to rectify the situation have come about only because the Negro families involved have had no assistance and direction in determining which areas were most suitable for Negro housing and which areas could be used by them as their very own. The present overcrowding of central areas has resulted in a blight that tends to lower the values of adjacent properties and is a direct menace to health, safety, morals and the prosperity of the enitre community.

The League's housing program involves: (1) the location of undeveloped land tracts which seem appropriate areas for expansion of Negro housing to provide adequate residential accomodations from the point of view of employment of the group, extension of present Negro areas, and to round out the growth of the city to a more practical and economically sound concentric pattern. (2) The analysis of land ownership in the six tracts located.

(3) The interpretation of the need, the plan and the program to individuals and groups with an interest in the tracts involved. (4) The provision of leadership in the formation of such community corporations as will be able to acquire land and promote the construction of dwellings. (5) Organization within neighborhoods to insure the orderly development and maintenance of the areas.

Since the only available land for Negro residential expansion lies outside the city limits, the League's community organization program has been extended to widely separated areas ranging in distance from 1 to 15 miles beyond the city limits.

The proposed budget of the Atlanta Urban League for 1948 is $26,524 of which we are requesting $21,474 from the Greater Atlanta Community Chest. The total 1948 budget represents an increase of $6,369 over the 1947 approved budget and an increase of $4,193 in the amount requested from the chest. Explanation of the budget reques t follows:

INCOME

Donations and Gifts

The 1948 estimate on the contribution from Bailey Theaters is based on the amount actually received in 1946.

Membership

The League expects to steadily increase the amount to be raised from membership. $3,000 is budgeted for membership for 1948.

EXPENDITURES

Salaries and Wages

The changes in this section represent increases requested to maintain present agency personnel and to permit the employment of one additional staff member (Administrative Assistant). The amounts for salary for each job classification will enable the agency during 1948 to put into effect the minimum salary rates recommended by the National Urban League and to bring sala ries in line with prevailing rates for comparable positions in the community. The establishment of these minimum rates will prevent losses of staff leadership, upon whom the maturation of present program largely depends, to other agencies where the minimum rates are now in effect. The agency has faced personnel crises dnring 1947 due to this limitation.

The following list includes personnel presently employed and the amounts required for the year 1948.

Executive	$ 4,376
Administrative Assistant	2,400
Industrial and Veterans Secretary .x. .	3,976
Community Organization Secretary	2,876
" " "	2,776.

Stenographer	$1,800.00
"	1,800.00
Janitor	300.00
	$20,304.00

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
PROPOSED BUDGET
1948

	Approved Budget 1947	Budget Request (Tentative) 1948	Budget Request (Submitted) 1948
ESTIMATED EXPENDITURES:			
Salaries & Wages			
Executive and Assistant	$ 3,600.00 (1)	$ 6,900.00 (2)	$ 6,776.00 (2)
Departmental & Field Secretaries	7,900.00 (3)	10,200.00 (3)	9,628.00 (3)
Stenographic and Clerical	3,480.00 (2)	3,600.00 (2)	3,600.00 (2)
Janitor	180.00 (1)	300.00 (1)	300.00 (1)
Total Salaries & Wages	15,160.00	21,000.00	20,304.00
Institutional & Office			
Rent, Fuel, Light & Water	960.00	960.00	960.00
Minor Building Repairs	100.00	100.00	100.00
Minor Building Equipment Repairs	100.00	100.00	100.00
New Equipment and Replacements	250.00	500.00	250.00
Stationery, Printing, Office Supplies	500.00	1,500.00	990.00
Auto and Truck Operation and Upkeep	120.00	240.00	240.00
Other Transportation	30.00	30.00	30.00
Postage	350.00	500.00	450.00
Telephone & Telegraph	456.00	500.00	500.00
Insurance & Bonds	40.00	50.00	50.00
Retirement Fund	719.00	1,327.00	1,050.00
Total Institutional & Office	3,625.00	5,807.00	4,720.00
Educational			
Conferences & Conventions	300.00	500.00	400.00
Institutions & Training Courses	70.00	100.00	100.00
Nat'l and State Organization Dues	500.00	500.00	500.00
Productions & Exhibits	50.00	50.00	50.00
Printed Matter and Literature	200.00	200.00	200.00
Program Supplies and Equipment	150.00	150.00	150.00
Total Educational	1,270.00	1,500.00	1,400.00
TOTAL OPERATING EXPENDITURES	$20,055.00	$28,307.00	$26,424.00
ESTIMATED INCOME:			
Donations & Gifts (Bailey Theaters)	1,938.00	$ 2,050.00	$ 2,050.00
Membership	900.00	2,000.00	3,000.00
Rentals	36.00		
	2,874.00	4,050.00	5,050.00
Requested from the Community Fund	17,181.00	24,257.00	21,374.00
TOTAL ESTIMATED INCOME	$20,055.00	$ 28,307.00	$ 26,424.00

We hope that you will use your influence to prevent the imminent curtailment of opportunities for adult education of Negroes in Atlanta. The enclosed material describes the situation.

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Exec. Director
THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

E. J. GRANBERRY
President
Albany State College
Albany, Ga.

R. J. MARTIN
Vice President
Ballard School
Macon, Ga.

C. V. TROUP
Treasurer
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Ga.

Georgia Teachers and Education Association

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I. E. Washington

Aaron Brown
Editor, The Herald

C. L. HARPER
Executive Secretary
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E. JA. 6593
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

August 21, 1947

RECEIVED
AUG 25 1947
Southern Regional Council

At a recent session of the Atlanta Board of Education, it was decided to close three of the four night schools for Negroes and to eliminate vocational classes at the remaining night school, Booker Washington Night, which is located on the west side of the city.

There is serious doubt that vocational classes will be conducted at the proposed new vocational school on the old Clark College campus in the extreme south end of the city and difficult of access to most of the Negro people. This school will probably not open before December.

It must be clear to any one that the closing of these three schools will mean the curtailment of adult education among a group that needs it most. The Board of Education evidently realizes this, for it plans to reduce the teaching personnel by almost one half. That means that they anticipate reducing the 1946-47 enrollment of approximately 2000 to practically half that number or a loss virtually of 1000 students!

The position taken by the Board in closing these adult classes is just the reverse of its community school idea which it is putting into operation this fall. It is also contrary to the action of the U. S. Department of Education, which, in cooperation with the Carnegie Corporation, is expanding adult education, especially among Negroes.

You will find enclosed facts about the Atlanta evening schools which we are asking you to use as a basis for doing everything within your power to influence the Board to rescind its action closing these three schools. Please act today.

America can not afford to close schools in the face of ambitious men and women seeking knowledge, while her strongest competitor in world affairs is reducing illiteracy at the greatest rate in human history.

Most respectfully yours,

C. L. Harper

What Atlanta Citizens Should Know
About
Adult Education for Negroes in the
Atlanta Night Schools.

Purpose of Night Schools

Night schools, as a part of education in a democracy, are designed to make of each individual the best possible human being that he is capable of becoming. Democracy cannot survive unless the citizens in it are informed to the extent that they will be able to understand and accept their responsibilities in the conduct of human affairs.

> If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The functionaries of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information. Where the press is free and every man is able to read, all is safe.
>
> - Thomas Jefferson

How Did Atlanta Get its Night Schools?

Whereas, there are a large number of boys and girls in the city, who, on account of poverty, are compelled to work all day for the support of themselves and their families, ... it is but just that some means be afforded them to obtain an education, be it therefore resolved, that the Board of Education be requested to take into consideration the propriety and expedience of opening night schools for the benefit of such persons.

> Bill introduced as a resolution to the City Council by Councilman Lambert of 5th ward on Feb. 17, 1890.

1890 -- Night schools opened for whites
1915 -- First night school opened for Negroes with 642 students
Since 1915, Atlanta has had as many as 8 night schools for Negroes serving an enrollment of over 4000 students.

Why Atlanta Still Needs Night Schools

... Atlanta's Negro population is 104,502
... 55,089 Atlanta Negroes are functional illiterates, having had less than an eighth grade education or no schooling at all.
... In Georgia, 19.9% of the Negroes classified for army service were rejected because of educational deficiency. 3.2% of the whites were rejected for this reason.

Movements to Close Night Schools

Movements to close night schools have always been met by strong protests of white and Negro citizens:

1927 -- A member of the Board suggested the elimination of night schools for Negroes in order to curtail expenses.

"I am not in favor of educating adult Negroes at the expense of our little white children and suggest the advisability of cutting out the Negro night school entirely, or at least reducing the number."

Action of Board strongly opposed by Council of all of the white evangelistical churches of Atlanta. Thousands of white and Negro citizens petitioned the Board for a continuation of the six night schools threatened by the movement.

1932 -- Second move made to eliminate night schools for Negroes. Opposed by Supt. Sutton, who pointed out that four Negro schools in four different sections of the city were rendering valuable service and that elimination of any one of these would deprive a large number of citizens of opportunity for education. Dr. Sutton pleaded for the continuation of these schools and was supported by a large group of prominent citizens, headed by Mrs. Louise H. Moss, Miss Elizabeth Head, and Mrs. W. J. Agrew, who presented a formal protest to Mayor J. L. Key. As a consequence, the four schools now in existence were retained.

What Are the Negro Night School Students Like?

According to a Study made in 1947 by Frank O. Hudson, the average Negro student enrolled in grades 1-4 of the Atlanta Night Schools, is married and living with his mate. The average student is likely to be a man of about 34 years old, for more men than women

are enrolled in the schools. If the average happens to be a woman she is likely to be older than the average man.

Some of the students enrolled are as young as 15, and some are as old as 66. The average student migrated to Atlanta in search of work and has attended school about 18 years ago in some town within a radius of 75 miles from Atlanta. This student dropped out of school because he "needed to work," "moved," or "disliked the teacher." He has great confidence in the night school subjects as a means of self-improvement. He will be studying history, English, geography, reading, writing and spelling. He is ambitious and will declare that he wants "to go in business for himself," "to read and write and communicate with others," or "to do more things for himself." He plans to continue in the night school but is more concerned about self-improvement than about graduation.

Most of the full-time men students are employed as domestics. They work from thirty to seventy-four hours per week, but the average student works about 48 hours per week. Most of the women students classify themselves as house wives and are unemployed. The employed adult student in grades one through four receives, on the average, less than $30 per week.

How do the Students Learn About Night School Opportunities?

The Hudson Study points out that four out of every five persons received their first information about night school from friends who were themselves attending night school.

How Does the Quality of Work Done in the Night Schools Compare With That Done in the Day Schools?

Mittie E. Howard has made a comparative study of the extent to which day high school and night high school students in the public schools of Atlanta have achieved with relationship to their abilities. The conclusions of this study are as follows:

"The mean achievement of the two groups at the same grade levels was very close.

The evening students at all grade levels exceeded the day students in mathematics, but the day students at all grade levels exceeded the evening students in reading and language.

The younger evening group of students, ages 17-23 achieved to a greater degree than any of the other age groups for either school.

What You Can Do

If you believe that night schools provide one of the most important means for improving the educational level of those who need it most --

Express your opinion to the Atlanta Board of Education, Mr. E. S. Cook, Chairman, City Hall, Atlanta, Georgia. WRITE AND URGE OTHER PEOPLE TO WRITE.

What Studies Have been made of The Atlanta Night Schools for Negroes?

The following studies were completed by graduate students at Atlanta University in partial fulfillment of requirements for the Masters degree in education:

Holland, Helen Geneva, The Development of the Night School Program for Negroes in Atlanta, Ga., for the Period 1915 to 1946.

Hudson, Orlando Frank, A Study of Certain Characteristics of 160 Adult Students Enrolled in Public Night Classes for Negroes, Grades 1-4, in Atlanta, Georgia.

Howard, Mittie Evelyn, A Comparative Study of the Extent to Which Day High School and Night High School Students in the Public Schools of Atlanta, Georgia, Have Achieved, With Relationship to Their Ability to Achieve.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED
SEP 4 1947
Southern Regional Council

September 3, 1947

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive

The first board meeting of the fall will be held on Wednesday, September 10 at 2:30 P. M. in the Assembly Room of the League's Headquarters.

Although the summer's heat may still be with us, we hope that you will plan to be present. The agenda includes reporting of summer program, Community Chest action on the budget request, and the discussion of proposed emphases for program in the coming year.

We hope that your summer has been refreshing and that we may look forward to a profitable year of work together.

Board Meeting

Atlanta Urban League

Wednesday, September 10, 1947 -------- 2:30 P.M.

Present: Mr. Cousins, presiding in the absence of Mr. Walden, Messrs Paschall, Henderson, Roberts, Rev. Richardson, Mrs. Gershon and Mrs. Yates.

Staff: Mrs. Hamilton, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Coleman.

Mr. Cousins opened the meeting with prayer, and the minutes of the June 11th meeting were read and approved.

Report of summer developments:

Personnel: The executive reported that Mr. Watson had resigned in order to join his wife in New York. Mr. Coleman was introduced, and it was reported that he had joined the staff on July 1, on an "on-the-job training basis" for one year, as community organization secretary. He has carried responsibility for Veterans affairs during the summer, and will assume responsibility for the "house to house" section of the Community Chest Campaign, in the event that Mr. Watson is unable to return to Atlanta for this special assignment.

Budget Request: Mr. Roberts reported that a special committee of Board members, (Mr. Roberts, Walden, Washington) had appeared before the Budget Study Committee during July, and successfully appealed for restoration of a $776.00 item which was not allowed in the first recommendation of the Budget Study Committee to the Community Chest. He reported that the 1948 allocation by the Chest to the Atlanta Urban League is $18,674.00 in a total budget of $22,224.00. This covers the total request, with the exception of two (2) additional staff members which were not allowed, ($4200.00) and takes account of $1500.00 expected income for memberships, rather than $3000.00 originally estimated from this source.

The Board expressed appreciation to Mr. Roberts, and to the other committee members.

Mr. Roberts stressed the importance of having a committee of Board members to study and prepare the budget annually. Other Board members mentioned the importance of using the relationship with the Chest Committee to further interpretation of the League. Mrs. Gershon suggested that a memorandum be prepared for consideration by the Board in April which would summarize all the suggestions, and would allow sufficient time for plans to be made for the next years presentation.

Memberships: Mrs. Yates reported that a committee had been organized to work on memberships in the Negro community during the summer. The committee will continue its work during September. A balance of $227.00 is to be raised during 1947 to complete the amount budgeted ($800.00) from this source for the year. Total membership contributions for 1947 now amount to $673.66.

Program reports:

Mr. Coleman reported on the League' services to Veterans during the summer months. More than 600 have been assisted in filling Terminal Leave applications during July and August, and approximately 1500 have been served since September 1946. The League's service to veterans now include, information service, referrals, and assistance in interpretation and filling of various V.A. forms.

An Advisory Committee on Veterans affairs will be organized warly this fall and will include in its membership representatives from other agencies serving Negro veterans. The function of the committee will be to review periodically the needs and to decide upon courses of action which will prevent overlapping services.

Mr. Cousins suggested that Mr. Coleman and the committee scrutinize very carefully the developments of new private schools of Negro adults whose purpose may be to profit from veterans tuition allotments. He reported that a "law school" and "accelerated high school" had been initiated by the two white lawyers in the city, and that these classes were to be held in the community

building of the Greater Mt. Calvary Baptist Church on Glenn Street.

Public Schools: Releases were distributed reporting the present status of the night school program.

Hospital Study: Mrs. Hamilton reported that the Report on Hospitals will be completed sometimes during the fall, and that there was a good possibility that the Atlanta Hospital Authority would call together a small consultation committee to discuss possibilities for action in Atlanta.

Community Chest Relationship: Mrs. Hamilton reported that the Atlanta Urban League had taken the responsibility for the conduct and organization of three "Red-feather tours" to Chest Agencies during June and July. Approximately 200 citizens participated, and it is hoped that this group will increase the number of campaign workers, and further understanding the social services in the community.

New Business: Mrs. Gershon presented a request from the executive for periods of leave during 1947-1948, not to exceed a total of six weeks beyond vacation periods, to permit work on the project for Rosenwald fellowship grant. Upon motion by Rev. Richardson, seconded by Mr. Roberts, the project was approved and the request granted. (Outline of project attached)

Committee appointments were deferred until the next meeting.

Adjournment.

Outline of Rosenwald Fellowship Project

The Project: The observation of methods and techniques used in social action programs designed to promote full participation in community life.

Purpose: To develop procedures for use in Southern communities.

Method of procedure:

Centers of experimentation in the modification of community practices will be visited.

The procedures and techniques used will be observed and analyzed in terms of their usefulness and applicability to Southern communities.

Procedures and programs will be developed for use in Southern communities.

Resources will be made available to organizations and agencies interested in the improvement of Southern communities through full participation.

Areas for Observation of "Techniques of Social Action in Bi-Racial Communities":

Public Education
Health and Hospitalization
Public and Private Housing
The Segregated Pattern
Employment and Employment Service
Personal and Domestic Service
Political Action
Propaganda Techniques

Request for Board Action:

The executive requests board approval of short time absences not to exceed a total of six weeks, exclusive of 1947 and 1948 vacation leave, to be distributed during the year September 1947 - September 1948.

The executive will maintain full responsibility for the agency's operation during this period. Staff assignments for program commitments have been made and a system of daily office reports will enable regular contact during periods of absence.

The fellowship grant ($2400) is to be used for travel and other expenses incident to completion of the project.

Tentative schedule of absence:

September 15 - October 15 (combined with 1947 vacation)
January - 2 weeks maximum
March - 2 weeks maximum

One month during the summer of 1948 (combined with 1948 vacation leave.)

GEORGIA TEACHERS AND EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
C. L. HARPER
Executive Secretary
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E. CY. 7046
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

September 4, 1947

The committee of citizens who have been working to keep open the three night schools that had been closed recently by the Atlanta Board of Education, desires to thank you for the hearty and effective support which you gave our effort.

We wish to make it clear that all but one night school for Negroes were closed by action of the Board of Education as is shown by this excert taken from a letter mailed to one of the former Negro night school teachers August 23, and signed by the administrative official in charge of night schools:

> "You have probably already learned through notices in the press that the Board of Education at its regular meeting held on Tuesday, August 12, passed a resolution directing the school administration to set up only one night school for white citizens and one night school for negro citizens ...
>
> You can understand that in a reduction in the number of negro night schools from four to one, it will be impossible for us to use the services of all of our former night school teachers. Due to the change in the night school program, we find it impossible for us to use your services in the night schools for the coming school year."

Personnel greatly reduced. Seventy-five per cent of the schools closed!

This was curtailment with a vengeance.

We are pleased to inform you, however, that in a conference with a committee from our group Friday August 29, the Superintendent agreed to reopening of the three night schools closed August 12, and the holding of evening classes at the Carver Vocational School.

Your active interest was largely responsible for this expanded program in night schools for Negroes. You have helped to open doors closed by constituted authorities in the face of humble American people who already face too many closed doors.

We know that the thousands who will be benefitted in the coming years by the increased evening school facilities which you have helped to make possible, will bless your name for this neighborly and Christian act.

We assure you that our committee will do everything in its power to cooperate with the board and the school administration in making the evening schools of enhanced value to the thousands who must look to them as the chief source of their intellectural light.

Sincerely yours,

C. L. Harper

CLH/pj

PRESS RELEASE - AUGUST 31, 1947

CITIZENS COMMITTEE CONFERS WITH PUBLIC SCHOOL OFFICIALS CONCERNING NIGHT SCHOOLS

Representatives from the Citizens Committee conferred with the Superintendent of Schools, Miss Ira Jarrell, on Friday, regarding the persistent rumor that three of the night schools for Negroes will not open. Present in the meeting were, Dr. George Kelsey, who served as chariman of the group, W. H. Brown, Mrs. G. A. Towns and H. S. Murphy. Devereaux McClatchey, member of the board of education, Miss Jarrell, superintendent of city schools, and P. E. Babcock, director of vocational education for Atlanta and Fulton County were the other parties in the conference.

The Citizens Committee reported the community's concern about the persistent rumor that all night schools for Negroes, except one, were to be closed. The great need to eliminate illiteracy thru the program of the night schools was stressed.

In answer to the question, whether the night schools are to be eliminated, Miss Jarrell reported that on the contrary, the night school program is to be reorganized and expanded. She explained that registration will take place at all of the former night school centers--Washington High, E. P. Johnson, D. T. Howard and Crogman schools. Following registration, students will be assigned to schools which will offer the best available training to meet their particular needs. In those cases where a student finds it inconvenient to attend schools outside his own community, educational provisions will be mad e in his community school. Miss Jarrell pointed out that extensive vocational offerings will be available at the Carver Vocational School which will begin operation later in the fall. For the present, vocational training opportunities will be continued at the Washington High School. It was also pointed out by the school officials that the expanded and reorganized program cannot be completed until after registration. They reported that former night school teachers who have received notices of termination of services will be interviewed and those who will fit into the expanded program

may be reemployed.

The Citizens Committee pointed out to the school officials the importance of participation by Negroes in the making of decisions affecting Negro education. Lack of such participation, they asserted, breeds distrust and suspicion. The officials agreed that such participation was important and suggested that the committee submit a few names from which an advisory committee be selected.

The Citizens Committee urges all persons interested in night school to register and take advantage of the opportunities offered for their advancement. In a communication from Miss Jarrell to the committee following their conference, the following informa tion concerning places and dates of registration was given:

> "Registration for the expanded night school program and the Carver day school program will be held at Washington High School, at Crogman elementary school and at David T. Howard High School on September 29, 30 and October 1 and 2 at 7:30 in the evening. As I explained to you this morning this expanded program will be both academic and vocational. The classes will be organized in these schools and held in these schools. If the need develops in other schools than those mentioned above we shall meet this need. The Carver building will not be ready for occupancy until sometime in November. At present, the faculties are being organized for this expanded program.
>
> "The faculty has already been organized for the academic school at night at Washington High and this school will begin on September 8, as has been the custom in the past."

Registration for Washington night school will be held on September 4th and 5th.

a.U.L.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED
OCT 24 1947
Southern Regional Council

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
G. T. Hamilton, Executive

October Board Meeting

This is a special notice about the October board meeting. Although all board meetings are important, we believe that you will think this one is especially so. Mr. Lester Granger, the Executive Secretary of the National Urban League, is visiting all affiliates of the National Urban League in the Southern region. He will spend October 29 and 30 in Atlanta. Our board meeting will be held on Thursday, October 30 at 2:30 P. M. at the League's headquarters. Please try to save an hour and a half in your schedule for this meeting.

The meeting will provide an opportunity for Mr. Granger to discuss with us certain aspects of the National Urban League's program, and for us to describe for him current developments in the program of the Atlanta Urban League.

We hope that you will indicate on the enclosed postal that we may expect you to be present.

STATEMENT OF THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

prepared by

R. A. Thompson, Jr.

Presented to the Joint Congressional Committee on Housing

Hearing in Atlanta - October 29, 1947

The Atlanta Urban League is a social service agency working primarily in the field of community organization. It is one of 59 affiliates of the National Urban League. It cooperates with the Atlanta Community Planning Council and other agencies and organizations in developing methods for dealing with social problems affecting group relations in this community.

We are aware of the critical housing needs of Negroes in Atlanta. A Housing Committee representing all groups affected by the need has been at work on the problem for many months. This committee has stated that:

> During the war years and the ten depression years preceding it, far fewer houses were built in Atlanta and the rest of the nation than were needed for our expanding population. The war emergency and the present post war period have brought increasing pressure for expansion of white housing facilities, but little attention has yet been given to adequate housing for the colored population. ...The Negro population has overflowed the maximum possible use of present facilities with the result that colored families have been forced to move into housing areas in white fringe sections. Increasing friction between races has been met by only small scale attempts to rectify the situation. The present overcrowding of central areas has resulted in a blight that tends to lower values of adjacent properties and is a direct menace to health, safety, morals, and the prosperity of the entire community.

Housing is the number one problem in Atlanta. In addition to the problems facing all citizens in need of decent housing, Negroes meet distinct difficulties which arise from restrictions to low income jobs, limited land for expansion and too few houses available for rent or purchase. In order, therefore, to appraise and understand the nature and intensity of the

problem of Negro housing, it is advisable to look more closely at the living conditions of the Negro population.

POPULATION

In 1940, there were 129,543 Negroes living in Metropolitan Atlanta, and this number represented 29.3 per cent of the total population. For the same year, 104,533 or 80.7 per cent of the total population lived in the city limits of Atlanta. In 1947, the Negro population had increased to 142,855 which represented an increase of 13,312 or 11.0 per cent. The proportion of Negroes living within the city limits in 1947 is approximately the same as that of 1940.

Where They Live

Approximately eight square miles (7.98) or 25 census tracts housed 93,344 Negro residents of Atlanta in 1940. These twenty-five tracts contained 89.3 per cent of all Negroes living inside the city limits of Atlanta. In other words there were 11,709.8 persons for each square mile and each square mile held 3,222 Negro families.

How They Live

According to the Real Property Report of 1939, Negroes occupied 34, 522 dwelling units, and of this number only 13,7 per cent or 4,717 were classified as owners and 29,805 or 86.3 per cent as renters.

Of the total number of Negro dwelling units, 24,712 or 71.6 per cent were listed as sub-standard units. The three main causes for this classification in order of importance were:

1. Physically substandard
2. Physically and occupancy substandard
3. Adequa~~tely~~cy substandard

There has been relatively little change in the condition of houses for

Negroes in Atlanta since 1940. In 1947, the Department of Commerce reported 40,426 dwelling units for Negroes. Of that number 23,124 or 57.0 per cent were without private bathing facilities. Sixteen thousand or 43.0 per cent of the total number lacked flush toilets in the dwelling unit. Over eleven thousand or 28.0 per cent of the total number are in need of major repairs.

The Negro dwelling unit is overcrowded. Only 5,986 or 15.0 per cent of the total 40,426 dwelling units have less than 0.5 or less persons per room. 26,117 or 65.0 per cent have from 0.51 to 1.50 persons per room and, 8,323 or 21.0 per cent have 1.51 or more persons per room.

For such dwelling units Negroes paid $9.00 and $14.00 monthly rent in 1939 and 1947 respectively.

LAND

Another basic factor is that of acquiring land sites which meet F.H.A. requirements.

The acquisition of land beyond the city limits of Atlanta is imperative not only because of the present congested housing condition in 1947 but also for the reason that more and more Negroes will continue to migrate to urban areas. As previously mentioned 25 census tracts have the majority of the Negro population. The density of these areas in 1940 was as follows:

6 census tracts had 20,500 persons per square mile
5 had 15,500 to 20,499 persons per square mile
4 had 10,500 to 15,499 persons per square mile
9 had 5,500 to 10,499 persons per square mile and
1 had less than 5,500 persons per square mile.

The Negro population, which is a third of the total population, lives on slightly more than one-fifth of the land. In other words, the 7.98 square miles, the total acreage of the 25 census tracts, represents 23.2 per cent of all acres in the city limits of Atlanta.

SLUM CLEARANCE PROPOSAL

Atlanta's Slum Clearance Plan has been passed and signed by the Mayor and City Councilmen. The main points of the plan are as follows:

1. That there be established a slum clearance committee which for 5 years and beginning in 1948 would eliminate all substandard housing in the City of Atlanta;

2. That City officials be given authority to require repairs to be made on the 34,000 dwelling units; and

3. That private businesses submit by March 18, 1948 a plan for rebuilding and refinancing the 6,000 slum units which are beyond repair.

Such a slum clearance program may mean that 24,712 or 71.6 per cent of the total number of Negro dwelling units may be affected by the ordinance. If so, the big question is how or what provisions can be made to rehouse these Negro families.

A slum clearance program has been underway in the Buckhead section of Fulton County for over six months. Many of the houses of 100 or more Negro families have been purchased by Fulton County Parks Commission and will be torn down in order to provide park facilities for the white residents of Buckhead. Thus far, no provisions have been made to rehouse these people or provide land where they may live near their work. Many of the dispossessed Negro families have moved into the overcrowded housing condition in the City of Atlanta.

VETERANS

The Department of Commerce in its report for December 12, 1946 estimated that there were 6,000 married and 3,500 single Negro veterans who represented 23.7 per cent of the total number of veterans in Metropolitan Atlanta. The report also showed that approximately 10 per cent or 950 Negro veterans lived outside of metropolitan Atlanta prior to induction. Approximately 6,000 or 20.0 per cent of the total 30,500 white veterans lived outside of the city of Atlanta prior to induction.

The majority of the Negro veterans were employed. Of the total 9,500 Negro veterans, 7,390 or 77.8 per cent were employed in a gainful occupation and earned between $27.00 for single and $31.00 weekly for married veterans. The median weekly income for white single veterans was $32.00 and $52.00 for white married veterans.

Where They Live

Rented rooms, trailers and tourist cabins accounted for 8,000 or 20.0 per cent of all the veterans in Atlanta, while 32,000 or 80.0 per cent lived in ordinary dwelling units. The Negro veteran lived mostly in ordinary dwelling units but nearly half of the six thousand married veterans shared the dwelling unit with relatives.

How They Live

Of the 32,000 veterans who lived in ordinary dwelling units, 66.0 per cent or 21,112 were considered as being in good condition or needing minor repairs. Over 10,000 or 14 per cent required major repairs or were declared unfit for use. Over seventy per cent of the total 30,500 married and single white veterans lived in houses which were in good condition or in need of minor repairs, and only 5.0 per cent occupied substandard dwelling units.

The proportion of Negro veterans living in ordinary dwelling units was higher than for white veterans, but over half of the Negro veterans' dwelling units needed major repairs or were considered as unfit for use. It should also be pointed out that 80.0 per cent of the 9,500 Negro veterans who live in ordinary dwellings pay rent. Over 60.0 per cent of the white veterans rent, and 21.0 per cent owned their homes.

How Much They Pay

The average monthly gross rent paid by veterans was $33.00. One fourth of the 40,000 units rented for less than $21.00, and one-fourth rented for more than $47.00 per month. The average monthly rent for white married veterans ranged from $29.00 to $51.00 in 1946.

The average monthly rent paid by married Negro veterans was $18.00 in 1946. The minimum monthly rent was $13.00 and the maximum $23.00.

Their Housing Plans

A majority of the veterans plan to remain in metropolitan Atlanta, and desire to buy or build a 5 room house costing about $5,500. The average price the white veterans can pay for a 5 room house is $6,200 financed by payments of $46.00.

The Negro veteran desires a 5 room house costing about $3,800 with monthly payments of $31.00. Only one-fourth of the 9,500 stated that they were able to pay more than $4,800 for homes with five rooms. However, 2,375 Negro veterans wanted their houses to cost less than $3,000.

Notwithstanding the desires of veterans to purchase homes, over 3,000 Negro veterans are on the waiting list of the Atlanta Housing Authority. These 3,000 Negro veterans, as of July 1947, sought an apartment in the five housing projects which can accommodate only 2,965 families. Over and above the number of Negro veteran applicants approximately 2,500 applications have been declared ineligible for admission into these projects.

Proposed Number of Dwelling Units for Atlanta

Many contractors and builders had plans for erecting 11,065 dwelling units in Atlanta as of June 1947. The number of units in each sub-division ranged from 13 to 2,500, and the majority of such units have been scheduled for areas outside of the city limits of Atlanta. Over six thousand units will be located in DeKalb County and 5,000 in Fulton County.

Of the total number of proposed dwelling units 10,955 or 90.0 percent will be homes for white residents, and only 1,110 or 10.0 percent for Negro families. Of those being erected for Negroes, approximately 150 owner units are about ready for occupancy. On the basis of information given

by the Department of Commerce, it is evident that these $5,800 to $8,000 homes exceed the ability to pay of the average Negro veteran.

CONCLUSION

In as much as most of the slums are now inhabited by Negroes who have been traditionally restricted to given areas, the first objective in any national approach to the housing problem is to locate land and erect more dwelling units into which present occupants of sub-standard units may move. This approach should be made by organizations and persons of both racial groups directly concerned with the development of dwelling units or the erection of businesses in Negro neighborhoods.

In view of the condition of homes and the fact that the Negro population continues to increase, it is apparent that this minority group needs additional housing units. The Mayor's Emergency Housing Committee estimated that 4,500 dwelling units are needed to house approximately 10,000 veterans.

The Atlanta Urban League's housing committee estimates that 10,000 standard dwelling units are needed for Negroes in metropolitan Atlanta.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In order to alleviate the critical housing shortage and to eradicate the slums which are a menance to the health and morals of Atlanta, the following recommendations are made:

1. That condemnation proceedings be instituted by city and county officials against unfit housing units, tax delinquent property, and unoccupied land which may be used for Negro expansion and housing.

2. That Federal Funds be made available to cities, which have

established Urban Redevelopment Programs, in order that private enterprises may build and rebuild homes in keeping with the ability to pay of Negroes;

3. That Congress enact legislation which would permit local housing authorities to expand present public housing facilities;

4. That the Federal Government establish a Housing Bureau to devise new techniques and methods for cutting the cost of building materials.

5. That the G.I. Bill of Rights be amended so as to permit more than 2 veterans to purchase and own dwelling units cooperatively;

6. That the present staff of F. H. A. lend increased assistance to local groups with housing interests, and that this agency encourage the mobilization of local community resources for better housing for all groups in the population.

For the information of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

Statement to the Press from Consumer Advisory Committee to the Council of Economic Advisers following meeting of the Committee September 18th and 19th.

Following a meeting with the Council on September 19th, the Consumer Advisory Committee to the Council of Economic Advisers today advised the Council that the present crisis should not be met by curtailing shipments to Europe, that it could not be met solely by voluntary action of consumers and others, and that some positive governmental controls should be instituted.

"We have sought to convey to the members of the Council the great sense of urgency which we feel and which we find among the consumers with whom we are in contact," the committee stated.

"We are unanimous in the belief that American obligations for the relief and reconstruction of Europe must be met. Cutting down, or failing to expand, needed shipments abroad must not be used to solve the problems of American consumers at home."

"We are unanimous also, in believing that voluntary measures alone are inadequate to cope with the present situation."

"It is our conviction that some positive governmental controls are necessary, involving authority beyond that which now exists...and that voluntary action can be effective as a supplement to such controls, but not as a substitute for them."

"With respect to additional controls we believe that it is the responsibility of the Council to determine and recommend controls appropriate to a peace-time situation of scarcity and contributory to a stable, full-employment economy."

The Consumer Advisory Committee is one of the groups of consumers, business, labor, and farm representatives whose advice the Council has sought during the past two weeks.

Members of the Committee attending the meeting were:

Beverely Boyd, Mrs. Stanley G. Cook, Hartley Gross, Mae Wright Downs, Frances Rice Fuchs, Ernest Giddings, Grace Hamilton, Alice Hunter, Edith Hyslop, Elizabeth Magee, Elizabeth Morrissy, Elizabeth Rohr, Mrs. Austin Stone, Caroline F. Ware, Colston Warne, Mrs. Theodore Wedel, and Elizabeth Wickenden.

incalculabe
nice handy word

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Board of Directors Meeting
October 30, 1947 - 2:30 P. M.

AGENDA

Minutes

Announcements (see materials attached)

The Atlanta Urban League's Testimony before the joint Congressional Housing Committee

Trustees action of Community Chest

Community Planning Council Luncheon Series

Consumer Advisory Committee's Report to the President's Economic Council

President's Civil Rights Committee Report

Introduction of National Urban League Executive - Mr. Nelson C. Jackson

Mr. Lester Granger - "The Program of the National Urban League and Its Relation to the Southern Region"

For the information of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

REPORT OF ACTION OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE TO THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

1. The Budget Committee recommends that the request by national organizations for inclusion in the Community Chest be denied at this time.

2. It is recommended that the request of the national health agencies, as differentiated from other national organizations, for participation in the Community Chest be denied for the present, but that when a national federation of all national health agencies can be accomplished consideration will be given to a request from such a national organization.

3. The Budget Committee recommends that a sub-committee be authorized to explore the possibility of increasing the per diem payments to Chest agencies with the County Department of Public Welfare. Agencies now receiving per diem compensation from the County Department of Public Welfare include Hillside Cottages, Atlanta Child's Home, the A. G. Rhodes Home, and the Carrie Steele-Pitts Home. It is believed that the County Department of Public Welfare should more nearly carry its share of the cost for care and service in these Chest Agencies. It is recommended that the Committee also discuss some plan for compensation by the Department of Public Welfare to the Social Service Index.

4. The request for an allotment to finance work of the Citizens Crime Prevention Committee was referred to the Community Planning Council, and a small committee from the Budget Committee, for study to clear up any points that may be raised as to duplication of this Committee with the existing agencies. Following committee of the Budget Committee was appointed: Harry Boyte, Robert F. Adamson, Miss Mildred Mell.

5. The Committee noted the trend toward constantly increasing dues to national headquarters. While the Committee realized that much benefit does come from this source, it seriously questioned the justification of a percentage basis that automatically raises local dues whenever a member receives an additional allowance to meet local needs. We feel that it is not fair to our community to continue the above method whereby already substantial payments to national organizations are increased automatically.

6. The Committee also notices that some agencies receive additional funds with which to pay for extra personnel when regular employees are on vacation. The Committee feels that this is an unsound practice and that additional funds should be provided for temporary personnel only in unusual cases.

Approved unanimously by Board of Trustees of Greater Atlanta Community Chest.

Atl. Urban League

BOARD MEETING

Atlanta Urban League

December 3, 1947 ---- 2:30 P.M.

Present: Mrs. Gershon, Messrs, Blayton, Greene, Jackson, Shulhafer, Washington.

Staff: Messrs, Coleman, Thompson, Mrs. Hamilton.

The major business of the meeting was the discussion of the summary and recommendations of the Report on Hospital Care of Negroes in Atlanta. (Copies attached). The recommendations were adopted and the following procedures were agreed upon:

1. An advisory committee should be formed prior to the release of the report.

2. The purpose of the committee would be to explore practical possibilities for remedial action prior to the public's discussion of the recommendations.

3. The committee should include a representative of the Hospital Authority, of Emory University Medical School, of the Atlanta University Center, of the Negro business community, and the State Administrator of hospital construction (Mr. Washington agreed to serve as one member of the League's Board on the committee, and the executive was directed to secure two other board members for the committee.)

4. A meeting of the committee should be arranged before December 20th.

Mr. Shulhafer asked whether the League was assisting in screening applicants for Negro policemen. The procedure being followed by the City's Personnel Department was explained. It was reported that the Atlanta Urban League is represented through Mr. Thompson on the Citizens Committee which has been working on the matter of employment of Negro policemen. The League office is interviewing candidates and explaining the qualifications necessary for these jobs, and assisting in recruiting applicants.

Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED JAN 28 1948 Southern Regional Council

January 28, 1948

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton, Executive

The Board of Directors will meet on Tuesday, February 3, 1948 at 3:30 P. M. in the League's office.

The Agenda will include progress reports of the League's program on hospital care for Negroes in Atlanta, and on civic education.

The business requiring board action includes consideration of the 1947 financial report, the appointments of the nominating committee, and the 1948 annual meeting.

We look forward to seeing you and count on having your judgment. Please return the enclosed postal.

A.T.W.
G.T.H.

a.U.L.

Board Meeting

Atlanta Urban League 3:30 P.M.

February 3, 1948

RECEIVED FEB 11 1948 Southern Regional Council

Present: Mr. Walden, presiding, Messrs, Clement, Crawford, Henderson, Mitchell, Shulhafer, and Mrs. Gershon.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and Mr. Thompson.

Following a prayer, the minutes of the December meeting were read and approved.

It was agreed by the members present, that the most convenient time for meetings was the first Tuesday of each month at 2:30 P.M. The executive was asked to consult Mr. Paschall about an hour possible for him to attend, because it was reported that his 3 P.M. broadcast prevented his attending a 2:30 meeting. It was agreed that the time of meetings should be determined after consultation with other members of the Board who were absent from the meeting.

Mr. Clement reported upon discussions of the Advisory Committee on Hospital Care for Negroes. The Committee has held two meetings, and a third is scheduled. The plans of this committee have been set forth in a letter which Mr. Spalding, Chairman of the Hospital Authority, has sent to leading citizens, requesting expressions of opinion. Board members were asked to reply to Mr. Spalding's letter at their earliest convenience.

The executive reported that copies of the League's Report on Hospital Care have been sent to the persons receiving Mr. Spalding's letter, and that general distribution of the Report is going forward. Mrs. Gershon mentioned the favorable press which the need for increased hospital facilities has received recently.

It was reported that the Atlanta Urban League is participating in a city-wide civic education program, in cooperation with the N.A.A.C.P. and other community groups. It was reported that an Urban League Guild has been organized as a cooperative project of the Southern field office of the National Urban League and the Atlanta Urban League, to sponsor money raising events for both agencies.

The financial report for 1947 and the budget for 1948 were presented. Mr. Washington inquired about the necessity for monthly financial reports to the Chest because of the amount of staff time involved in the preparation. It was suggested that Board members inquire informally of Chest trustees about the reasons for monthly reporting.

The chairman designated the following board members as the Budget Committee for 1948: Mr. T. J. Roberts, Chairman, Mr. L. D. Milton, Mr. J. B. Blayton.

The chairman was authorized to appoint a Nominating Committee of three board members, whose terms do not expire in 1947.

In a discussion of the Annual Meeting, civil rights and the community's needs were suggested as program emphases. It was the consensus that the community's hospital needs should be the emphasis. The Executive reported a request from the Southern Regional Council that the Atlanta Urban League serve a cooperating sponsor in a Civil Rights workshop conference to be held at the Lutheran Church on February 27-28. Mr. Clement reported that Atlanta University is holding a student conference on the same subject on the same dates; and that the leadership of this group will be shared.

The executive reported the plans of the Atlanta Chapter of the American Red Cross for the Blood Bank Center which will begin operation on February 17th.

The attached resolution was approved by unaminous vote.

Mr. Washington announced that Dr. Smilley Blanton, the guest of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, will speak in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library, on Monday evening, February 9th and that the public is invited.

Adjournment

a. u. l.

February 6, 1948

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Copies of the Urban League's Report on Hospital Care of the Negro Population of Atlanta, Georgia have just been received and we are delighted to have them.

This study is most timely and represents an important contribution to the cause of Negro health, to which your organization and ours are mutually dedicated.

Our copies are being placed in our information file where they will be most helpful to students, research workers, and for our own information service which is carried on by mail. Thank you so much for them.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

a.u.l.

Board of Directors

MINUTES

Tuesday, April 6, 1948 11:00 A.M.

Assembly Room - Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
APR 14 1948
Southern Regional Council

Present: Mr. Clement, presiding, Messrs, Cousins, Jackson, Paschall, Shulhafer, Rev. Richardson, Mrs. Gershon and Mrs. Yates.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton

The minutes of the February meeting were read and approved.

Mr. Shulhafer reported that he had discussed informally, the question of the necessity for monthly financial reports to the Community Chest with one of the trustees of the Chest, who suggested that the matter be raised with the staff of the Chest, if the procedures were unduly time consuming. Mrs. Hamilton stated that with the inauguration of a new system for handling retirement fund contributions, the reports were not burdensome.

Mrs. Hamilton reported that at the March 2nd meeting, the Advisory Committee on Hospital Care for Negroes, had disapproved a proposal for remodeling an old building for use as a voluntary hospital for Negroes; and, that a committee had been appointed to prepare a proposal of relationships between the new hospital, Grady, and Emory University.

Mrs. Hamilton reported that Dr. Charles Drew and Miss Mary Switzer, Assistant to the Administrator, Federal Security Agency, had been invited to speak at the League's annual meeting in April. Neither could accept. It was the consensus of the group that a meeting of the membership and friends of the League should be held, using local speakers if necessary. A panel presentation on health and hospital care was proposed.

Mr. Washington presented the report of the Nominating Committee (Paschall, Clement, Washington). The committee nominated for re-election Mrs. Gershon, Mr. Milton, Mr. Shulhafer and Mrs. Wilson. The following six persons were presented from which three will be presented to the membership for election: Mr. John E. Ransom, Dr. Robert Grant, Mrs. Malcolm Bryan, Miss Mildred Mell, Dr. Richard C. Hackney and Mr. Q. S. Doty upon motion by Mr. Washington, the report was unaminously approved.

Mr. Jackson reported that the Annual Conference of the National Urban League will be held in Richmond, Virginia, September 6 - 10. He asked that board members send him suggestions for the program.

Mrs. Hamilton reported for the information of the Board members that:

Eight Negro policemen began street duty on April 3 as part of their training

On April 5th ground was broken for a County Park for Negroes

The League is cooperating in promoting the Red Cross Blood Donor program among Negroes

Registration centers are operating in Negro neighborhoods as part of the registration drive

The League is cooperating in planning a conference on regional education to be held in Atlanta, May 8 - 9.

Adjournment

Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

April 21, 1948

RECEIVED
23 1948
Southern Regional Council

To: Members of the Board of Directors

From: G. T. Hamilton

Your vote on a proposal which has come to us is requested.

National Hospital Day is May 12th. The Atlanta Urban League's annual meeting has been set for that date at 8 P. M. at the Chamber of Commerce. The suggestion is that "Atlanta Urban League Community Service Awards" be made to Atlanta citizens who have contributed to the provision of hospital services for Negroes in Atlanta. (In other years, the awards might be made for contributions in some other area of the League's interest.)

The persons proposed to receive awards this year are:

Mr. Hughes Spalding - for leadership in planning for more adequate facilities for the future

Mrs. Sadye L. Powell and Dr. F. Earle McClendon - for the contribution their hospitals are making in providing facilities

In order that planning for the meeting may proceed, please indicate on the enclosed postal your vote on this proposal.

Please save the evening of May 12 on your calendar for the annual meeting. Announcements will come to you later.

G.T.H.

To - George Mulch

Dear - George Hamilton

heard you came

to meet Mr Watson,

and help to give

him a night's

5/10/48

Atlanta Urban League

May 18, 1948

Dear Mr. Webster:

Your letter to the Atlanta Junior Chamber of Commerce has been referred to us for reply. It raises several interesting questions. As you suggest, the situation existing in Southern agricultural areas has an influence not only on our domestic economy, but upon international relations as well.

We believe that consideration of some of the reasons why Southern Negroes leave rural areas for urban centers, and leave the South for the North will indicate some of the things which need to be done to improve the situation.

In general Negro agricultural workers want to leave Southern rural communities, not only because they hope to find better wages and working conditions, but because they also seek better schools for their children, better health facilities and improved housing. They seek communities where they may be assured physical safety in their living and freedom from intimidation and coercion. They hope to find places to live and work where they are regarded as American citizens with the right to the same objectives of other American citizens. It is true that they are not always successful in finding these things in the places to which they go, but there is the deep and abiding desire to keep looking.

These facts makes us know that any effort to organize Negro workers in the towns and cities in order to persuade them to return to conditions with which they are familiar, would be unsuccessful. We know of no influential Negro citizens who would be willing to assist in such a program. We believe, however, that there are many Negro leaders who would be glad to cooperate with employers to bring about the basic changes in conditions, which in the long run may remedy the difficulties which now

exist. Many people in the South are realizing that the welfare of the whole Southern region is dependent upon the welfare of all of the people in the region-both to Negroes and the whites, both the workers and the employers.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

Mr. L. H. Webster
Hamilton, Alabama

COPY

RECEIVED
MAY 19 1948
Southern Regional Council

Hamilton Ala.

Jr Chamber of Commerce.

Atlanta Ga.

Dear Sir:-

Here is something that is fast becoming vital to our Southern States - To Wit:-

We have a population of several million negroes - The big majority of these people have various educational qualifications, ranging from elementrel school through college decrees. They read our daily papers and have their own radioes - Some are financially independent.

During the two previous world wars, the man-power shortage, caused many of these negroes to leave the agriculture sections of our states and migrate to towns and cities - So many in fact, that it became necessary to import foreign labor to assist in emergency agriculture work.

Not only of the south, but other sections as well Many of these Negroes are not needed in the towns and cities now - But would be of great assistance on the farms and in the farm homes of our rural districts - Also their migration back to the farms would provide better wages for those employed in towns and cities -

The negro on the farm or in the fa m home can't draw as large a pay check weekly as the town or city Negro. But their housing and living expences would be mostly furnished by their employer and their cash, even though less in size, would cover more needs -

Thus you see that there ar three reasons why I'm writing you this letter -

1st. For the benefit of the farmer who needs the Negro's assistance-

2nd- For the benefit of the Negro, in the towns and cities, who are not essential to town or cities' commercial needs-

3rd. To assist in the production of food and commercial crops necessary to fill domestic and world needs-

COPY

But to do this, needs must have cooperation, both among the Negro workers and white employers.

Therefore, I'm asking you to assist me by supplying me the names and addresses of a sufficient number of influencial negro citizens of Atlanta and other cities of Georgia, who will assist in organizing clubs whose object will be to tocate the colored people who need work and are willing to go back to farms and farm homes - or except work in rural ares.

Will you do this for me?

Thanking ypu in advance

I am Very Truely Yours-

L. H. Webster

Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

May 27, 1948

TO: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

FROM: A. T. Walden, Chairman
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director

The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League will meet on Thursday morning, June 3rd at 11:00 A.M. in the League's office, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 400.

The agenda will include approval of the 1948 budget request to the Greater Atlanta Community Fund; a report of the status pf program projects, housing and hospitals; and, the discussion of a proposal for increasing the financial support of the League.

We enclose a statement of principles and procedures for budgeting in Community Chest Agencies. This will give a full explanation of the process which under-girds the Community Chest's support of Red Feather Agencies. Board members of agencies are asked to give careful consideration to these principles.

We count upon your attendance at this very important meeting.

RECEIVED
MAY 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

SUGGESTED PRINCIPLES AND BASIC PROCEDURES AND POLICIES IN COMMUNITY CHEST BUDGETING

Community Chest budgeting is an important part of social work research and planning. Through the responsibility of approving allocations to Chest agencies, the Budget Committee helps to determine the kind and quality of work performed by the agencies, which in turn affects the kind and quality of all social work in the community.

In a city the size of Atlanta, it is impossible to know all the agencies intimately. There are many items of information which the Budget Committee members will want to know in order to determine the kind and quality of agency work.

Types of Agencies

The Chest agencies fall generally within four classifications of work: family and individual care, child care, group work and recreation, and central coordination. Certain types of agencies exist in most large cities, because of a general need for their services. Among them are such agencies as the Community Chest itself, the Community Planning Council, the Social Service Index, the Urban League, all of which provide central coordination services. In the family and individual care field are the Family Service Society, the Legal Aid Society, the Travelers Aid Society, the Florence Crittenton Home, the Salvation Army, the sectarian agencies; in the child care field are the Child Welfare Association, the institutions, the day nurseries; in the group work and recreation field are the YMCA's, the YWCA's, the Boys' Clubs, the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls. In most cities, there are other agencies, such as Goodwill Industries, homes for the aged, and so on.

These are established agencies, with carefully defined areas of performance, with national organizations to develop and evaluate programs, to promote and publicize the work on a national scale.

The following basic policies and procedures have, over the years, seemed to prove most effective in promoting the partnership we enjoy with the Red Feather services in this community. We hope you will find them of assistance in the preparation and administration of your agency budget.

While these policies are the outgrowth of much experience they are, of course, subject to change upon due notice and consideration.

Personnel Practices

It is considered desirable that each agency have a positive plan of personnel practices, standards of employment, and description of jobs. Such a plan should include a definite wage schedule or wage guide.

Agency Memberships

It is recognized that membership efforts on the part of agencies in order to secure financial income are to the detriment of the one annual cooperative financial campaign. However, it is also recognized that an active membership with nominal fees can provide each agency with a group of close friends, prospects for board, committee and other volunteer service and that such membership effort on the part of agencies is encouraged by the Community Chest.

Agency Board Organization

It is recognized that service on agency boards is important civic service and that some device which assures a degree of rotation of officers and board membership is sound. Boards should genuinely represent, insofar as possible, the community at large. The Community Planning Council and the Chest stand ready to furnish agency nominating committees with suggested qualifications for board members and names of qualified individuals.

Public Information

It is considered essential that each agency have an active committee or staff plan to provide the community information of the aims and accomplishments of the Agency and to cooperate by giving support to and enlisting support for the Chest. Use of the name and symbol "Red Feather Service" helps to identify ourselves in the public mind.

Agency Audits

To obtain the advantages of standardization with resultant economy, the accounts of each agency are audited annually by an auditor employed and paid for by the Chest. Copies of annual agency audits are rendered to the Chest and to the governing boards of the agencies.

Should unusual circumstances warrant the employment of an independent auditor by an agency, this procedure should be approved by the Chest.

Disposition of Agency Surplus

If a member agency has, at the conclusion of any fiscal year, a surplus from operations, the Budget Committee considers this as a Chest asset, and the Agency is requested to return this surplus to the Chest.

Change in Agency Budgets

An agency is not expected to incur an operating deficit. Should an agency observe an unanticipated factor beyond its control, for instance a falling-off in operating income or an emergency operating expense which has caused a deficit, it should be noted and explained on the monthly agency financial report form. It should also be discussed with the Executive Director of the Chest as soon as evident in order that the Budget Committee and the Chest Board may be apprised of the situation.

Any major change in program other than natural growth of any one agency should be considered with the Community Planning Council to avoid duplication of efforts and to fit in with the over-all plan.

Any agency may apply at any time during the fiscal year to the Budget Committee for re-allocation of its estimated revenues or expenditures to meet changed circumstances or experiences.

Naturally, however, the Budget Committee does not expect to be asked to appropriate funds to pay for expenditures or commitments made without the knowledge of the Committee. Thus no agency should alter or expand its work, if such alteration or expansion entails a future increase of budget, without consultation with the Budget Committee and the approval of the Board of Trustees. Copies of the wage schedule or wage guide should be sent to the Executive Director of the Chest to be available to the Budget Committee.

Should your agency desire to make "minor changes" within budget classifications, your Community Chest simply desires to be notified. In the case of "major changes" however, the Budget Committee, as outlined above, desires to be consulted before the change is made. As to what is major or minor, your Community Chest office will be glad to advise.

Method of Payment to Agencies

Agency payments are made monthly, on the basis of 1/12 of the annual allotment.

The Chest expects to receive the monthly agency reports on or before the 10th of the month.

The Chest stands ready to advance funds to an agency to care for unusual seasonal expenses, assuming that such an advance will be offset later by a reduction for some subsequent month.

In 1945 an appropriation was made to each agency for operating reserve. This amounted to an extra 12th of the allocation of that year and is to be used only as an operating reserve to remain intact at the close of each fiscal year.

The Budget Process

The proposed budget of member agencies is prepared by the agency with the assistance of standard forms supplied by your Chest office. They are submitted annually to the Chest on or before the date specified by the Budget Committee, which usually falls on June 15.

Complete and concise factual information is of most help to the Budget Committee. Service figures, compared with at least the previous year ... other evidences of growth ... and an adequate explanation of requested increases or notable decreases, is important. Sufficient background material to convey an understanding of the agency's program is frequently helpful. It will be very helpful if those agencies who can would arrange for budget presentations to be mimeographed, and 30 sets furnished the Budget Committee by the June 15 date.

After the agency budget has been studied by the Budget Sub-committee assigned to the particular agency, it is customary for this committee to make a personal visit to the agency. It is considered good practice to have at least the agency president and the agency executive present at this visit.

After such study as it deems necessary, the Budget Committee then submits its recommendations in respect to the budget to the Chest Board of Trustees. All sizable, recommended budget revisions must be discussed with the agency, before final presentation to the Chest Board, in order that every opportunity is provided the agency to present its facts in the light of this suggested revision. If no agreement can be reached through such a conference or series of conferences between the Budget Committee and the agency, the agency may appeal to the Chest Board for a hearing. An appeal of this type should not be considered a routine matter but one to be resorted to only in case of serious disagreement.

After final action by the Chest Board the budget is approved and the agency so notified, with the understanding that, upon agency request, further revisions may be made by the Budget Committee at any time during the year, except that the amount of the Chest allotment shall not be increased without approval of the Chest Board.

Conclusion

Community Chest agencies are autonomous. In many cases, they existed prior to the existence of the Chest. They have surrendered a degree of sovereignty, perhaps, in joining the Chest, in order to be relieved of the burden of fund-raising and to obtain a more stable method of financing. However, they are still independently responsible for their own programs, policies, budgets.

The Chest is a deficit-financing organization. The amount of the agencies' budget requests will represent the difference between the proposed expenditures and the agencies' income from non-Chest sources. In some instances, the Chest grant will be but a small proportion of the total agency budget; in other cases, the Chest grant will constitute nearly all of the agency's income.

In all cases, the agency, with its own responsible board and staff, its own areas of interest and effort, is considered as an independent member of a family of agencies which are banded together to raise money in cooperative effort.

Approach of the Budget Committee to the study of individual agency budgets has to be tempered by a friendly evaluation of the relationship between agency budgetary needs and fall campaign prospects.

Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

June 7, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 8 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Recent occurances at the Booker T. Washington High School have aroused the concern of the community regarding conditions which prevail in the public schools for Negro children in our city. Because of your interest in this matter which affects all of Atlanta, you are urged to attend a consultative meeting on Thursday, June 10th at 3:00 P. M, at the Atlanta Urban League's office, 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 400. The purpose of this meeting is to determine a sound course of community action in regard to conditions which have become so serious a manace to the well being of all Atlantans.

We hope that you will be able to attend.

Cordially yours,

G. T. Hamilton

(Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton

Mr. George Mitchell
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION JUN 3 - 1948
3 June 48

RALPH McGILL

Murder And a School

On the day the Southern Presbyterian Church Assembly adopted a resolution in Atlanta deploring the excessive crime in the South, pointing out that the large Negro population and its annual production of the Negro-murder-of-Negro revealed a failure of the church to reach the Negro population, two Negro boys, aged 14 and 16, were killed by rifle fire. Two other Negroes, not much older, were arrested and charged with the murder.

The older of the two boys arrested was indicted Tuesday. The younger boy was released by police. There will now follow one of two steps. An agreement, carrying a short sentence, will be presented to the jury and court. Or the jury will hear the evidence and, if the evidence is heavily in support of intent and laying in wait, will give a relatively light sentence.

The chief reason for the shocking amount of Negro crime is to be found in the habitual attitude of treating Negro murders of Negroes as "just another Negro killing." The result is bad for the whole society of white and colored. The law-abiding, Christian Negro is smeared with the reputation of violence and the whole Negro population is regarded as lawless and violent.

But this particular killing had its inception on the campus of the Washington High School for Negroes.

Problem Our first day's investigation, which will continue, reveals enough evidence to warrant the statement that if the present plan to enlarge Washington High School is carried out, it will be one of the worst errors of judgment the city has ever made and will be productive of violence, disorder and shame through the years ahead.

It is difficult to get at the story of Washington High School, which school seeks to care for 3,500 students and cannot do the job as it should be done.

It is difficult because the faction which supported former Principal Harper seeks to discredit the present principal, Cornell. The School Board states that Principal Cornell is doing a fine job. The truer statement could be that he is trying to do a fine job and is, perhaps, doing the best he can. But neither he nor any other person could do a fine job in quarters which are inadequate and with a staff which literally is overwhelmed. Every indication yet discovered supports the belief he is trying to do a good job. The School Board has used the Harper-Cornell feud as a convenient excuse.

Records There are such swarms of children there that is is not possible to keep accurate records. A check of the juvenile reports shows that many children have been out of school for days and their absence has never been noted by the school. Tardiness is the rule. The 3,500 children swamp the classrooms and throng the corridors. There is not much discipline because there can't be.

There are charges that half the faculty has grown so discouraged they no longer care or make any effort, but simply go with the current. That doesn't seem to be borne out by the facts. Admittedly there are many discouraged and frustrated. But there is evidence they would try if they could.

Crowds It is folly for the School Board to insist that the school goes well and that disorder is not great. The crowded conditions, exaggerated by the fact the county sends all of its Negro high school students to the two city schools, creates the inevitable "gangs" and hoodlum acts of terrorism.

Thrown into the school are the children from the financially well-off Negro homes, from the middle class and from the slums of "Pittsburgh" and others like that unhappy place.

About six months ago a young Negro girl was shot through the back at the school. A few days ago three young boys were brought to the Juvenile Court for being in possesion of a stolen pistol. The city admits that two years ago it became necessary to place policemen at the school at recess and on release for the day. Police still drop by "occasionally." There also have been instances of delinquency involving vice. Things are not good there.

Reasons Most of this is due to the crowded conditions and the fact that children from slums and from vicious, criminal families are thrown into the classrooms. The situation is aggravated by the fact that most Negro mothers work and are not at home during the day to give supervision to their children.

This situation at Washington High School is one which ought to attract the best attention of the people and the School Board. There has too long been a tendency to gloss it over as just a row between the Harper-Cornell factions.

Also, it will be almost criminally wrong to enlarge a school already dangerously expanded. It cannot function well as it is. A larger one will be worse.

At a time when the pattern of separate schools is under attack we can best defend our system if we honestly meet it problems. A third high school for Negroes, on the South Side, is a necessity.

JUN 4 - 1948

Atlanta Daily World

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C. A. SCOTT .. .. Editor and General Manager

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THE RIGHT TO VOTE

"The right to vote must be open to all our citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed — without tax or artificial restrictions of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole." Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Board Is To Blame

The widespread reaction of colored Atlantans to the slaying of two school-aged lads just off the campus of the Booker T. Washington high school last Friday afternoon is indicative of an aroused citizenry whose determination will not cool off with mere words this time. The people and parents want a thoroughgoing investigation of conditions at the school. They are demanding, and rightly so, that the school be made a safe and fit place for their children.

Indeed, one father of influence has hinted a suit against the Board of Education officials to enjoin them from re-opening next Fall until and unless these conditions are radically and speedily changed by that time. Whether this can be done remains to be seen. We hope such a suit will not be necessary. But something must be done and that very soon,

We have no evidence and doubt there is any for the charge that the fight against the present principal is "political" and that the chief reason for the unrest is because of "feuding" between the Harper and Cornell factions. The plain truth is, that Negroes are blaming Miss Jarrell, the Superintendent, together with members of the Board of Education far more than they are blaming Mr. Cornell. It is the teachers who say that the Board of Education is not interested in conditions of affairs at the school.

As for the "feuding" charge, it can be speedily dismissed by saying that if there is a Cornell faction it is his own fault. Every teacher out at the school knew, just as Principal Harper expected and knew, that his retirement was a routine matter: that he had reached the retirement age and that the Board would have been partial to him had the rules been waived to suit his individual case.

So that it is not "feuding" neither is it "political". What the Negroes of Atlanta want and have every right to expect, is a decent place where their children can secure an education, free from the foul air of violence and crime free from the contamination of married men who have free association with some of the students. There is nothing political about that, it is an administrative question. And either the Board does not know or does not care about the proper educational procedure.

Thus, instead of offering a defense of Mr. Cornell, Supt. Jarrell could use her time far more profitably if she would explain the secret handling of cuttings and stabbings which never reach the police blotter. The citizens would like for her to explain the presence of uniformed policemen at the school on regular beats for at least a year. They want to know what plans she has for building the auditorium and stadium voted under the bond issue.

Yes, we are far more concerned over the cold indifference of the Board of Education toward Negro education than we are with the faults and failures of the principal at the Washington high school. For if the Board takes seriously the problem of education for Negro youth, then we will get good school principals and good teachers.

Board Meeting

Atlanta Urban League 11:00 A. M.

June 3, 1948

Present: J. B. Blayton, presiding, W. H. Crawford, Mrs. Harry m. Gershon, Dr. R. C. Hackney, J. R. Henderson, Nelson C. Jackson, Miss Mildred Mell, George Mitchell, Walter Paschall, Philip E. Shulhafer, and Mrs. C. R. Yates.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and Mr. R. A. Thompson.

Mr. Blayton opened the meeting with a welcome to the new board members, Miss Mell, Dr. Hackney, and Mr. Ransom.

Mr. Thompson reported that the years work on housing for Negroes in Metropolitan Atlanta, had resulted in the formation of a corporation which will develop a sub-division of 45 acres for low-cost houses in area Number I. He reviewed the housing committee's program of the past year which has included locating land in areas which seemed reasonable for Negro expansion, tracing land ownership, encouraging land owners to invest in the Negro low-cost housing market, developing relationships with Fulton and DeKalb County officials in order to facilitiate the development of the possible areas, and serving as liasion between F.H.A. and the individuals requiring F.H.A.'s assistance.

Board members commented that the developments in the housing program alone would have justified the League's work during 1947.

Mrs. Hamilton reported that plans for the development of the Negro voluntary hospital were pending determination by the Atlanta

Hospital Authority of whether the Veterans Administration wished to use a recommended site. The Advisory Committee will meet during July, after word has been reached from the Veterans Administration.

Dr. Hackney told the Board about a post-graduate clinical seminar for Negro physicians which is meeting weekly with the Emory Medical School staff at Grady Hospital. This experience is providing professional contacts which have not been available before. Dr. Robert Grant is responsible for the planning and conduct of the seminars.

Mrs. Hamilton presented the 1949 budget request to the Community Fund, and the budget explanation which accompanies the request. Upon motion by Mr. Paschall, seconded by Dr. Hackney, the budget request was unanimously approved.

Mrs. Hamilton announced that the next board meeting would be held on July 1, at 10:00 A. M. with the Budget Study Committee of the Chest, in the Board room of the First National Bank Building.

Adjournment

Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

June 25, 1948

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1948
Southern Regional Council

TO: Members of the Board of Directors
Atlanta Urban League

FROM: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

This is a reminder of the very important meeting of our Board with the Budget Study Committee of the Atlanta Community Fund. The meeting will be held on Thursday morning, July 1, at 10:00 o'clock in the Board Room of the First National Bank. The details of the budget and the budget explanations were approved at the June meeting of the League's board. Board members who were not present at this meeting are asked to study the request which is sent to them herewith.

All members of the Board are sincerely requested to attend this meeting, and to share in the responsibility of interpreting the agency's program and need of support to the Budget Study Committee of the Greater Atlanta Community Fund. If there are any points which are not clear in the budget request, we hope that you will telephone our office for clarification prior to the July 1st meeting.

1 - Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

October 16, 1948

RECEIVED OCT 18 1948 Southern Regional Council

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive

The Atlanta Urban League's Board will meet on Wednesday afternoon, October 27th at 2:30 P.M. in the League's office - 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

We hope that all board members will make a special effort to attend this - the first meeting of the fall. There are developments in regard to housing, public schools, and health and hospital facilities, which require the best thoughts of all of us. We look forward to seeing you at this time.

Please return the enclosed postal telling us that we may expect you.

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
NOV 2 1948
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Atlanta Urban League 2:30 P.M.

Oct. 27, 1948

Present: Mr. A. T. Walden, presiding, Mr. Blayton, Mrs. Gershon, Dr. Hackney, Mr. Henderson, Miss Mell, Mr. Ransom, Mr. Shulhafer, Mr. Washington.

Staff: Mr. Coleman, Mrs. Hamilton and Mr. Thompson.

The minutes of the June meeting were read and approved. The executive reported that the Budget Study Committee had recommended approval of the agency's budget to the Community Chest.

Housing: Mr. Thompson summarized developments in regard to low cost housing for Negro families in Atlanta. By common consent it was agreed that two committees should be organized to confer with Mr. Thompson on the problems related to "land development and" racial tensions in areas of new residential areas for Negroes. Miss Mell mentioned the advantage of working with other organizations and agencies which have an interest in the latter questions. Mr. Shulhafer suggested that the committees include persons other than board members who are either in the membership, or interested in the League's program.

Health and Hospitals: Correspondence and news releases reporting developments in plans for a 100 bed hospital for non-indigent Negroes were reviewed. Mr. Ransom discussed Federal assistance for hospital construction in relation to possibilities in Atlanta. The objectives inherent in the Urban League's interest in the project were stated as involving:

1. Increased hospital facilities for the Negro population
2. Leaning opportunities for Negro physicians through staff participation

3. Participation by representatives of the Negro community in formulation of policy, and operation of a "non-profit" hospital.

It was agreed that a working relationship with the Hospital Authority was essential. Mrs. Hamilton was advised to confer with the responsible representatives of the agencies involved, and to call upon members of the board for consultation as developments warrent.

Community Chest Relationship: Mr. Coleman reported upon the League's program for year-around interpretation of the Community Chest agencies, and upon its role in the direction of the house-to-house convass during the Chest campaign. The Negro division at its final report meeting for the 1948-49 Campaign reached its goal. It was suggested that another year the League might follow the procedure of another chest agency which was report ed by Mr. Shulhafer, by appointing a special committee to work with its own board members in behalf of increased support of the Chest.

The chairman reported the resignation of Mrs. Sophia Brown, the office manager, and by unanimous vote it was agreed to send a letter of appreciation for her services with the agency.

The executive was authorized to attend the November meeting of the Consumer Advisory Committee to the President's Civil Economic Advisors.

Consideration of the adequacy of the curricula offerings and the Carver Vocational School were deferred until the next meeting.

Adjournment.

1 - Atlanta Urban League

December 15, 1948

To: Metropolitan Atlanta Parents Council

From: The Atlanta Urban League

You are probably aware of the announcement made on December 6, 1948 by the Fulton County Board of Education that a special election would be called on January 18, 1949 to vote on a five million dollar ($5,000,000) Bond issue for construction of additional Fulton County school facilities. The Board of Education stated that "an additional tax levy of one mill will provide sufficient funds to amortize these bonds over a twenty-five year period. Based upon prevailing building costs, this sum proposed should permit erection of 230 additional classrooms and other needed facilities."

In response to inquiries about the influence of the proposed bond issue upon school facilities for Negro children in Fulton County -- the Atlanta Urban League has prepared the following analysis:

Analysis of Bond Plan

The building program for Fulton County Schools includes the following proposals:

	White	Negro
I. High Schools		
a) New buildings -		
Northside		
Southside		
Southwest		
Southeast	$1,350,000	
Westside		$450,000
b) Additions to High School Buildings -		
College Park High		
North Fulton High		
Russell High		
West Fulton High	$ 425,000	

II. Elementary Schools

	White	Negro
a) New Buildings -		
Fairburn		
Newton Estates (College Park)		
Rivers, E.		
Rock Spring	$1,050,000	
b) Additions to Elementary School Buildings -		
Ben Hill		
Brandon, Morris		
Cedar Grove		
Chattahoochee		
College Street		
Fain, Margaret		
Humphries		
Roswell	$ 635,000	
c) New Consolidated Colored Schools -		
(Ben Hill		
(Poplar Spring		
(Rocky Head		
(Stewart Avenue		
(South Atlanta		
(South Bend		
(Thomasville		
(Center Hill		
(Springfield		
(Simpson Road		
(Battle Hill		
(Roswell		
(Alpharetta		
(Sheltonville		$1,080,000
Total	$3,469,000	$1,530,000
Grand Total		$4,990,000

Analysis of Fulton County School Population

In 1947-48, there was a total enrollment of 28,733 in the Fulton County schools. Of these, 24,008 or 83.3 percent were white students and 4,725 or 16.7 percent were Negro students.

The enrollment, by school level was as follows:

Enrollment - 1947-48	White	Negro
Elementary	17,786	4,351
High School	6,222	374
Total	24,008	4,725

The students in average daily attendance (A.D.A.) in 1947-48 showed a similar distribution. (The number of students in average daily attendance is used as the basis for determining unit or per-pupil costs.)

A.D.A. - 1947-48	White	Negro
Elementary	14,562	2,645
High School	5,298	312
Total	19,826	3,957

The Negro school population of Fulton County was thus 16.7% of the total school enrollment -- and 17.6% of the students in average daily attendance.

Analysis of Present Investment in School Plants of Fulton County

Fulton County's total investment in school plants in 1946-47 was $5,606,707. In 1947-48 the total amount invested was $7,398,184. These amounts represented an average investment in school plant per-pupil of -- $241.74 in 1946-47, and $306.16 in 1947-48. Average investment in school plant per white student in 1946-47 was $282.86 and $60.85 per Negro student. In 1947-48 the per-pupil investment in school plant was $334.19 per white child and $175.76 per Negro child. These figures reveal an interesting and hopeful trend. In 1946-47 there was $4.65 invested per white student for each $1.00 invested per Negro child and in 1947-48 the differential had been reduced to $1.90 invested per white child for every $1.00 invested per Negro child.

In a school system required to provide separate and equal facilities for the Negro and white children which it serves, decrease in the differential between the per-pupil expenditure by race, indicates intent to share fairly the financial resources at the disposal of that school system. A decrease in the differential in per-pupil investment by race would indicate conscientious intention to consistently apply in practice the principles that:

- No less than the pro-rata share of the common school fund should be spent for the education of any child served by that school system; and
- No child should have increased educational opportunities at the expense of any other child served by the public school system.

Analysis of Effect of Bond Proposals on Fulton County's Investment in School Plants by Race

A bond issue for capital improvement is an "extraordinary means of financing" improvements in school buildings. It is thus necessary to consider the influence of such expenditure on present investment in school plants and to consider specifically the influence on the differential in per-pupil investment in the School plants for white and Negro students.

In 1947-48 the per-pupil investment in school plants was $334.19 per white pupil and $175.76 per Negro pupil. There was thus an average differential of $158.43 invested per pupil in school plants provided by Fulton County for its white and Negro students. An effort to extend the trend toward equalization which has been noted would involve (1) providing funds to "close the gap" between the amount spent per white child and the amount spent per Negro child for school plants and (2) spending the remaining funds equitably among the white and Negro school population -- so as to maintain an equal per-pupil expenditure.

A trend has been evident in Fulton County since 1946-47 towards equalization in per-pupil investment in school plants which is reflected in a marked reduction in the racial differential in 1947-46. The bond issue which allocates $1,530,000 for Negro schools appears to be a means to further equalization of plant facilities when measured by the per-pupil investment in school plants.

Active support by all citizens of Fulton County in behalf of securing a favorable vote on the bond issue is clearly warranted. Passage of the bond issue will make possible provision of educational facilities which are needed by all of the children of the County's population.

1- Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

December 30, 1948

RECEIVED
DEC 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

TO: The Board of Directors - Atlanta Urban League

FROM: A. T. Walden, Chairman
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League will meet on Wednesday, January 5th at 11:00 A. M. in the League's office -- 239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

A morning meeting is being held in order to permit attendance by board members who are unable to come in the afternoon.

The agenda will include:

(1) Discussion of developments in Negro housing

(2) Discussion of plans for a community leaders conference on equalization of public school education in Atlanta

Because of the importance of these issues to the Atlanta Urban League's program objectives for the year, we hope very much that all members of the Board will make an effort to be present.

Please return the enclosed postal card telling us that we may expect you.

1- Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

January 4, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 5 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are inviting you to participate in a community leadership conference which will be held Next Sunday afternoon, January 9, 1949 at 4:00 p.m. in the Exhibition Room of the Atlanta University Library.

The conference is called to discuss next steps for securing equality of educational opportunity in the public schools of Atlanta.

Many Atlanta citizens have worked in various ways during the past ten years to bring about equality of educational opportunity in the public school system of our city. Consideration of strategy and advisable next steps is now timely. Since this is a matter which vitally affects the welfare of the children of our city and all of us, we are urging you to be present to help plan for the future.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely yours,

A. T. Walden, Chairman
Atlanta Urban League

C. L. Harper, President
Atlanta Branch, NAACP

Rev. M. L. King, Chairman
Citizens Committee for
Equalization of Teachers
Salaries

E. M. Martin, Chairman
Citizens Committee on
Public Education

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
JAN 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Wednesday, January 5, 1949 11:00 A.M.

Assembly Room --- Atlanta Urban League

Present: A. T. Walden, Presiding, Messrs Clement, Cousins, Dr. Hackney, Jett, Messrs, Paschall, Roberts, Mesdames, Gershon and Wilson.

Staff: C. D. Coleman, Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and R. A. Thompson.

Mr. Walden opened the meeting with prayer.

The minutes of the November meeting were read and approved.

Mrs. Hamilton reported developments since the last meeting with regard to plans for the hospital for Negroes. Conferences have been held with, Mr. Spalding, Mr. Mizell and Mr. Stubbs. The Hospital Authority has requested the trustees of Emory University to deed to it a tract of land owned by Emory on Butler Street, for the location of the hospital. Mr. Spalding said that when the details of arrangements with Emory were completed, a meeting with the Advisory Committee would need to be called. Mrs. Hamilton suggested that Board members should consider persons who might become members of the lay board of directors of the hospital -- in order that proposals could be made at the proper time.

Mr. Thompson explained a map of "Area I" which showed the location of the residential sub-division of Negroes which will be developed by four Negro land owners with the Atlanta Urban League as sponsor. He reported that a temporary organization has been formed of veterans who are interested in developing cooperatively a housing - sub-division, and negotiations are proceeding with the Fulton county commissioners with regard to acquiring a tract of land for the development, which is presently owned by the County.

He reported that a sub committee of the Atlanta Urban League Board had met with a committee from the West End Business Men's Association to discuss the League's housing plan, and to enlist their cooperation in the developments in Area I. It was felt that the meeting was x significant as a basis for future relationships with this influential group.

The plans for the leade rship conference on educational opportunity were presented. The conference is called jointly sponsored by the Atlanta branch of the N.A.A.C.P., the Citizens Committee on Public Education, the Citizens Committee for Equalization of Teachers Salaries and the Atlanta Urban League. The purpose of the meeting is to determine advisable next steps in the effort to secure equalization of public school facilities in Atlanta. All members of the Board were invited to attend.

Mr. Cousins described the problems of the Negro schools of DeKalb County, and suggested that members of the Board who live in DeKalb County might use their influence in behalf of improving the conditions of the Negro schools. Mrs. Hamilton stated that limitation of the League's resources, prevented work in DeKalk county, except in that part of the county included in Metropolitan Atlanta.

A budget summary for 1948 was presented (copy attached), and attention was called to the difference in the amount budgeted for membership contributions and the amount received. It was suggested that a plan for securing renewals and new memberships be developed early in 1949.

Adjournment:

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Secretary
Board of Directors

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

BUDGET ANALYSIS

DECEMBER 31, 1948

INCOME	BUDGET	ACTUAL	PERCENT of BUDGET
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$18,674.00	100.0
Donations and Gifts	2,050.00	1,880.00	91.7
Memberships	1,500.00	923.00	61.5
Other	-0-	91.89	-0-
	$22,224.00	$21,568.89	97.0
EXPENDITURES:			
Salaries and Wages	$16,104.00	$14,583.16	90.6
Institutional and office	4,720.00	5,819.76	123.3
Educational	1,400.00	1,180.78	84.3
	$22,224. 00	$21,583.70	97.1
EXCESS OF EXPENDITURES OVER INCOME	-0-	14.81	

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

Atlanta Urban League's Adjusted Budget - 1949

On January 13, 1949, the Atlanta Urban League was advised by the Greater Atlanta Community Chest as follows:

1. "The allotment from the Chest to your organization for 1949 will be $18,674. Included in this figure is $ 100 of operating reserve which now the Budget Committee recommends you shall use as part of your operating funds. The Chest allocation in cash to you will, therefore, be $18,574. The above is subject to final approval by the Board of Trustees on January 27.

2. Because the resources of the Chest this year are very limited, it will not be in position to consider appropriations for any deficits.

3. Surpluses in the hands of any agency, under the established policy, will have to be returned to the Chest. Deductions will be made immediately after completion of the annual audit."

The budget committee of the Atlanta Urban League (Messrs. Roberts, Blayton, Milton) approved a readjusted budget (attached) for the agency's 1949 operations.

The Board of Directors' approval of the action on the 1949 budget is requested.

An analysis of finances as of February 28, 1949 is attached for your information.

Analysis of Atlanta Urban League Income

1948	(Actual)		
	Community Chest	($18,765.89)	87%
	Local Contributions and Memberships	2,803.00)	13%
1949	(Budgeted)		
	Community Chest	($18,674.00)	86%
	Local Contributions and Memberships	(3,080.00)	14%

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

BUDGET - DATE, 1948-1949

INCOME	ACTUAL 1948	APPROVED 1949	ADJUSTED 1949
A. Community Chest	$18,674.00	$21,256.00	$18,674.00
B. Donations and Gifts			
1. General - Undesignated	1,880.00	2,050.00	1,880.00
Total - B	1,880.00	2,050.00	1,880.00
D. Revenue			
17. Refunds From all Others	44.14		
20. Sale of Program Supplies	47.75		
21. Membership and Registration Dues	923.00	2,000.00	1,200.00
Total - D	1,014.89	2,000.00	1,200.00
Total Income	$21,568.89	25,306.00	21,754.00

EXPENDITURES			
A. Salaries and Wages			
Total	$14,583.16	$18,706.00	$16,493.00
B. Institutional and Office			
12. Rent	987.50	960.00	960.00
13. Minor Building Repairs	89.70	200.00	75.00
14. Minor Building Equipment Repairs	97.15	200.00	75.00
15. New Equipment & Replacements	716.65	250.00	100.00
16. Stationery, Printing, Office Supplies	1,857.20	1,200.00	996.00
17. Auto & Truck Operation & Upkeep	240.00	360.00	240.00
18. Other Transportation	3.50	30.00	30.00
19. Postage	439.02	450.00	412.00
20. Telephone & Telegraph	566.24	500.00	450.00
21. Insurance	39.80	50.00	43.00
22. Retirement Fund	781.40	950.00	845.00
25. All Others	160.00		
Total - B	$5,819.76	$5,150.00	$4,226.00
C. Educational			
26. Conferences & Conventions	456.42	400.00	346.00
27. Institute & Training Courses		100.00	50.00
28. Nat'l & State Organizations	240.50	500.00	250.00
29. Productions & Exhibits	125.49	50.00	43.00
30. Printed Matter & Literature	195.15	200.00	173.00
31. Program Supplies & Equipment	163.22	200.00	173.00
Total - C	1,180.78	1,450.00	1,035.00
Total Expenditures	21,583.70	25,306.00	21,754.00
Total Operating Surplus (Deficit)	(14.81)	-0-	-0-

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET ANALYSIS
FEBRUARY 28, 1949

	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget Thru Feb. 1949	Actual Thru Feb. 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
INCOME					
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$3,112.34	$3,112.34		
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	313.32	291.00	22.32	
Memberships	1,200.00	200.00	45.00	155.00	
	$21,754.00	$3,625.66	$3,448.34	$177.32	
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	16,493.00	2,748.82	2,703.04	45.78	
Rent	960.00	160.00	160.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	12.50	18.10		5.60
Building Equipment Repairs	75.00	12.50		12.50	
New Equipment	100.00	16.67		16.67	
Stationery, Printing	996.00	166.00	103.34	62.66	
Auto Upkeep	240.00	40.00		40.00	
Transportation	30.00	5.00	7.60		2.60
Postage	412.00	68.67	56.99	11.68	
Telephone	450.00	75.00	55.63	19.37	
Insurance	43.00	7.16		7.16	
Retirement Fund	845.00	140.84	116.40	24.44	
Conferences & Conventions	346.00	57.66	65.64		7.98
Institutes	50.00	8.34		8.34	
Organization Dues	250.00	41.66	3.00	38.66	
Productions and Exhibits	43.00	7.16		7.16	
Literature	173.00	28.84	29.01		.17
Program Supplies	173.00	28.84	45.45		16.61
	$21,754.00	3,625.66	3,364.20	294.42	32.96

Deduct Expenditures in Excess of Budget		32.96
Net Expenditures Short of Budget		261.46
Deduct Income Short of Budget		177.32
1949 Surplus as of February, 1949	84.14	84.14

For the Information of -- The Atlanta Urban League's
Board of Directors

Report of National Urban League
Budget and Support

On February 11, 1949, the following report was received from Lloyd K. Garrison, president of the National Urban League:

	1948
Total budget of all Urban League's	$1,385,481.00
Local Urban League's	1,202,215.00
National Urban League	183,266.00
2% of locals budgets	24,044.00
Amount actively paid by locals to National	$ 21,175.00
Percent of National budget paid by locals	11.5%

For the Information of:- The Atlanta Urban League's

Board of Directors

January 18, 1949

Mr. Kenneth Wilson, Executive Secretary
Greater Atlanta Community Chest
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 1, Georgia

My dear Mr. Wilson:

You will remember our recent telephone conversation about the financial plight of the National Urban League and the urgency of conducting a fund-raising campaign in several of our Southern cities. The Southern Field Division contemplates carrying on a limited appeal in the Atlanta region pointed specifically to the Negro population in an attempt to raise approximately $10,000. If the campaign is successful, and we have every reason to believe that it will be - there will be no drive in Atlanta next year, but, instead, one or two of the other communities will be approached in an effort to help defray the cost of operation of this office, which amounts to approximately $25,000 per year, and should be $50,000.

You and I both know that the Atlanta Urban League is a Community Chest agency, and as such receives all of its funds from that source, while the Southern Field Division Office of the National Urban League is not eligible for Chest support and most of its budget is spent in the Atlanta region. I am merely emphasizing this fact so that there can be no confusion in the minds of contributors to the Chest about the Atlanta Urban League, a Chest agency, and the National Urban League, which is not.

We contemplate carrying on this limited appeal the last week in February, 1949 and have already begun talking with a few outstanding citizens who have promised to lend their support to this appeal.

Cordially yours,

Nelson C. Jackson
Southern Field Director.

NCJ:MW

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
MAR 22 1949
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

Board of Directors

Atlanta Urban League March 9, 1949

Present: A. T. Walden, presiding - Messrs. Charles Green, Dr. R. C. Hackney, J. R. Henderson, A . V. Jett and F. B. Washington, Miss Mildred Mell.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Robert A. Thompson and Clarence D. Coleman.

Following a prayer led by Mr. Green the minutes of the January meeting were read and approved.

Mrs. Hamilton presented the report from the Budget Committee (Copies attached) and asked for approval of the adjusted budget, necessitated by the Community Chest's instructions of January 13. Upon a motion by Mr. Green, the re-adjusted budget for 1949 was approved.

Mrs. Hamilton reported upon the financial status of the agency at the end of February 1949, and pointed to the importance of ha ving a Board committee to consider ways and means of securing the income for 1949 budgeted beyond the Community Chest appropriations. It was suggested that this group might consider ways of increasing the membership, and of furthering a continuous interpretation of the Atlanta Urban League's program. Upon motion by Mr. Washington, the chairman was asked to appoint such a committee. Miss Mell and Mr. Henderson offered to serve with this group, and the chairman appointed the group including - Miss Mell, Mr. Henderson, Mrs. Yates and Mr. Paschall.

The following committee was appointed to consider nominations for the Board for the 1949-52 term; Mr. Washington, Chairman, Mr. Shulhafer, Mr. Mitchell.

A letter from Mr. Jackson, Southern Field representative of the National Urban League was read asking that representatives from the Board be named to work with a committee to plan a conference of Southern Urban League representatives, to be held in Atlanta early in May. Mrs. Hamilton suggested that the committee consider the possibility of combining the annual meeting of the Atlanta Urban League with this meeting. The two members of the Southern Advisory Committee, who are members of the A tlanta Urban League Board,(Mr. George Mitchell and Mr. F. B. Washington) were asked to serve as members of this conference planning committee with Mrs. Hamilton and Mr. Green. Mr. Washington spoke of the importance of considering a strong "Southern" speaker for the annual meeting, in view of the many opportunities for Urban League program in the South. The committee above was empowered to act in regard to plans for the Atlanta Urban League's annual meeting.

Mr. Thompson reported that the veterans' cooperative and the Atlanta Urban League have prepared a petition which will be presented at the April meeting of the Fulton County Commissioners. The petition supports the request to buy the 43 acre tract owned by the county, for the purpose of developing a subdivision of homes for Negro veterans. The petition has been signed by other organizations in the community, and board attendance at the County Commissioners' meeting was urged.

Dr. Hackney asked whether finances were assured, if the county agreed to sell. Mr. Thompson reported that two financing institutions had approved the plans, and had agreed to underwrite the cost if necessary.

Mr. Coleman reported that the Urban League was carrying responsi-

bility for the "House-to-House" canvass in the N. A. A. C. P. Campaign -- based on an agreement made by the N. A. A. C. P. and the Citizens Committee for Educational Opportunity that $5,000 would be allocated for the legal action proposed by the committee. He reported that the Citizens Committee was formed as a result of the "Strategy Conference on Educational Opportunity" held in January to consider next steps in securing equalization of educational facilities. He reported that the conference had proposed that legal action be instituted as soon as practicable; that political action to secure representation on the Board of Education be considered; and that a continued program of interpretation to build supporting public opinion be conducted. Mr. Coleman urged that all Board members who had not previously joined the "Sponsor a Child" campaign, do so. (Literature attached).

Adjournment

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
12 1949
Southern Regional Council

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

FOR RELEASE MONDAY
APRIL 11, 1949

April 8, 1949

FROM: The Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Members of the Atlanta Board of Education and Superintendent Ira Jarrell received by registered mail today, a petition setting forth complaints of Negro parents as to conditions prevailing in Atlanta public schools for Negro children.

The petition states that the prevailing inequities in the expenditure of public school funds, prevent their children from obtaining educational opportunity equal to that afforded white children in Atlanta. Stating that the average per-pupil expenditure is a reasonable measure of equality in a school system operating separate schools for white and Negro pupils, "persistent and increasing differentials" are noted in this measure.

Quoting the recently released report of the Atlanta Superintendent of Schools for 1948 - Report to the People, the petition cites figures showing that $178.67 is spent per white child, and only $75.13 is spent per Negro child. According to the Report $123.37 is the average per pupil expenditure, or the amount available per child for the education of all children.

Charging that the conditions described in the thirteen points of the petition are a violation of the Federal Constitution, it carried the signatures of the Presidents of THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA PARENTS COUNCIL, AND THE CITIZENS' COMMITTEE. FOR EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY and the signature of Counsel.

THE METROPOLITAN ATLANTA PARENTS COUNCIL is an organization of citizens and parents with children enrolled in each of the schools maintained for Negro

children by the city of Atlanta. Previous appeals from this group to the Board of Education have requested remedy of specific conditions.

One parent, who declined being quoted said, "We have been patient -- and our children have been long suffering. The five year record shows that differences in what is spent for our children, and what is spent for white children gets bigger every year." Another commented that "Maybe we can find a fair deal somehow, since the Board of Education seems to be unable or unwilling to require its paid officials to correct the conditions which handicap our children."

All members of the Atlanta Board of Education are subject to election in the fall of 1949. In October 1948, a decision requiring equalization of teachers' salaries in Atlanta was rendered in the District Court of the United States, Northern district of Georgia. The decision is on appeal by the Atlanta Board of Education to the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, in New Orleans.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

1- Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

April 11, 1949

RECEIVED
APR 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

To: The Advisory Committee on Hospital Care for Negroes in Atlanta

From: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Secretary

Although this committee has not been together for some months, there have been many developments contributing to sonsummation of the objectives which were set in our meetings last year. Mr. Spalding, Chairman of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, and a member of this committee, has requested me to report the following actions to you:

1. A tract of land adjoining the present residence for Negro nurses of Grady Hospital, which was owned by Emory University, has been deeded to the Hospital Authority for the purpose of building upon it, a hospital for the non-indigent Negro population of Atlanta. This tract is located at the northern end of the city block bound by Piedmont Avenue, Coca-Cola Place, Armstrong and Butler Streets.

2. The Hospital Authority has had appraised and has offered to buy the corner lot presently occupied by a filling station, on the southeast corner of the intersection of Piedmont Avenue and Coca-Cola Place, S. E. Condemnation proceedings will be instituted if the owners do not agree to sell. This

will complete a plot large enough for the hospital.

3. The architectural firm of Abreu and Robeson have been engaged to draw plans and specifications.

4. The first set of tentative drawings have been completed, and may be reviewed by members of the committee, in my office at the Atlanta Urban League.

5. The Hospital Authority has agreed to finance the construction of the hospital with the assistance of Hill-Burton funds, and possible state assistance.

6. Construction of the hospital is expected to begin during 1949.

7. The Chairman of the Hospital Authority has proposed that the hospital will be governed, by a separate board of trustees, under the over-all supervision of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority. It is his opinion that the board should be appointed by the trustees of the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority, and should consist of not less than nine, nor more than eleven members, a majority of which shall be Negro citizens.

The Committee members are asked to send recommendations for the members of the Board, to me at the Atlanta Urban League. Your recommendations will be summarized and forwarded to the Chairman of the Hospital Authority. It is suggested that this process, be completed in the very near future, in order to make possible cooperative planning by the groups which will be responsible for the success of this undertaking.

With sincere appreciation for your continued interest.

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
12
Southern Regional Council

TO:

MISS IRA JARRELL, Superintendent, and
BOARD OF EDUCATION OF ATLANTA:

The Petition of Your Petitioners Whose Names are Affixed Hereto Respectfully Shows:

1.

That your petitioners are citizens of the United States, of the State of Georgia, residing in Atlanta, Georgia and are taxpayers of the State of Georgia and City of Atlanta. Your petitioners are Negroes and are parents of children of school age now attending the public schools of Atlanta.

2.

That the Superintendent and Board of Education of Atlanta have direct supervision of all public schools in Atlanta including the schools attended by the children of your petitioners. That under the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, the Superintendent and Board of Education of Atlanta are under a positive duty not to discriminate against any school child, and to maintain the public schools of Atlanta on a basis of equality of education for all children without regard to race or color.

3.

That in accordance with Georgia law, the Superintendent and Board of Education of Atlanta have established separate schools for white and Negro children, and despite the requirements of the United States Constitution, have established and maintained a policy of denying to Negro school children educational facilities and services equal to those offered white public school children in Atlanta.

4.

That educational opportunity for the individual is measured by the amount of money spent per child to purchase educational facilities and services. The total amount spent of the funds available, divided by the total number of children served by a

school system represents the average per-pupil expenditure, or unit cost of the education provided by a given school system.

5.

That the average per-pupil expenditure provides a reasonable standard for determining the extent to which any two groups of children, served by a single school system under separate circumstances, share equitably the public school funds.

6.

That a comparison of the average per-pupil expenditure for Negro children with the average per-pupil expenditure for all children in Atlanta shows persistent and increasing inequality of educational opportunity between what is provided Negro children, and what is provided all other children.

AVERAGE PER PUPIL EXPENDITURE BY RACE FOR THE YEARS
1943 THRU 1948 (All Regular Day School Students)*

Year	Average Per Pupil Expenditure All	Average Per Pupil Expenditure White	Average Per Pupil Expenditure Negro
1943-44	$93.41	$119.61	$44.11
1944-45	97.81	124.00	47.78
1945-46	101.59	128.53	51.92
1946-47	110.59	139.73	59.88
1947-48	123.37	178.67	75.13

* Superintendent's Report to the Board of Education, 1944,45,46,47,48.

7.

That the average per-pupil expenditure for white children annually exceeds by approximately $27.00 the pro-rata share for all children, and the average per-pupil expenditure for Negro children each year is approximately $50.00 less.

8.

That the Board of Education's expenditure per Negro child educated is less than half the amount expended for each white child.

9.

That inequalities in facilities and services offered Negro and white children are evident in a comparison of the total unit costs, by race, or unit costs by race at

at all school levels, and in unit costs by race for school plant and institutional services.

PER PUPIL COSTS FOR DIFFERENT SCHOOL LEVELS BY RACE
FOR THE YEARS 1946 - 1947*

	Per Pupil Cost All	Kinder-garten		Elemen-tary		Junior High		Senior High	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1946-47	$110.59	122.13	50.90	121.95	51.63	162.18	59.43	173.13	99.53

UNIT COSTS FOR INVESTMENT IN SCHOOL PLANT BY RACE
ATLANTA, 1947 - 1948*

	White	Negro
1947-48	$383.87	$153.42

UNIT COSTS FOR INSTRUCTIONAL SERVICES BY RACE
ATLANTA, 1947 - 1948*

	White	Negro
1947-48	$143.75	$61.65

10.

That the discrimination based upon race in the expenditure of public school funds, evidenced by differentials in the average per pupil expenditure for white and Negro children, causes Negro children to suffer a serious lack of school facilities and services is illustrated by the following facts:

a. More than 85 percent of all Negro elementary school children were offered only half a day in school during 1947-48.

Of the 13,000 Negro elementary school children enrolled in Atlanta in 1948-49, more than 11,650 or approximately 90% attend school only 2 or 3 hours each day because of "double

or triple sessions." The number of Negro elementary school children on double sessions this year, is greater than the total Negro elementary school enrollment last year.

b. The number of teaching positions in Negro schools exceeds the number of Negro teachers employed in the schools for Negro children. This increases the pupil-teacher ratio in the schools maintained for Negro children by the Board of Education, and necessitates the half day for Negro children.

c. The pupil-teacher ratio in the public schools for Negro children greatly exceeds the pupil-teacher ratio in the public schools for white children. In 1947-48 there were only two Negro elementary schools with a pupil-teacher ratio as low as the standard of 35 to 1, set by the Georgia Accrediting Commission.

Only one elementary school for white children had a pupil-teacher ratio which did not meet the standard.

PUPIL-TEACHER RATIO BASED ON ENROLLMENT AND NUMBER OF TEACHERS EMPLOYED
1947 - 1948*

	White	Negro
Elementary	32 to 1	53 to 1
High	21 to 1	28 to 1
All Students	27 to 1	41 to 1

* Superintendent's Report to the State Department of Education.

d. Whereas - twenty-seven of the forty-one or 66 percent of the elementary schools for white children are accredited by the Georgia Accrediting Commission for 1948-49, only five of fourteen, or 36 percent of the elementary schools for Negro children

are so accredited. Three of these five are accredited with a stated deficiency of "excessive teacher load."

e. There are no kindergartens in the majority of Negro elementary schools.

f. The absence of supervisors for art, physicial education, radio education, home economics and other specialized areas of instruction, limits the educational opportunities of students in the schools maintained by the Board of Education for Negroes in our city.

g. Bush Mountain and Armour Schools lack the essential sanitary facilities for the comfort and convenience of the students. Sanitary facilities in other schools are markedly insufficient and inadequate.

11.

That the children of your petitioners residing in certain sections of Atlanta are seriously handicapped by lack of public school facilities in the neighborhood where they live.

12.

That it is impossible for the children of your petitioners under existing circumstances to obtain an education in the public schools of Atlanta maintained for Negroes equal to the education offered to all other pupils in the public schools maintained for them by the Superintendent and Board of Education.

13.

That the continued maintenance of the policy, custom and usage of denying to Negroes educational opportunities equal to those offered all other pupils is a violation of the Constitution and Laws of the United States, especially the Fourteenth Amendment and Section, 43 Title 8, of the United States Code.

WHEREFORE YOUR PETITIONERS PRAY:

1. That the Superintendent and Board of Education establish and maintain educational facilities and services for Negroes equal in all respects to those offered to all other children from public funds.

2. That the Superintendent and Board of Education grant your petitioners such other and additional relief as this petition justifies.

Respectfully submitted, this 11 day of April, 1949

_____ Mrs. E. L. Dixon	Chairman Metropolitan Atlanta Parent's Council
_____ Dr. B. E. Mays	Chairman Citizens Committee for Educational Opportunity
_____ A. T. Walden	Counsel 28 Butler Street, N. E.

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
APR 15 1949
Southern Regional Council

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Nominating Committee for Board
Atlanta Urban League

Mr. George Mitchell
Mr. Philip E. Shulhafer
Mr. F. B. Washington

FROM: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director
Atlanta Urban League

A suggestion has been made which seems to me good, and which if acceptable would have bearing on the work of the nominating committee. In order to enlarge the group of persons actively participating in the work of the League, and to avoid increasing the Board to an unwieldy size, the board might create a Board Council, whose membership might include:

(1) Board members with regional responsibilities whose judgment is needed - but whose attendance must necessarily be infrequent.

(2) Former Board members, whose interests continue, but whose re-election to the Board would limit the opportunity of other persons to gain whatever experience board membership provides.

(3) Other citizens, with an established interest in, and knowledge of the program of the League and of the community, who for various reasons may be unable to accept regular board membership.

The members of the Council would receive all notices of Board meetings and all other information going to the board members. They would be welcomed at all meetings they could attend, and because of this relationship would be fully informed of the agency's operations. We should be able to

maintain a mutual sense of "belonging" between this group and the board.

The group should probably not exceed ten or twelve, and its membership should be reviewed annually. There would be no need for "honorary board members."

The terms of the following Board members expire in 1949. They are eligible for re-election:

J. B. Blayton
Edward M. Kahn
George Mitchell
Walter Paschall
A. T. Walden
Mrs. C. R. Yates
(Mrs. Howard Candler - no longer active)

The following persons have been suggested for board membership:

Mr. I. H. Burney, Manager
Afro American Life Insurance Company

Dr. Irving Greenberg, Physician

Miss Lorraine Jennrich, Case Work Supervisor
Family Service Society

Miss Rhoda Kaufman, Former Exec.
Atlanta Social Planning Council

Rev. Homer McEwen, Pastor
First Congregational Church

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild
The Temple

Rev. L. M. Tobin, Pastor
Providence Baptist Church

Mr. J. P. Whittaker, President
Atlanta Mutual Building and Loan Association

Will you think over these proposals in preparation for a meeting of the committee during the early part of the week of May 2nd to 6th, the definite time to be set later.

1 - Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

May 5, 1949

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director
A. T. Walden, Chairman

The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League will meet on Thursday morning, May 12th at 11:00 a. m. in the office of the League.

The agenda will include:

1. Report of Nominating Committee
2. Consideration of plans for the hospital
3. Budget analysis, and appointment of 1949 Budget Committee

The proposed resolution which is enclosed will be acted upon at the meeting.

The attached excerpts from Malcolm T. MacEachern's Hospital Organization and Management - regarded as the "bible" of hospital administration, are also enclosed for your information.

We hope that we may count on your presence and counsel.

Atlanta Urban League

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

RECEIVED
APR 7 1949
Southern Regional Council

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET ANALYSIS
MARCH 31, 1949

	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget Thru March, 1949	Actual Thru March, 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
INCOME					
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$4,668.51	$4,668.51		
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	469.98	455.00	$ 14.98	
Memberships	1,200.00	300.00	92.00	208.00	
	21,754.00	5,438.49	5,215.51	222.98	
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$4,123.23	$4,025.18	$ 98.05	
Rent	960.00	240.00	240.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	18.75	37.60		18.85
Building Equip. Repairs	75.00	18.75		18.75	
New Equipment	100.00	24.99		24.99	
Stationery, Printing	996.00	249.00	309.80		60.80
Auto Upkeep	240.00	60.00		60.00	
Transportation	30.00	7.50	8.15		.65
Postage	412.00	102.99	139.54		36.55
Telephone	450.00	112.50	101.93	10.57	
Insurance	43.00	10.75		10.75	
Retirement Fund	845.00	211.26	175.20	36.06	
Conferences & Conventions	346.00	86.49	145.64		59.15
Institutes	50.00	12.52		12.52	
Organization Dues	250.00	62.49	3.00	59.49	
Productions & Exhibits	43.00	10.75		10.75	
Literature	173.00	43.26	34.21	9.05	
Program Supplies	173.00	43.26	46.80		3.54
	$21,754.00	$5,438.49	$5,267.05	$350.98	$179.54
Net Income Short of Budget					222.98
Gross Deficit					402.52
Net Expenditures Short of Budget					350.98
Net Deficit, March 31, 1949			51.54		51.54

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE
ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

May 12, 1949 11:00 A. M.

Present: Mr. R. L. Cousins, Mr. W. H. Crawford, Dr. Richard Hackney, Mr. Nelson C. Jackson, Mr. A. V. Jett, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon and Mrs. M. E. Tilly.

Staff: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Mr. James D. Martin and Mr. R. A. Thompson

Mr. Jackson presided in the absence of Mr. Walden.

The minutes of the March meeting were read and approved.

Upon request of the chairman of the Advisory Council of the Child Guidance Center, a resolution endorsing the plans to establish a center, was passed by the Atlanta Urban League board. (Resolution attached)

The following recommendations of the Nominating Committee were adopted:

1. There shall be an additional classification for Board members to be known as Associate Board Members.

2. The number of Associate board members shall not exceed ten, which shall be in addition to the 21 board members provided for in the Constitution and bylaws of the Atlanta Urban League.

3. Associate members may include those board members with regional responsibilities which prevent regular board attendance; former board members whose interests continue; and other citizens with an established interest in and knowledge of the people of the League and of the community, who for various reasons may be unable to accept regular board membership.

4. Associate board members shall receive all notices of board meetings and shall have all priviledges and responsibilities of board membership, except that their absence from more board meetings shall be automatically understood.

5. Associate board membership shall be reviewed every two years.

The following persons were re-elected to the Board in the Associate classification:

Mr. Edward M. Kahn
Mr. George Mitchell
Mr. Nelson C. Jackson
Mr. John E. Ransom
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Mr. R. L. Cousins

The following persons were -re-elected to the Board of Directors for terms expiring in 1952:

Mr. J. B. Blayton
Mr. Walter Paschall
Mr. A. T. Walden
Mrs. C. R. Yates

The folowing persons were recommended unanimously for Board membership: (Terms indicated)

Mr. I. H. Burney (1952)
Miss Rhoda Kaufman (1952)
Mr. Lester Persells (1952)
Rev. L. M. Tobin (1950)
Mr. J. P. Whittaker (1951)

The progress in planning for the Negro hospital was reported, and board members were reminded of their opportunity to make suggestions for the hospital Board to the chairman and/or executive of the Atlanta Urban League.

Mr. Martin was introduced to the Board and presented the Budget Analysis for April, 1949.

The following board members were asked to serve as the Budget Committee for 1950.

Mr. J. B. Blayton
Mr. T. J. Roberts
Mr. L. D. Milton

Adjournment

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1949

RESOLUTION ENDORSING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

A CHILD GUIDANCE CLINIC IN ATLANTA

Adopted by: The Board of Directors of Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
May 16, 1949

WHEREAS, the problems of juvenile delinquency, serious mental disorder, and emotional maladjustment of normal people have become the subject of increasing public recognition; and,

WHEREAS, it is generally acknowledged that in no other field is early diagnosis and preventive therapy more practical or more dramatically reflected in its results; and,

WHEREAS, such diagnosis and therapy can best be developed in an agency devoted to the problems of children, so that without such aid the existing agencies dealing with community and social welfare and health, are necessarily limited in their praiseworthy work toward common objectives; and

WHEREAS, the establishment of a Child Guidance Clinic has been proposed for the City of Atlanta and Fulton and DeKalb Counties, to be financed by federal and local tax funds and administered by the Department of Public Health of the City of Atlanta as an important adjunct to the public health and education programs of the City and the counties:

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:

(1) That the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League wholeheartedly endorse the establishment of a Child Guidance Clinic for the City of Atlanta

and Fulton and DeKalb Counties, whose services shall be available without distinction based on race or creed; the clinic to be financed by public funds and administered by the City of Atlanta in cooperation with the local medical authorities, social agencies, and institutions devoted to medical education.

(2) That the establishment of such a Clinic be and it is hereby deemed, in the opinion of this Board, an essential part of the public education and health programs of the City and counties, and a necessary adjunct to the school system and social agencies, and the end purpose thereof being the increased benefits to the entire community, which is consonant with the highest purpose of this organization.

(3) That the officers of the Atlanta Urban League be, and are hereby, authorized and directed to cooperate in every way with those who have developed the plan so that an early fruition of the project may be hastened in accordance with the plan, and so that the Clinic as created will reflect the support of this organization.

(4) That notice of the adoption of this Resolution be sent to the Advisory Council of the Child Guidance Clinic, and to the Public Officials of the City of Atlanta, and the Counties of Fulton and DeKalb, as evidence of the support of this organization and of its awareness of the needs which can be met only through such a Child Guidance Clinic.

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
May 20, 1949

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET ANALYSIS
APRIL 30, 1949

INCOME	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget thru April, 1949	Actual thru April, 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$6,224.68	$6,224.68		
Donations & Gifts	1,880.00	626.64	639.00		$12.36
Membership	1,200.00	400.00	195.35	$204.65	
	$21,754.00	$7,251.32	$7,059.03	$204.65	$12.36
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	16,493.00	5,497.64	5,385.07	112.57	
Rent	960.00	320.00	320.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	25.00	37.60		12.60
Building Equip. Repairs	75.00	25.00		25.00	
New Equipment	100.00	33.33	38.50		5.17
Stationery	996.00	332.00	409.77		77.77
Auto Upkeep	240.00	80.00		80.00	
Transportation	30.00	10.00	9.55	.45	
Postage	412.00	137.33	154.34		17.01
Telephone	450.00	150.00	141.95	8.05	
Insurance	43.00	14.32		14.32	
Retirement Fund	845.00	281.68	234.00	47.68	
Conf. & Conventions	346.00	115.33	254.00		138.67
Institutes	50.00	16.68		16.68	
Organization Dues	250.00	83.33	3.00	80.33	
Production & Exhibits	43.00	14.32		14.32	
Literature	173.00	57.68	34.21	23.47	
Program Supplies	173.00	57.68	52.90	4.78	
	$21,754.00	$7,251.32	$7,074.89	$427.65	$251.22

Net Income Short of Budget (204.65 Minus 12.36)		$192.29
Gross Deficit		443.51
Expenditure Short of Budget		427.65
Net Deficit, April 30, 1949	15.86	15.86

1- Anti-Defamation League

June 7, 1949

Mr. Alexander F. Miller
Anti-Defamation League
11 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Alex:

It seems to me that McGill's column skillfully stepped right on the Bilbo Clubs, and did good.

I agree with you that there is grounds for opposing the habit of New York newspapers in giving indiscriminate notoriety to new and often sure-to-fizzle southern ultra-reactionary groups, but it does not seem to me that this is a good case to fight on.

I will keep this one in the fires and if something else like it comes along that you hear of, let me know, and maybe we can join the two instances and make a more convincing argument.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

ADL ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTHERN OFFICE - 11 PRYOR ST. S.W. - ATLANTA 3, GA.

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Oklahoma City, Okla.

June 2, 1949

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dear George:

Attached please find copy of the New York Post story on the American Bilbo Club and also a copy of the McGill column which appeared on May 28, and which pretty effectively cuts this organization down to size.

I have just been informed by a mutual friend that due to McGill's column and other publicity, Ira Jett has become very discouraged and the Bilbo Club before it even began is probably a member of the past.

I would appreciate your sending your reactions to the Post's blowing up of pip-squeak menaces like the Bilbo Club to Paul Sann, Executive Editor, at the New York Post and Home News, New York, N.Y.

Cordially yours,

Alex

Alexander F. Miller

AFM:MK
Encs.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1949.

CLARK HOWELL, President and Publisher

H. H. TROTTI, Vice President and Business Manager

RALPH McGILL, Editor

EDITORIAL PAGE

JACK TARVER, Associate Editor

WILLIAM H. FIELDS, Associate Editor

RALPH T. JONES, Associate Editor

DORIS LOCKERMAN, Associate Editor

RALPH McGILL

Oh, Dear Me, The Bilbo Clubs!

Oh, dear me!

That is about the strongest epithet we can muster, although I believe the case in point merits more.

The New York Post came out, a few days ago, with an "expose" of another "hate" organization in Georgia, fathered, so it said, by Homer Loomis, the recent feuhrer of the Columbians, whose last arrest, I recall, was in a young lady's hotel room where Homer was quoted as saying he had gone to wash his feet, surely a pure and well-conceived purpose, highly recommended by physicians and welfare workers. Homer now is out on bail in a case involving violence.

The new organization is named, says The Post, for the man Bilbo, but recently gone to his reward. It is called "The American Bilbo Club."

What irks me is that The Post, and occasionally other publications directed to a specialized circulation, will take a little shirttail organization such as this, with no hope of amounting to anything more than a trap for a few suckers, and give it national publicity. It is exactly this sort of thing which betrays legitimate criticism. It is precisely this type "expose" of Southern "conditions," so exaggerated and so erroneous, that makes it possible for the Ku Kluxers and the small-time organizers, seeking to collect a little spending money from suckers willing to join any hate organization, to claim the South is being abused by Yankee meddlers.

Bilbo Club The Bilbo clubs are just another organization following hard on the heels of others. Last year the "Kleig Light" organization, which was to put the spotlight on the activities of all non-Nordics, was born. Before that there was, by the same crowd, the Gentile clubs, or some such organization. Before that there was the "Southern Cavaliers," and so on. Next year they will have something else.

These little promotions, which somehow manage to collect small sums of money from the chronic joiners, supply the promoters with perhaps a total of $200 and then peter out.

This one may net $350 because of the necessity of giving it some attention to refute the Post's front-page ribbons. Homer Loomis has nothing to do with it. He probably is sympathetic.

The Post reported Ira Jett, now under indictment for illegal possession of dynamite and for attempted subornation of perjury, was one of the organizers. Ira is a plumber, a small one, whose telephone currently is disconnected. A former Shakespearean actor of the sweet long ago is also reported in on the deal. He reportedly reads the ritual in the initiations and can do so without fear of having tomatoes or dead cats hurled at him, a great change from the days when he trod the boards as a bit actor in a company presenting the plays of the immortal bard.

Doomed This organization is foredoomed to have a rather small membership anyhow. Not more than a third of the Ku Kluxers would be willing to join anything named for The Man, Bilbo.

It is simply wonderful what people will do to keep from working. And, what is even more wonderful, is how the crop of suckers keeps on lasting. I think, though, it is not quite as lush as in days of yore. I see the local Klan office is quoted as saying it has 140 klaverns in Georgia, 15 in Alabama and Florida, and 20 in Tennessee, and that each one has a minimum of 100 members. The boys always exaggerate, but let's take them at their own figures. That means less than 20,000 members. I'd be willing to wager the boys couldn't muster a total of 10,000.

Subversive Since the United States labeled the Klan subversive, and since the proper agents are keeping an eye on who goes to meetings, so that any Government employee may be fired for being a member—no Federal employee can belong to a subversive organization hostile to the United States—the membership drives are cooling off.

Oh, well, the Bilbo clubs are just another little effort by the boys to collect a little cigarette money. The application says the fee, which is anything you've got, from $1 up, is a "free will offering." That means the boys don't have to say if they spent it for cigarettes, steak or to take a gal out to supper.

That's one feature I never understood—how a lot of hard-working guys, whose wives and children need food and clothes, will pay $10 to the Klan organizers so they can live easy without working, or two bucks to something like the Bilbo clubs, and never as long as they live get any return.

That, I can't figure out.

5¢ IN NEW YORK CITY AND SUBURBS
10¢ ELSEWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES

COMPLETE NEWS—MAGAZINE SECTION—COMIC FEATURES

New York Post
HOME NEWS

BLUE FINAL LATE SPORTS RESULTS

TWO SECTIONS + Brooklyn Section, 8 Pages
Copyright, 1949, New York Post Corporation.
NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 23, 1949 Volume 148, No. 161. 44 PAGES

Interview With Alabama Grandmother; Her 10-Year-Old Daughter Just Had Baby

By LEO M. SWAIM JR.

Annie Glover backed off from the phone in Butler, Ala., only slightly less shocked by the voice that came over it than she had been 24 hours earlier when her 10-year-old daughter gave birth to a son.

Mrs. Glover was in Barber Hospital waiting to take her daughter, Barbara Jo, home from her confinement, and the 'phone call was the second of two original experiences for her.

It was the first time Mrs. Glover had ever talked over a phone.

"How is your daughter, Mrs. Glover?"

"She's feelin' pretty good."

"Are you going to take the baby home with you?"

"We sure are."

"How do you feel about your daughter's experience?"

"I don't know. I don't know what to say, this telephone's got me fooled."

"Was Barbara ready for her baby?"

"I don't know, the doctor will have to tell you about that."

Dr. W. J. Barber, who attended Mrs. Glover when Barbara was born and 10 years later delivered Barbara of a 7½-pound son, took the unusual maternity case right in stride.

"Was there anything unusual about the delivery, doctor?"

"Just routine stuff. Nothing unusual about it."

"Was the child mentally receptive to the idea? Did she suffer any psychiatric shock?"

"She'd been receiving pre-natal care for

Continued on Page 16

A HERO'S BURIAL FOR FORRESTAL

Story on Page 2

Hate-Monger Loomis Seeks Funds Here To Finance New Fascist Bilbo Club

Story on Page 3

RECEIVED JUN 3 1949 Southern Regional Council

Racing Results at Belmont

FIRST—7 fur.; off 1:15½:

Busy Whirl	13.70	6.00	4.20
Sickle Sue		8.70	7.10
Maelstrom			5.10

Time 1:27 1/5. Penny Dreadful, St. George, Crooner, Golden Vixen, Red Banjo, Arfred, Silver Reward, Julibee, Sadie Dee, Holly Star, Excel Lad ran.

SECOND—5 fur.; off 1:47½:

Fully Aware	8.50	4.20	3.40
Luring		4.00	3.20
Carryall			4.90

Time 1:00 2-5. Rope Trick, Wily Willy, Barracoon, Joseph Brant, Scotch Jewel, Emerald Belle ran.

DAILY DOUBLE paid $60.90.

THIRD—Off 2:19½: 1, Elmont; 2, Quiet; 3, Strategy.

Hate-Monger Loomis Seeks Funds Here To Finance New Fascist Bilbo Club

By IRVING LIEBERMAN and ROBERT WILLIAMS

Homer L. Loomis Jr., hate-mongering fuehrer of the anti-Negro, anti-Semitic Columbians who terrorized Georgia two years ago with a scheme for a U. S. fascist putsch, is seeking to reform his ranks with New York financial backing.

The one-time Park Av. playboy is back in town with an elaborate new storm-trooping blueprint—"The American Bilbo Club," replete with emblem and dedicated to the slogan:

"America for Gentiles, Africa for Negroes, Jerusalem for Jews."

Details of Loomis' hate-currying new venture were disclosed to this newspaper today by the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, whose agents attended a wiener roast outside Atlanta May 6 at which the club was born.

At Loomis' side was Ira Jett, his old Columbian comrade and minion of the Ku Klux Klan's Klacalier whipping squad (Kard No. N-48).

Neither is yet free of possible penalty for past misdeeds as Columbians. Loomis is under sentence of 2½ years in a Georgia work-gang, pending appeal, on charges of riot and usurpation of police power. Jett is under indictment, but has never been prosecuted, on charges of illegal possession of dynamite.

The dog roast which gave birth to the Bilbo Club served as a send-off to Loomis and Jett in their quest for funds.

Two hundred persons who paid $1 apiece for tickets sent them on their way to Manhattan, said the investigators, in an automobile equipped with:

One 12-gauge sawed-off shotgun.

Two .38 caliber revolvers.

Two blackjacks.

Two switchblade knives.

The league said the pair visited supporters here and in Providence, R. I., and drove back South May 10 after making arrangements for a return visit by Loomis this week.

The League agents learned that:

10,000 application blanks for membership in the club have been printed.

Membership is to be limited to white, English-speaking "moral citizens, unobligated to any alien influences' who "believe in Christian culture and ethics."

The emblem is elaborately printed in six colors for display on living-room walls of members. It shows the U.S. as white, Africa as black and Israel as blue. A slave ship sailing from Africa symbolizes the introduction of Negroes to the U.S., while a modern steamer sailing from the U.S. depicts the club's aim of sending all Negroes "back to Africa."

It was only logical that the club be named after Bilbo, the late Negro-reviling Mississippi Senator. League agents learned that Bilbo was consulted by Loomis before he launched the brownshirt Columbians.

James H. Sheldon, administrative chairman of the anti-Nazi League, said he was turning over his evidence to Solicitor Paul Webb, of Atlanta, for investigation.

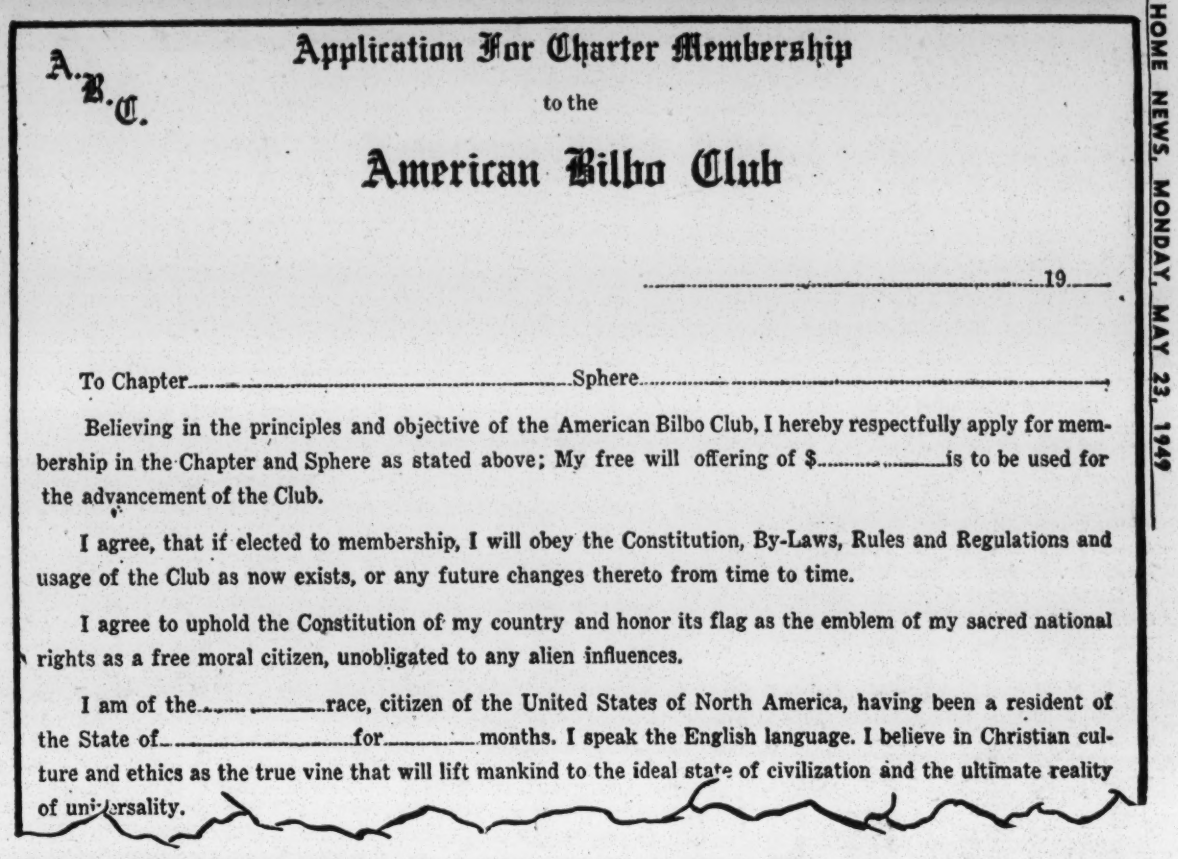
"America can only look upon this attempted revival of the infamous Columbians as the inevitable result of the long delay in committing Columbian leaders to jail," he said.

"We trust this delay is not due to the change in Georgia's state administration and that justice will soon be done."

HOMER LOOMIS JR.

Novelist G. G. Booth Dies

Beverly Hills, Cal., May 23 (AP)—Charles Gordon Booth, 51, author of such novels as "The General Died at Dawn" and "Johnny Angel," is dead after a two-month illness. Booth also was a movie writer, and won an Oscar for "The House on 92nd Street."



A.B.C.

Application For Charter Membership

to the

American Bilbo Club

.....19....

To Chapter.....Sphere.....

Believing in the principles and objective of the American Bilbo Club, I hereby respectfully apply for membership in the Chapter and Sphere as stated above; My free will offering of $.....is to be used for the advancement of the Club.

I agree, that if elected to membership, I will obey the Constitution, By-Laws, Rules and Regulations and usage of the Club as now exists, or any future changes thereto from time to time.

I agree to uphold the Constitution of my country and honor its flag as the emblem of my sacred national rights as a free moral citizen, unobligated to any alien influences.

I am of the.....race, citizen of the United States of North America, having been a resident of the State of.....for.....months. I speak the English language. I believe in Christian culture and ethics as the true vine that will lift mankind to the ideal state of civilization and the ultimate reality of universality.

MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION to the hate-mongering American Bilbo Club requires prospective members to state their race, and signify that they can speak English.

What Makes a Communist? John Gates Tells His Story

A combination of the 1929 crash, a study of Communist literature and the suspension of a City College classmate made a Communist out of John Gates, the editor of the Daily orker testified today when he took the stand as the first defense witness in his conspiracy trial with 10 comrades.

The 36-year-old member of the 12-man Communist national board began telling the story of his life under the examination of Harry Sacher after Federal Judge Medina had denied defense motions to dismiss the indictment and strike out the testimony of the FBI undercover informans called by the government.

Gates, a small man with deep dimples in his cheeks, brown eyes and dark, tightly curled hair, said he was born Saul Regenstreif on the Lower East Side, and changed his name to Gates in 1932. He now lives at 45-18 42d St., Long Island City.

At P.S. 179 in Manhattan, he said, he was a member of the color guard which "led students in pledging alliegance to the United States." Transferring to P. S. 42 in The Bronx, he said, he was graduated at the top of his class, was chosen valedictorian and received a gold medal. Sacher tried to introduce the medal, but unsuccessfully.

He attended De Witt Clinton High School, Gates said, winning a $400 State Regents scholarship when he graduated, and entered CCNY in February, 1940.

Father Lost His Savings

Hith father, a naturalized citizen born in Poland, owned a confectionary store, Gates continued, but lost all of his savings in 1929.

"I was very perplexed as to why there should be such a collapse in the richest country in the world, why there should be be poverty in the midst of plenty," re testified.

He read "The Communist Manifesto," Lenin's ' 'Imperialism," and George Bernard Shaws "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism," he said, and he joined the Social Problems lub at college.

He described ni detail an incident which, he said, persuaded him to join the Young Communist League in April, 1931. Max Weiss, a CCNY senior, was suspended for publishing an editorial opposing compulsory military training, in a paper called "Frontiers."

The Communists organized a defense of Weiss and Gates joined their delegation which asked Dr. Frederick B. Robinson, the president, to reinstate him. The request was refused, Gates said.

Gates said that he left CCNY in 1932 to go to work, but "at first I could only find temporary employment as a delivery boy for grocery and fruit stores." During periods of unemploment, he said, he studied economics and Marx's "Das Kapital."

The Daily Worker editor and his co-defendants are accused of conspiracy to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government.

Georgia Mayor May Try 3 Kluxers He Unhooded

Soperton, Ga., May 23 (AP)—Mayor Jim Peterson of this little South Georgia turpentine town may act as judge and jury at the trial of three robed men he unmasked Saturday night.

Peterson said he received a call Saturday night that men in Ku Klux Klan outfits were wandering the streets. Several women were frightened, he said.

The Mayor rushed out, yanked the masks off three and had them tossed in jail. Two other hooded figures ran when Policeman M. D. Ware fired a bullet at them.

In Atlanta, Klan Dragon Samuel Green termed the action a violation of the masked men's civil rights.

"Using a common expression, we don't like our dogs kicked around by mayors or anyone else," he said. "If he did jerk their hoods off, he is in violation of civil rights as if I went into his office and jerked his hat off."

The masked trio are free in $100 bond each. They are to appear in Recorder's Court June 13 for a hearing on charges of disturbing the peace.

"I may have to try them myself," said the Mayor. "Our recorder died recently and he hasn't been replaced. Haven't made up my mind yet. I might disqualify myself. But if I don't try them James Waller, the Mayor pro-tem, will."

Peterson, a brother of former Rep. Hugh Peterson, has served on the Board of Regents of the university system of Georgia under three Governors.

Green said Peterson over-stepped his authority "even if the men had been making a disturbance."

Peterson listed the three men as Malcolm Braddy, a mechanic; Joe Green, farm and woolen mill worker, and John Edge, night watchman for the State Highway Dept.

Braddy, he said, struck him and knocked his glasses off during the unmasking tussle.

For Up-to-the-Minute News Every Hour on the Hour

WLIB

1190 on Your Dial

1- Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

June 8, 1949

TO: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

FROM: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director

There will be a special meeting of the Board of Directors on Monday, June 13th at 10:30 A. M. in the offices of the Atlanta Urban League to approve the 1950 budget request to the Greater Atlanta Community Chest.

Please find enclosed a copy of the proposed budget request for such consideration as you are able to give it before the meeting.

RECEIVED
JUN 10 1949
Southern Regional Council

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET REQUEST
1950

INCOME	ACTUAL 1948	APPROVED 1949	PROPOSED 1950
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$18,674.00	$23,964.00
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	1,880.00	2,000.00
Memberships	923.00	1,200.00	1,200.00
Others	91.89		
	$21,568.89	$21,754.00	$27,164.00

EXPENDITURES						
Salaries:						
Professional	(3½)	12,349.86	(3½)	12,807.00	(4)	16,520.00
Clerical	(1¼)	1,972.80	(2¼)	3,446.00	(2½)	3,600.00
Janitor	(1)	260.50	(1)	240.00	(1)	300.00
Total Salaries		$14,583.16		$16,493.00		$20,420.00
Rent		987.50		960.00		960.00
Building Repairs		89.70		75.00		75.00
Bldg. Equipment - Repairs		97.15		75.00		75.00
New Equipment		716.65		100.00		100.00
Stationery, Printing		1,857.20		996.00		1,900.00
Auto Upkeep		240.00		240.00		240.00
Other Transportation		3.50		30.00		30.00
Postage		439.02		412.00		450.00
Telephone		566.24		450.00		500.00
Insurance		39.80		43.00		50.00
Retirement Fund		781.40		845.00		1,168.00
Conferences & Conventions		456.42		346.00		500.00
Institutes & Training Courses		- - -		50.00		50.00
Organization Dues		240.50		250.00		250.00
Production & Exhibits		125.49		43.00		50.00
Literature		195.15		173.00		173.00
Program Supplies		163.22		173.00		173.00
		$21,583.70		$21,754.00		$27,164.00
Surplus - (Deficit)		(14.81)		- 0 -		- 0 -

RECEIVED
JUN 20 1949
Southern Regional Council

1 - Atlanta Urban League

June 17, 1949

TO: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

FROM: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director

RE. Budget Request to Greater Atlanta Community Chest for 1950

The Board of Directors met on Monday, June 13th and approved the Budget request which is attached. The explanation which was developed in the Board discussion is also enclosed. The Budget analysis for May, 1949 is also sent herewith.

The budget review process this year will include the following steps:

(1) Study Committees organized by the Community Planning Council, to make recommendations on budgets in each of five fields of service: Family and Individual Care, Health, Child Care, Group Work and Central Services. These committees consist of two representatives from each of the agencies in a particular field of service, the agency executive and a board member. (Mr. J. R. Henderson was designated as the Atlanta Urban League board member for this assignment).

(2) The Budget Committee of the Chest will meet with Board members of each agency, after receiving the recommendations of the Study Committees referred to above.

The Atlanta Urban League is a Central Service agency, and the Study Committee for these agencies will meet on Friday, July 15th.

Please note on your calendar the date of the Board presentation to the Chest Budget Committee - Thursday, July 21st at 10:00 a. m., in the Board Room, Life Insurance Company of Georgia, 573 West Peachtree Street (At Linden)

A reminder will be sent to you.

Enclosures: 3

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET REQUEST
1950

INCOME		ACTUAL 1948		APPROVED 1949		PROPOSED 1950
Community Chest		$18,674.00		$18,674.00		$23,964.00
Donations and Gifts		1,880.00		1,880.00		2,000.00
Memberships		923.00		1,200.00		1,200.00
Others		91.89				
		$21,568.89		$21,754.00		$27,164.00
EXPENDITURES						
Salaries:						
Professional	(3½)	12,349.86	(3½)	12,807.00	(4)	16,520.00
Clerical	(1¼)	1,972.80	(2¼)	3,446.00	(2½)	3,600.00
Janitor	(1)	260.50	(1)	240.00	(1)	300.00
Total Salaries		$14,583.16		$16,493.00		$20,420.00
Rent		987.60		960.00		960.00
Building Repairs		89.70		75.00		75.00
Bldg. Equipment-Repairs		97.15		75.00		75.00
New Equipment		716.65		100.00		100.00
Stationery, Printing		1,857.20		996.00		1,900.00
Auto Upkeep		240.00		240.00		240.00
Other Transportation		3.50		30.00		30.00
Postage		439.02		412.00		450.00
Telephone		566.24		450.00		500.00
Insurance		39.80		43.00		50.00
Retirement Fund		781.40		845.00		1,168.00
Conferences & Conventions		456.42		346.00		500.00
Institutes & Training Courses		----		50.00		50.00
Organization Dues		240.50		250.00		250.00
Production & Exhibits		125.49		43.00		50.00
Literature		195.15		173.00		173.00
Program Supplies		163.22		173.00		173.00
		$21,583.70		$21,754.00		$27,164.00
Surplus - (Deficit)		(14.81)		-0-		-0-

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

BUDGET ANALYSIS

MAY 31, 1949

INCOME	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget thru May, 1949	Actual Thru May, 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$7,780.85	$7,780.85	$	
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	783.30	817.00		33.70
Memberships	1,200.00	500.00	248.35	251.65	
	$21,754.00	$9,064.15	$8,846.20	$ 251.65	$ 33.70
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$6,872.05	$6,693.06	$ 178.99	
Rent	960.00	400.00	400.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	31.25	40.60		9.35
Building Equip.Repairs	75.00	31.25		31.25	
New Equipment	100.00	41.66	77.00		35.34
Stationery, Printing	996.00	415.00	532.27		117.27
Auto Upkeep	240.00	100.00	120.00		20.00
Transportation	30.00	12.50	9,55	2.95	
Postage	412.00	171.66	185.11		13.45
Telephone	450.00	187.50	207.47		19.97
Insurance	43.00	17.90		17.90	
Retirement Fund	845.00	352.10	292.80	59.30	
Confs. & Convs.	346.00	144.16	254.00		109.84
Institutes	50.00	20.86	34.15		13.29
Organization Dues	250.00	104.16	10.50	93.66	
Production & Exhibits	43.00	17.90	5.00	12.90	
Literature	173.00	72.10	47.86	24.24	
Program Supplies	173.00	72.10	90.53		18.43
	$21,754.00	$9,064.15	$8,999 .90	$ 421.19	$356.94

Net Income Short of Budget (251.65 Minus 33.70)		217.95
Gross Deficit		574.89
Expenditures Short of Budget		421.19
Deficit, May 31, 1949	153.70	153.70

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
EXPLANATION OF 1950 BUDGET REQUEST

The Atlanta Urban League is increasingly looked to by the whole community for planning and community organization efforts for the civic and social welfare of the Negro population, and for a continued year around program of interpretation of the services of all Red Feather agencies serving Negroes in Atlanta. Its board of white and Negro citizens provides a regular channel for consideration of advisable courses of action in situations affecting the well-being of the entire city. The normal existence and consistent operation of these consultative processes afford a service which is unique among Atlanta's social agencies. The services of the Atlanta Urban League have often been described as a form of "social insurance" for the community.

The proposed budget for the Atlanta Urban League for 1950 is $27,164.00 of which $23,964.00 is requested from the Community Chest. The total budget is $5,410.00 more than the 1949 budget and $5,290.00 more is requested from the Community Chest than was granted in 1949.

An explanation of the budget request follows:

INCOME

The 1950 estimate of the contributions from the Bailey Theaters (B1 - Sheet 1) is based upon the income estimated for 1949 - a figure somewhat more than was budgeted for 1949.

The same amount is budgeted for memberships (D20 - Sheet 1) as was budgeted in 1949. The Atlanta Urban League does not "campaign" for membership support, because of the agency's unwillingness to jeopardize the success of the Community Chest Campaign and the House-to-House solicitation for which it carries responsibility. Increase in this source of income does not seem justified.

EXPENDITURES

The work of the Atlanta Urban League is largely dependent upon the competence and maturity of its professional staff, and the extent to which their work can be re-enforced by sufficient clerical assistance. Three and one half professional workers, now carry responsibility for program in housing, public education, health and hospitals, recreation, "year-round-interpretation" of services of Red Feather agencies to the Negro community, and cooperation with related agency programs. These workers also share responsibility for publicity and interpretation, membership promotion, supervision of students-in-training, research and fact finding on the Negro community, and over all agency administration.

Competent performance in anyone of the areas which are the League's concern, increases the demands for its services and assistance. The groups requiring specialized information on the Negro community are ones whose efforts and influence are needed for solution of the problems of housing, hospitalization, recreation, etc. It is thus impossible to limit demands for service without forfeiting future community savings which result from responsibilities being assumed by appropriate public and private agencies.

The 1950 budget request under salaries and wages (A - Sheet 1) includes, besides annual increments for staff presently employed, $3,000.00 for one additional worker. This addition to personnel will not permit expansion of Atlanta Urban League program but is necessary in order to permit full exploitation of potential advantages to the community of efforts already underway in behalf of housing, health, recreation, education and employment.

In the budget for 1950, estimated costs under section (B) Institutional and Office, and under (C) Educational have been held to the adjusted figures

for 1949. The one exception is the amount budgeted for Printing, Stationery and Office Supplies. The 1949 adjusted figure is an unrealistic one in terms of present costs. In order to live within this figure, reports upon special areas of program have had to be curtailed during 1949. The actual expenditures for this item from 1949 is a more accurate indication of costs.

Although the agency is attempting to "live within" the 1949 budget, program demands cannot be continuously restricted without a serious loss to previous community investments.

FULTON-DEKALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
36 BUTLER STREET, S.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

June 22, 1949

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

I have your letter of June 21 with respect to board of trustees for the proposed Negro hospital. I have noted the nominations and think that it is an exceptionally fine group.

This matter will be brought before the Trustees of the Hospital Authority at its next meeting. You understand, of course, that this proposed new hospital will be owned by and be under the direction and control of the Trustees of Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority and that the board of trustees which the League proposes will be authorized by the Trustees of the Hospital Authority and given such powers and authority as the Authority's Trustees may determine. You will realize that our Trustees can not delegate their responsibility and this board of trustees which we propose to set up will be subject to the Hospital Authority Board and all official action taken by such board would of necessity have to be approved by the Hospital Board. I am sure that you understand this thoroughly but I thought it well that it be a matter of record.

We hope to get started on the work of building this hospital the latter part of this year and feel confident that we will do so unless we are disappointed in securing Federal funds. It will possibly eighteen months before this hospital is erected and ready to function. Is it your idea that in the meantime we proceed to set up this board of trustees and that it begin to function?

Thanks for your letter and with personal wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Signed: Hughes Spalding

HS:RM

Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

July 5, 1949

Dear Mr. Spalding:

Thank you for your letter of June 22. You may be assured that the nominations were submitted with the understanding that "the powers and responsibilities of such a group would be determined by the Authority's trustees, and that official action of such a board would have to be approved by the Authority."

You will be glad to know that the Atlanta Urban League's board was encouraged by the Hospital Authority's recognition of the values inherent in participation by a representative group of white and Negro citizens in the planning for and operation of the hospital. The Authority's readiness to create a channel for such participation, through the appointment of this group, was highly gratifying. In view of the hopes and fears of the Negro community, and the lack of direct representation in the official bodies which have final responsibility, the appointment of this group gains added significance.

It is my judgment that, although the initial functions of the group may be few, its early activation will increase the community's confidence in the Authority's good intentions. I feel sure that this is in accord with your thinking. If you wish further information about any of the individuals suggested, or if there are other ways I can help you in this effort of our common concern, please let me know.

With my personal good wishes -

Yours cordially,

/s/ (Mrs.) G. T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary

Mr. Hughes Spalding
Trust Company of Georgia Building
Atlanta 1, Georgia

FULTON-DEKALB HOSPITAL AUTHORITY
36 Butler Street, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

July 6, 1949

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Executive Secretary
Atlanta Urban League
239 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Thanks for yours of July 5, which was received today.

I am in thorough sympathy and accord with the sentiments expressed in your letter and you can count upon the cooperation and support of the Trustees and Officers of the Hospital Authority. We are most anxious indeed to instill into our Negro community not only confidence in us but a realization that we desire very much to divide responsibility and to give the fine Negro citizens named in your letter an opportunity to show their wares.

Personal wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Hughes Spalding

COPY

1- Atlanta Urban League

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

July 13, 1949

To: Members of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

This is a reminder of our engagement with the Budget Committee of the Greater Atlanta Community Chest, on Thursday morning, July 21, at 10:00 a. m. The meeting will be held in the Board Room of the Life Insurance Company of Georgia - 573 Peachtree Street (at Linden). We count upon your presence.

Please find enclosed copies of recent correspondence with the Chairman of the Fulton-Dekalb Hospital Authority. This will bring you up to date on the status of planning with regard to the hospital.

Encls.

RECEIVED
JUL 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE BUDGET COMMITTEE
APPROVED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

August 18, 1949

NATIONAL ORGANIZATION DUES. It is recommended that all agencies, including the Community Chest, itself, paying dues to national organizations be requested to itemize services and materials which they receive from the national organization, evaluate them, and present to the Community Chest for study through the Community Planning Council.

EXPANSION OF PROGRAMS. It is recommended that the Board of Trustees reiterate to the agencies the policy of the Chest that the Community Planning Council shall study and make recommendation on all proposals for expansion of services beyond normal growth by present agencies, and applications for membership by new agencies, before they are considered by the Budget Committee and Board of Trustees.

CONFERENCES AND CONVENTIONS. It is recommended that all agencies whose budgets carry expenditures for conferences and conventions be urged to hold to a minimum their expenditures for this item.

MEDICAL SERVICES FOR AGENCY BENEFICIARIES. It is recommended that a specific and positive program be prepared for all agencies, coordinated by Community Planning Council, and an approach made to the Fulton County Medical Society with the view of securing more free medical service for agency beneficiaries.

UNIFORM MILEAGE PAYMENTS. It is recommended that a uniform policy of mileage payments, not to exceed 6¢ per mile, for automobile operation be adopted and applied to the budgets of all agencies.

STUDY OF INSURANCE COVERAGE. It is recommended that a study be made of insurance carried by all agencies, with a view of possible savings that may be effected through blanket insurance of common risks.

SALARY STUDY. It is recommended that a study be made of salaries paid by all member agencies of the Chest, and recommendations be made concerning equalization of the salary schedules for comparable positions, and applied to the budgets of all agencies.

STUDY OF CHILD CARE AGENCIES. It is recommended that the Community Planning Council be requested to conduct a study of the possibility of coordination, unification and combination of services among the child care agencies.

COMMUNITY CHEST BUDGET. It is recommended that the budget of the Community Chest be included in the budget study process in future years.

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
MONTHLY BUDGET ANALYSIS
SEPTEMBER 31, 1949

	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget Thru August 1949	Actual Thru August 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget	Net (Short Excess
INCOME						
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$14,005.53	$14,005.53			
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	1,409.94	1,677.00		$267.06	
Memberships	1,200.00	900.00	508.35	$391.65		
	$21,754.00	$16,315.47	$16,190.88	$391.65	$267.06	(124.59)
EXPENDITURES						
Salaries	$16,493.00	$12,369.69	$12,162.11	$207.58		
Rent	960.00	720.00	720.00			
Bldg. Repairs	75.00	56.25	55.84	.41		
Bldg. Equip. Repairs	75.00	56.25	12.00	44.25		
New Equipment	100.00	75.00	77.00		2.00	
Stationery & Printing	996.00	747.00	726.37	20.63		
Auto Upkeep	240.00	180.00	160.00	20.00		
Transportation	30.00	22.50	15.05	7.45		
Postage	412.00	309.00	334.42		25.42	
Telephone	450.00	337.50	400.99		63.49	
Insurance	43.00	32.22		32.22		
Retirement Fund	845.00	633.69	557.90	75.79		
Confs. & Convts.	346.00	259.47	362.00		102.53	
Institutes	50.00	37.44	34.15	3.29		
Organization Dues	250.00	187.47	26.50	160.97		
Production & Exhibits	43.00	32.22	24.15	8.07		
Literature	173.00	129.96	86.36	43.60		
Program Supplies	173.00	129.96	91.21	38.75		
	$21,754.00	$16,315.62	$15,846.05	$663.01	$193.44	$469.57

Net Expenditures Short of Budget	(663.01 - 193.44)	$469.57
Net Income Short of Budget	(391.65 - 267.06)	124.59
		$344.98

10/11

GSM:

I called to explain that you would be out of town, and could not attend the meeting.

met

Southern Regional Council

_____, 194____

TO: _____ ☐

FROM: _____

This material is referred to you for:

1. Information	( )	4. Reply	( )
2. Consideration	( )	5. Suggested Reply	( )
3. Recommendation	( )	6. Signature	( )

7. Please circulate to:

Director	( )	Sec'ty.-Treasurer	( )
Associate Director	( )	_____	( )
Pub. Relations Dir.	( )	_____	( )
_____	( )	_____	( )

8. Please return to this office. ( )

9. Please return to secretary for filing ( )

COMMENTS OR INSTRUCTIONS

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
FOR SOCIAL SERVICE AMONG NEGROES

239 AUBURN AVENUE ATLANTA, GA.

TELEPHONE WALNUT 2355

RECEIVED
11 1949
Southern Regional Council

October 10, 1949

To: The Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League

From: A. T. Walden, Chairman
Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, Executive Secretary

The first fall meeting of the board will be held on Thursday, October 13th at 3:00 p. m. in the offices of the Atlanta Urban League, (239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Room 400)

The agenda will include reports of Community Chest and of program developments in regard to housing and hospital facilities. There will be a report of the National Urban League Conference which was held in Denver, September 4-9. (Mr. Coleman of the Atlanta Urban League's staff and Mr. Nelson C. Jackson of the National Urban League staff were in attendance.)

Plans for the 1950 Community Chest Campaign, and reconsideration for the Chest Trustees to all agencies will be considered . Mr. Milton treasurer of the Atlanta Urban League is this year's General Chairman of the Negro Division. He is counting upon the active support of each member of the board in this most important year's effort.

Please find enclosed the financial summary for July and August.

Enclosures: 2

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET ANALYSIS
JULY 31, 1949

INCOME	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget thru July, 1949	Actual thru July, 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$10,893.19	$10,893.19		
Donations & Gifts	1,880.00	1,096.62	1,345.00		$248.38
Memberships	1,200.00	700.00	469.35	$230.65	
	$21,754.00	$12,689.81	$12,707.54	$230.65	$248.38
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$ 9,620.87	$ 9,360.84	$260.03	
Rent	960.00	560.00	560.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	43.75	43.79		.04
Bldg. Equip. Repairs	75.00	43.75		43.75	
New Equipment	100.00	58.31	77.00		18.69
Stationery, Printing	996.00	581.00	668.83		87.83
Auto Upkeep	240.00	140.00	120.00	20.00	
Transportation	30.00	17.50	15.05	2.45	
Postage	412.00	240.31	224.96	15.35	
Telephone	450.00	262.50	318.20		55.70
Insurance	43.00	25.06		25.06	
Retirement Fund	845.00	492.87	392.20	100.67	
Conf. & Convs.	346.00	201.81	257.00		55.19
Institutes	50.00	29.12	34.15		5.03
Organization Dues	250.00	145.81	10.50	135.31	
Production & Exhibits	43.00	25.06	16.15	8.91	
Literature	173.00	100.87	85.51	15.36	
Program Supplies	173.00	100.87	89.21	11.66	
	$21,754.00	$12,689.46	$12,273.39	$638.55	$222.48

SUMMARY

Net Expenditures Short of Budget:		
Expenditures Short of Budget	$ 638.55	
Expenditures Excess of Budget	222.48	$416.07
DEDUCT		
Net Income Excess of Budget:		
Income Excess of Budget	$ 248.38	
Income Short of Budget	230.65	$ 17.73
Surplus, July 31, 1949		$398.34

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
BUDGET ANALYSIS
AUGUST 31, 1949

INCOME	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget thru Aug., 1949	Actual thru Aug, 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$12,449.28	$12,349.36	99.92	
Donations & Gifts	1,880.00	1,253.28	1,547.00		293.72
Memberships	1,200.00	800.00	498.35	301.65	
	$21,754.00	$14.502.64	$14,394.71	401.57	293.72
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$10,995.28	$10,706.48	288.80	
Rent	960.00	640.00	640.00		
Building Repairs	75.00	50.00	54.69		4.69
Building Equip.Repairs	75.00	50.00	12.00	38.00	
New Equipment	100.00	66.64	77.00		10.36
Stationery & Printing	996.00	664.00	673.28		9.28
Auto Upkeep	240.00	160.00	120.00	40.00	
Transportation	30.00	20.00	15.05	4.95	
Postage	412.00	274.64	322.92		48.28
Telephone	450.00	300.00	400.99		100.99
Insurance	43.00	28.64		28.64	
Retirement Fund	845.00	563.28	475.30	87.98	
Confs. & Conventions	346.00	230.64	262.00		31.36
Institutes	50.00	33.28	34.15		.87
Organization Dues	250.00	166.64	16.50	150.14	
Production & Exhibits	43.00	28.64	21.15	7.49	
Literature	173.00	115.52	85.51	30.01	
Program Supplies	173.00	115.52	91.21	24.31	
	$21,754.00	$14,502.72	$14,008.23	$700.32	$205.83

Net Expenditures Short of Budget	(700.32-205.83)	$494.49
Less, Net Income Short of Budget	(401.57-293.72)	107.85
Surplus, August 31, 1949		$386.64

1- Atlanta Urban League

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1949
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
3:00 P.M.

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE OCTOBER 13, 1949

Present: Messrs, I. H. Burney, Dr. Richard Hackney, J. R. Henderson, Nelson C. Jackson, Walter Paschall, Lester Persells, Philip Shulhafer, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Rev. L. M. Tobin, Forrester B. Washington, J. P. Whittaker and Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Jr.

Staff: Mr. Clarence O. Brown and Mr. Clarence D. Coleman

The meeting was opened with Mr. Washington presiding.

Follwoing a prayer by Mrs. Tilly, the Budget request to the Greater Atlanta Community Chest for 1950 was read and accepted as information.

Mr. Coleman introduced Mr. Clarence O. Brown as a new member of our staff, after which each member introduced themselves.

Mr. Shulhafer reported that the Budget Study Committee was very much impressed with the Atlanta Urban League's request made on July 21st. He also said that the Committee was not in favor of the personnel being cut. He further reported that the Budget Committee approved the budget for each agency on the basis of their 1949 budgets. The Budget Committee set forth a tentative allocation to the Atlanta Urban League of $23,064 for 1950. The committee made the following adjustment in the League's budget. A deduction of $900.00 to be applied to Item-B, Printing and Office Supplies.

Mr. Shulhafer stated that the Board of Trustees approved a lower goal for the Community Chest Campaign than was sought last year. The goal is $1,244,727.00 for 1950. It was also stated that it would be necessary for the complete amount of this goal be raised in order for each agency to have the same budget for 1950 as each had in 1949.

Mr. Shulhafer read the General Recommendations of the Budget Committee approved by the Board of Trustees. Each item was discussed individua-

lly and action taken as follows:

National Organization Dues: Consent of the board for the staff to comply with the request of the Community Chest and furnish information.

Expansion of Programs: No action - taken as information.

Conferences & Conventions: Passed by common consent.

Medical Services for Agency Beneficiaries: No action - received as information.

Uniform Mileage Payments: The board requested that Mrs. Hamilton clarify to the board at the next meeting transportation plan of the Atlanta Urban League.

Study of Insurance Coverage: Board requested that Mrs. Hamilton work with the Committee on this item to evaluate present insurance programs.

Salary Study: Mrs. Tilly stated that there was no way in which any person could determine another's value to an agency unless they had a chance to see this particular person in action and know something about the person.

It was agreed by common consent that this recommendation on salaries be left in the hands of the agency itself, even though the Community Planning Council had made studies to this effect and are still working on the personnel practices and salary ranges of this and similar agencies. Mr. Shulhafer also said that members of the Budget Committee felt the salaries of the Atlanta Urban League were on par with other agencies of its kind. It was moved and seconded that this recommendation be set aside for further study.

Study of Child Care Agencies: No comments

Community Chest Budget: No comments

Mr. Coleman gave an analysis of the Chest Campaign and stated that the goal for the colored division was $30,000.00 and the House to House

Division, for which the Atlanta Urban League takes responsibility, has a divisional goal of $8,000.00. He further reported that Mr. L. D. Milton, treasurer of the League's board is serving as General Chairman of the Colored Division and that Messrs, Whittaker, Henderson, Washington, Walden, Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Jr and Mrs. C. R. Yates all members of the board, have taken major responsibilities in the campaign.

In reporting on the "Come and See Tours" Coleman said that the Atlanta Urban League had conducted for the Community Chest 12 in a series of tours to social agencies that serve the Negro community. More than 450 people participated in these tours.

Mr. Henderson, speaking on the housing program, stated that the housing developments had not moved at a rapid speed. One private development was about to get underway. He also said that on September 27th letters had been sent to the Fulton County Commissioners, about the 43 acre tract of land known as the Urban Villa, by an organization known as the Atlanta Negro Voter's League, but no response has come from the Commissioners at this time. Mrs. Tilly stated that the Atlanta Church Women's group would be glad to do whatever they could to help this group of veterans in securing this property owned by the County. Mr. Henderson said that he spoke to that group today regarding the housing program of the Atlanta Urban League and they indicated a willingness to cooperate.

Mr. Coleman, who introduced a discussion of the proposed Negro hospital for indigent patients, read a letter received by Mr. C. A. Scott, Editor of the Atlanta Daily World, from Mr. Hughes Spalding stating his interest in the newstory and editorial about the proposed new Negro hospital

to be erected here in Atlanta. Mr. Coleman also said that Mr. Ransom had called the office and stated that the Negro hospital was assured and that there would be living quarters for 17 Negro interns. Clippings for the Negro hospital were circulated among the board members for observation and comments.

Mr. Jackson gave a ten minutes discussion of the Annual Conference of the National Urban League in Denver, and also read the recommendations of the group. He pointed out that representatives of the Southern Field Office and the Atlanta Urban League appeared on the program and that their speeches were given National coverage.

Mr. Washington at this point introduced Mrs. Esther Prothro to the board as a Social Work Student from the Atlanta School of Social Work, doing field work at the Atlanta Urban League, thanked the board for their attendance and cooperation in the absence of Mrs. Grace Hamilton.

Benediction by: Rev. L. M. Tobin

Mrs. A. Lamar Robinson
Acting Secretary

MINUTES
BOARD OF DIRECTORS ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
NOVEMBER 27, 1949 - 3:00 P.M.

Present: Messrs W. H. Crawford, R. L. Cousins, I. H. Burney, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Misses Rhoda Kaufman and Mildred Mell, Rev. L. M. Tobin, and Mr. A. T. Walden.

Staff: Messrs Clarence O. Brown, Clarence D. Coleman, Mrs. G. T. Hamilton, and R. A. Thompson.

The meeting was opened with Mr. Walden presiding

The minutes were read by Mrs. Hamilton and approved by the group.

Mr. Thompson reported that the Knox Construction Company was interested in helping to secure the 43 acre tract of land at West Lake and Simpson Streets, and that they would be willing to cooperate with the Veterans group in development of the tract. If it were available, and developed, 145 homes could be built for Negroes.

Statistics on the budget of the League was presented to the board members for their observation and comments. Mrs. Hamilton stated that she did not feel that the League should have a drive for membership, because of the close relationship to the Chest Campaign in the House-to-House Division. She asked what plan could be devised in order to reach the anticipated income from membership which at present shows a deficit of $482.00. She also said that the Urban League staff had worked on a list of lay people who might be asked to become members of the League.

Miss Mell wanted to know if the office had sent out reminders to all delinquent members, Mrs. Hamilton answered: "yes." Mrs. Gershon asked, if the idea of sending letters, requesting contributions over the signature of some board members, would be of help. Mrs. Hamilton replied that she thought it was a very good idea, but felt that the individual Board member should determine whether or not this should be done. After a general discussion of this matter, it was agreed by common consent that each Board member would compile a list of perspective League contributors,

and take responsibility for personally contacting each person on their list. Mrs. Hamilton offered office assistance in writing, mailing or calling any person that Board members would have the staff to contact. The Board members agreed to have the list in the League's office by the end of the week.

Mrs. Hamilton stated that the Community Planning Council had changed its bylaws so that agency Board members might be included in the memberships of each of the sections into which the Delegate Body is divided. These sections are:

Family and Child Care Section
Group Work Section
Health Section

The Board expressed considerable interest in this new development and indicated their willingness to cooperate with the plans.

Mr. Burney reported that in order that agency board members might be prepared to intelligently participate in the section meetings, the Council plans to set up a Training Institute for Board members. He further stated that this Board Institute is to be held during a two week period in January, and reported that plans were underway to make the progress as interesting and as informative as possible. He also reported that the Board members from 87 agencies would be invited to participate.

Mrs. Hamilton reported that the staff of the Urban League was not covered by Workmen's Insurance and indicated that it was her opinion that the staff should be so covered. She asked Mr. Burney to explain the operations of this Insurance plan to the Board for their information. He pointed out the advantage of this plan, and recommended that the staff be so covered. Miss Mell made a motion that the staff of the Atlanta Urban League secure this Insurance coverage. It was seconded by Mr. Crawford. The motion was

passed.

The Chairman introduced a letter from Mr. T. J. Roberts offering his resignation from the Board of Directors, due to his inability to regularly attend Board meetings, and because of his regular absence from the city. The Board accepted his resignation with regrets, and requested Mrs. Hamilton to inform him.

Mrs. Hamilton asked Mr. Cousins to make a statement regarding the school situation among Negroes over the state of Georgia. He stated that Negro citizens in six new counties had petitioned local Boards of Education to equalize school facilities and teachers' salaries, and that many counties have requested the State Board of Education to make surveys of their school conditions, relating to Negro children.

Benediction, Rev. L.M. Tobin

Mrs. A. Lamar Robinson
Office Secretary

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
MONTHLY BUDGET ANALYSIS
DECEMBER 31, 1949

	Budget For the Year 1949	Actual For the Year 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget	Net Excess
INCOME					
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$18,674.00			
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	2,227.00		$347.00	
Memberships	1,200.00	1,032.20	$167.80		
	$21,754.00	$21,933.20	$167.80	$347.00	$179.20
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$16,529.04		$ 36.04	
Rent	960.00	960.00			
Bldg. Repairs	75.00	74.01	.99		
Bldg. Equip. Repairs	75.00	22.00	53. 00		
New Equipment	100.00	150.50		50.50	
Stationery & Printing	996.00	1,322.80		326.80	
Auto Upkeep	240.00	240.00			
Transportation	30.00	15.05	14.95		
Postage	412.00	420.67		8.67	
Telephone	450.00	606.85		156.85	
Insurance	43.00	40.00	3.00		
Retirement Fund	845.00	805.70	39.30		
Confs. & Conv'ts	346.00	362.00		16.00	
Institutes	50.00	34.15	15.85		
Organization Dues	250.00	227.50	22.50		
Production & Exhibits	43.00	24.15	18.85		
Literature	173.00	207.51		34.51	
Program Supplies	173.00	93.31	79.69		
	$21,754.00	$22,135.24	$248.13	$629.37	$401.60

Net Excess Expenditures	$ 381.24
Deduct Net Excess Income	179.20
Deficit for the Year, 1949	$ 202.04

ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
MONTHLY BUDGET ANALYSIS
November ~~DECEMBER~~ 30, 1949

	Budget For the Year 1949	Budget Thru November 1949	Actual Thru Nov. 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget
INCOME					
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$17,117.87	$17,117.87		
Donations and Gifts	1,880.00	1,723.34	2,055.00		$331.66
Memberships	1,200.00	1,100.00	778.20	$321.80	
	$21,754.00	$19,941.21	$19,951.07	$321.80	$331.66
EXPENDITURES					
Salaries	$16,493.00	$15,118.59	$15,073.40	$ 45.19	
Rent	960.00	880.00	880.00		
Bldg. Repairs Office	75.00	68.75	71.74		2.99
Bldg. Equip. Repairs	75.00	68.75	12.00	56.75	
New Equipment	100.00	91.67	102.00		10.33
Printing & Office Sup.	996.00	913.00	1,181.60		268.60
Auto Upkeep	240.00	220.00	160.00	60.00	
Transportation	30.00	27.50	15.05	12.45	
Postage	412.00	377.67	389.92		12.25
Telephone	450.00	412.50	452.47		39.97
Insurance	43.00	39.42		39.42	
Retirement Fund	845.00	864.58	723.10	141.48	
Confs. & Convts.	346.00	317.17	362.00		44.83
Institutes	50.00	45.83	34.15	11.68	
Organization Dues	250.00	229.17	27.50	201.67	
Production & Exhibits	43.00	39.42	24.15	15.27	
Literature	173.00	158.58	110.91	47.67	
Program Supplies	173.00	158.58	91.21	67.37	
	$21,754.00	$20,031.18	$19,711.20	$698.95	$378.97

Net Income Excess of Budget	$ 9.86
Add, Net Expenditures Short of Budget	319.98
Surplus, November 30, 1949	$ 329.84

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
MONTHLY BUDGET ANALYSIS
OCTOBER 1949

	Budget for the 1949	Budget Thru Sept. 1949	Actual Thru Sept. 1949	Short of Budget	Excess of Budget	Net (Short) Excess
INCOME						
Community Chest	$18,674.00	$15,561.70	$15,561.70			
Donations & Gifts	1,880.00	1,566.60	1,892.00		$325.40	
Memberships	1,200.00	1,000.00	535.35	$464.65		
	$21,754.00	$18,128.30	$17,989.05	$464.65	$325.40	$139.25
EXPENDITURES						
Salaries	$16,493.00	$13,744.00	$13,617.76	$126.24		
Rent	960.00	800.00	800.00			
Building Repairs	75.00	62.50	71.14		8.64	
Bldg. Equip Repairs	75.00	62.50	12.00	50.50		
New Equipment	100.00	83.30	77.00	6.30		
Stationery & Printing	996.00	830.00	1,178.73		348.73	
Auto Upkeep	240.00	200.00	160.00	40.00		
Transportation	30.00	25.00	15.05	9.95		
Postage	412.00	343.30	353.42		10.12	
Telephone	450.00	375.00	452.47		77.47	
Insurance	43.00	35.80		35.80		
Retirement Fund	845.00	704.10	640.50	63.60		
Confs. & Conv.	346.00	288.30	362.00		73.70	
Institutes	50.00	41.60	34.15	7.45		
Organization Dues	250.00	208.30	27.50	180.80		
Production & Exhibits	43.00	35.80	24.15	11.65		
Literature	173.00	144.40	110.91	33.49		
Program Supplies	173.00	144.40	91.21	53.19		
	$21,754.00	$18,128.30	$18,027.99	$618.97	$518.66	$(100.31)

Net Income Short of Budget ..... ($464.65 - $325.40) $139.25
Less, Net Expenditures Short of Bdgt (618.97 - $518.66) 100.31
Deficit, October 31, 1949 $(38.94)

Copy

January 12, 1950

To: Budget Committee
Greater Atlanta Community Chest

From: The Atlanta Urban League's Board of Directors
A.T. Walden, Chairman
L.D. Milton, Treasurer
Mrs. G.T. Hamilton, Secretary

After a careful analysis of actual income and expenditure for 1948 and 1949, the Atlanta Urban League has revised its budget and submits it herewith. Although the budget request for 1950 submitted in June, represented a realistic statement of need, the revision attached reduces by $1,263 that estimate of $27,164, and by $943.00 the budget of $26,264 approved by the Budget Study Committee. (The $943.00 represents the difference between the approved budget of $26,264, and the revised budget of $25,321, without inclusion of the figure explained in item 32.)

Our analysis shows that minimum expenditures in 1950 will require $25,321. Of this amount $1,200 may be expected from normal increase in membership contributions and $2,227 may be expected from special contributions on the basis of 1949 receipts. There remains a balance of $3,220 needed to maintain the agency's operation in 1950, if the amount allocated by the Chest in 1948 and 1949 ($18,674) cannot be increased for 1950.

We sincerely hope that it may be possible for the Community Chest to increase the agency's allocation by all or part of the $3,220.00 needed for our operation in 1950. Pending a reconsideration of the Chest's allocation however, we request approval of the only plan which seems possible to us in light of the present situation.

If the Chest cannot provide the balance needed, we propose a special appeal for new members in the early part of 1950, with a goal of $5,000. This amount includes the $1,200 originally budgeted for membership contributions, the $3,220 needed to balance our budget, and $580 for the necessary expense of a special appeal.

The Atlanta Urban League has had a membership basis since 1945, but has never conducted special appeals for members. Believing that all separate appeals risk handicapping interpretation of the purpose of the Chest, we have preferred to rely upon a gradual increase in membership support, which has come as the community has grown in understanding and appreciation of the agency's program - and its relationship toward and responsibility for the Chest Campaign. We also recognize that the expenditure of time upon fund raising, by staff employed for social work, sacrifices the community's investment in the agency's program. Although we regret the necessity of conducting a more intensive appeal in 1950, no other course seems possible to us, unless the Chest allocationto our

budget can be increased above the 1948 level. Request for reconsideration of the Chest allocation and for approval of this proposal is made with full appreciation of our responsibility toward the Chest; with regret that it is necessary to propose this alternative plan; and with the assurance that procedures will be such as will prevent as far as possible, adverse influence on the Chest Campaign, should the appeal be necessary.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
REVISED BUDGET
1950

	Actual Budget 1948	Actual Budget 1949	Approved Budget 1950	Revised Budget 1950
INCOME				
A. Community Chest	$18,674.00	$18,674.00	$23,064.00	$18,674.00
B. Donations & Gifts:				
1. General-Undesignated	1,880.00	2,227.00	2,000.00	2,227.00
6. Special Membership Appeal				3,800.00
Total - B	$ 1,880.00	$ 2,227.00	$ 2,000.00	$ 6,027.00
D. Revenue:				
16. Refund Payments from Beneficiaries	$ 44.14			
20. Sale of Program Supplies	47.75			
21. Memberships	923.00	1,032.20	1,200.00	1,200.00
Total - D	$ 1,014.89	$ 1,032.20	$ 1,200.00	$ 1,200.00
Total Income	$21,568.89	$21,933.20	$26,264.00	$25,901.00
EXPENDITURES				
A. Salaries and Wages	$14,583.16	$16,529.04	$20,420.00	$ ~~1,956.00~~ 19,560.00
B. Institutional & Office:				
12. Rent	987.50	960.00	960.00	960.00
13. Minor Bldg. Repairs	89.70	74.01	75.00	75.00
14. Minor Bldg. Equip. Repairs	97.15	22.00	75.00	50.00
15. New Equip. & Replacement	716.65	150.50	100.00	100.00
16. Stationery, Printing & Office Supplies	1,857.20	1,322.80	1,000.00	1,300.00
17. Auto Upkeep	240.00	240.00	240.00	240.00
18. Other Transportation	3.50	15.05	30.00	30.00
19. Postage	439.02	420.67	450.00	412.00
20. Telephone & Telegraph	566.24	606.85	500.00	450.00
21. Insurance	39.80	40.00	50.00	100.00
22. Retirement Fund	781.40	805.70	1,168.00	1,009.00
25. All Others	1.60			
Total - B	$ 5,819.76	$ 4,657.58	$ 4,648.00	$ 4,726.00
C. Educational:				
26. Conferences & Conv't	$ 456.42	362.00	500.00	346.00
27. Institutes & Training		34.15	50.00	50.00
28. Nat. & State Organizations	240.50	227.50	250.00	250.00
29. Productions & Exhibits	125.49	24.15	50.00	43.00
30. Printed Matter and Literature	195.15	207.51	173.00	173.00
31. Program Supplies & Equip.	163.22	93.31	173.00	173.00
32. All Other				580.00
Total - C	$ 1,880.78	$ 948.62	$ 1,196.00	$ 1,615.00
Total Expenditures	$21,583.70	$22,135.24	$26,264.00	$25,901.00
(Deficit)	(14.81)	(202.04)	-0-	-0-

RECEIVED
JAN 17 1950
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS — ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
January 12, 1950 — 3:00 P.M.

Present: A.T. Walden, presiding - Messrs. Burney, Henderson, Persells, Paschall, Rev. L.M. Tobin.

Staff: Mrs. G.T. Hamilton, Messrs. Thompson, Coleman, Brown

Mr. Walden explained that the purpose of this special meeting was to consider revision in the agency's budget for 1950 - and asked Mrs. Hamilton to present this material.

Mrs. Hamilton read a communication from Mr. Tabor (copy attached) president of the Community Chest. She explained that the revised budget and the explanatory letter had been reviewed by Mr. Shulhafer and Mr. Blayton, members of the League's Budget Committee, who were unable to be present at this board meeting. (Revised budget and letter attached)

Mr. Paschall moved that the revised budget and the letter be approved. Passed unanimously. He expressed the importance of increasing memberships, whether or not the Community Chest appropriation was increased, because of the values for interpretation.

Mr. Walden asked Mr. Paschall, Mr. Shulhafer, Rev. Tobin and Mr. Washington to work as a subcommittee with Mrs. Hamilton to develop the plans for an appeal for new members.

Following official adjournment, there was a discussion of program development in Housing and Urban Redevelopment. It was agreed that consideration should be given to another study being undertaken by the Atlanta Urban League - on Recreational and Play Space for the Negro Population. Such a study would be a means of continuing work on Housing - calling attention to school needs, as well as focusing attention on the need for public recreational space.

ANALYSIS OF ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE PROGRAM
1950

*Proposed)

2/23/50

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

I. EDUCATION

G.T.H. 1. Continuing research and fact findings related to Negro public school facilities.

a. Newsrelease, and/or other publications based on research.

*2. Parents Conference - re: public school facilities

II. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

C.O.B. 1. Cooperative sponsorship of Vocational Guidance program with Carver Vocational School.

a. Planning with Principal and faculty requesting assistance.

*2. Development of Employment Guidance Committee

*III. ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

R.A.T. Develop small committee to plan means for expanding economic opportunity for Negroes in Atlanta.

a. Discover potential employees (Board representative)

b. Discover potential employers (Atlanta Urban League)

c. Plan for approach (Anti Defamation League)

IV. HEALTH

C.D.C. 1. Atlanta Health Council

a. Increasing dental health services

b. Providing local Tuberculosis facilities

c. Multiphase health survey

2. Hospital Planning

a. Advisory Committee

b. Relationships to other groups which have stakes in new hospital. (Atlanta Medical Association)

V. HOUSING

R.A.T. 1. Fair Haven - (Area I)

Development and completion

2. Urban Villa (Area I)

3. Bush Mountain - Redevelopment

4. Research and fact finding - re: housing needs, etc.

a. Publication and/or presentation of information on request. (Rent Control)

5. Cooperation in development of "Housing, Inc.", and with other developers of Negro housing (Area II)

6. Development of housing proposals for Negroes in Linwood (Area 4) (Housing developments already underway in Edgewood - Census Tract D-6 - short-time assistance requested by The Atlanta Urban League)

VI. COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

1. Continuing Community Council (Greater Atlanta Community Chest)

C.D.C. A. Development of neighborhood or sectional leadership

a. Tours - (Interpretation)

b. Chest Campaign

c. Organization of neighborhood councils

2. Civic Education

a. Registration (Voters League)
(N.A.A.C.P)

3. Community Planning Council Sections and Delegate Body

a. Family and Child Care

b. Health

c. Group Work

VII. STAFF RELATIONSHIP WITH BOARDS OF OTHER ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES

1. Board of Community Planning Council - G.T.H.

2. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

a. Executive Committee - C.D.C.

b. Membership Committee - C.D.C. & C. O.B.

c. Administrative Committee - G.T.H.

3. Metropolitan Association for Colored Blind

a. Board - Executive Committee and Program Planning - C.D.C.

4. American Veterans Committee - R.A.T.

5. Gate City Day Nursery Association

a. Board and Special Study Committee - G.T.H.

*VIII. DEVELOPMENT OF RECREATION AND LAND USE STUDY FOR NEGRO POPULATION ATLANTA

1. Organizing Exploratory Committee

2. Planning Subject-matter context

IX. SUPERVISION OF STUDENTS IN TRAINING

C.D.C. (Atlanta University School of Social Work)

X. VETERANS AFFAIRS

1. Expansion of Training Opportunities

C.O.B. a. Commercial Art

XI. MEMBERSHIP APPEAL

1. Developing plan with Board Chairman and Committee

a. Materials

Letters, Folders, Timeless

b. Prospects and Quotas

c. Publicity

XII. AGENCY ADMINISTRATION

1. Budget and Finance 2. Personnel 3. Public Relations and Publicity.

RECEIVED
MAR 3 1950
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES

BOARD OF DIRECTORS ATLANTA URBAN LEAHUE
FEBRUARY 24, 1950 - 11:00 A. M.

Present: Mr. W. H. Crawford, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Messrs, J. R. Henderson, Nelson C. Jackson, Miss Rhoda Kaufman, Messrs, Lester Persells, Philip E. Shulhafer, A. T. Walden, Forrester B. Washington and J. P. Whittaker.

Staff: Messrs. Clarence O. Brown, Clarence D. Coleman, Mrs. G. T. Hamilton and Mr. R. A. Thompson.

Mr. Washington opened the meeting because Mr. Walden was delayed. Following approval of the minutes of the January 13th meeting of the Board, an analysis of the program of the Atlanta Urban League was considered. (Copy attached). Mr. Jackson asked whether there was any present need for the Atlanta Urban League to include Registration (VI-2-a) since the N.A.A.C.P. now has the services of an executive. Mr. Henderson commented that the League should cooperate in this effort as all other organizations in the Negro community were being asked to do, in order to make possible a complete "city-wide" coverage. Mr. Crawford commented that according to his information re-registration was lagging among Negroes - Mr. Shulhafer asked whether Mr. Bacote's committee's work was coordinated with that of the Registration Council, and whether the materials used by the Council were used by Mr. Bacote's committee. Mrs. Hamilton said that she knew that Mr. Bacote had met with the executive secretary of the Council, but did not know the extent of coordination of efforts.

It was agreed that the program analysis should be considered more completely at another Board meeting because of the Membership Planning Committee's report.

Mr. Washington presented the report of the Membership Planning Committee. The following proposals were approved by vote of the Board:

1. Chairmen - Mr. Walter Paschall, Mrs. C. R. Yates, approved with an expression of gratitude at their consent.
2. Dates - March 20 - April 8.
3. Goal - $2,500.00.
4. Basis and Plan - The emphasis of the membership appeal is to be upon increasing the number of contributing ($5.00) and suporting ($10.00) members, relying upon the suggestions and cooperation of members of the Board. (Mr. Crawford said that he preferred to work upon members of C.I.O. without assistance of the committee). Mr. Hamilton reported that the following Board members had returned their lists of suggestions - Mrs. Gershon, Miss Kaufman, Mr. Shulhafer, Rev. Tobin, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Washington, and urged that other board members reply as promptly as possible to the committee's request.
5. Quota - The committee will try to find thirty-six people who will agree to raise $100.00.
6. The committee was given authority to proceed with planning for materials to be used, scheduling letters, etc.

Mr. Washington reported that the following members of the Board attended the Board Members Institute of the Community Planning Council:

Mrs. Yates, Mr. Henderson, Mrs. Wilson, Mr. Shulhafer,
Mrs. Gershon, Mr. Paschall, Mr. Whittaker, Miss Kaufman

Each of the Board members present, commented upon the program, and it the Institute was noteworthy as an example of community-wide participation in planning, and that the good qualities exceeded the limitations of the program. By common consent it was agreed that a letter of appreciation should be sent from the Board to the Community Planning Council Executive, and to Mr. John Griffin, Chairman of the Institute's program committee.

Mr. Coleman introduced the new field work staff members, Mr. Porter, Mrs. Kelly, and Mrs. Prothro, who will complete a field work ~~arrangement~~ with the Atlanta Urban League on February 28.

Mrs. Hamilton asked Board members to keep the copies of the Program analysis for discussion at a subsequent meeting.

Adjournment.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

RECEIVED
FEB 5
Regional Council

February 4, 1953

Dear Mr. Norvelle:

Your letter of January 29th to Mr. A. T. Walden has been referred to us for reply because of Mr. Walden's absence from the city. Mr. Walden is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta Urban League.

We would like to suggest the following sources of information which would be useful to you in developing your term paper on "The Negroes' Progress in the Past Quarter Century:"

1. The Atlanta University Library, particularly the Negro Collection Division. You will be able to examine the files of certain periodicals which would be useful to you. Consult the Reference Librarian, Mrs. Barksdale.

2. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc., 1538 Ninth Street, N. W., Washington, D.C. They will be able to suggest a bibliography to you if you will give them an outline of the areas of greatest interest to you in the development of your subject.

3. The Southern Regional Council, Wesley Memorial Building, Atlanta, may be able to make available to you pamphlet material on community developments which affect Negro welfare throughout the country with particular reference to changes within the Southern Region.

We trust that these suggestions may be helpful to you.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. G. T. Hamilton
Executive Director

Mr. Wendell H. Norvelle
402 W. Walker Avenue
College Park, Georgia

March 3, 1953

MEMORANDUM:

To: Board of Directors - The Atlanta Urban League

From: G. T. Hamilton, Executive Director

: : : : : :

It occurs to us that many good purposes might be served by using the opportunity which has been offered the public to nominate "Atlanta's Top Hundred News Makers of Tomorrow" to call attention to personalities who frequently are overlooked in such competitions. There are two such groups:

A. Young Negroes emerging to positions of community-wide leadership.

B. Persons who have been identified with civic undertakings unpopular with certain groups, who as a consequence have been "smeared" by reactionary forces from time to time. We believe that individual members of the Atlanta Urban League Board may choose to nominate, for consideration by the committee for Atlanta's future, the individuals mentioned below under categories A and B.

The advertisement announcing the Committee for Atlanta's Future, sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with Time, appears in the Atlanta Constitution and Journal on Monday, March 2nd.

Nominations should be sent to the Committee for Atlanta's Future, 818 Volunteer Building, Atlanta 3, Georgia. Give the full name of the person; his address and reasons for the nominations. Each must be signed and must carry the address of person sending the recommendation.

Category A

J. B. Blayton, Jr. - 204 Bowen Circle, S. W., age 27
B. S. Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma; MBA Atlanta University. Manager and Vice President of WERD, only Negro owned radio station in the world. Former staff member of J. B. Blayton and Company, certified public accountants. Largely responsible for the public service record of the Radio Station whose programs have won high praise among radio stations in the area.

Dr. William H. Boyd - Atlanta University.
Graduate Talladege College, Alabama; PhD in Political Science University of Michigan. A lecturing fellow of the American Friends Service Society; President of Georgia Conferences of Branches of the National Association of Colored People; News Analyst of Radio Station WERD. Has been influential in developing a civic consciousness among the Negro population throughout the south and for interpreting efforts to remove injustice and inequalities.

- - - - - - - - - -

Clarence D. Coleman - 529 Paynes Avenue, N. W. Age 35.
A. B. Clark College; MSW - Atlanta University School of Social Work. Associate Secretary for the Atlanta Urban League. Has assumed leadership in communitywide efforts related to social welfare programs serving the community. Has been particularly effective in developing communitywide understanding and support of united appeals for social welfare agencies, particularly for member agencies of the Greater Atlanta Community Chest.

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Category B

Morris Abram - Native of Fitzgerald, Georgia; graduate of the University of Georgia; Rhodes scholar; served in the U. S. Army as trial lawyer for Nurenburg trials; now a member of a Law Firm of Heyman and Abram. Lecturer and author of Anti-clan law which has been enacted in five southern states and 52 communities. Was the co-owner and sponsor of first large F.H.A. rental housing project for Negro occupancy in Atlanta - thus demonstrating that such projects are both economically profitable as well as socially benefical.

- - - - - - -

Phillip G. Hammer - A native of North Carolina. Came to Atlanta in 1946 and was an Associate of the Joseph K. Heyman Company. In 1950 employed as Consulting Project Engineer for the Local Government Commission which developed as Atlanta's Plan of Improvement. He became Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission in 1950 in which role he has contributed largely to the development of understanding of the potentialities for the growth of Atlanta.

- - - - - - - - - - -

Harold Fleming - 1855 Wellborne Avenue, N. E.
A native Georgian; graduate of Boys' High School and Harvard University; presently Director of Information for the Southern Region Council. Has effectively contributed to the development of a residential single family housing project for Negro home owners located in the Frances Avenue area. Has voluntarily contributed his service as a publicist to various Atlanta civic enterprises through his present professional position; has rendered valuable service to increased understanding of potentials for the economic growth and development of the Southern Region through the use of its total resources - human and natural.

TIMELESS

THE TASK OF PREVENTIVE SOCIAL WORK

RECEIVED
MAY 9 '47
Southern Regional Council

Griffith J. Davis Photograph

1946 ANNUAL REPORT

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

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BOARD OF DIRECTORS
1946 - 47

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*MRS. JANITA G. PIERCE, Health Secretary
*MRS. JOSEPHINE THOMPSON, Research Assistant
**MRS. MARGUERITE T. HUBLERT, Office Secretary
MRS. A. LAMAR ROBINSON, Office Secretary
MRS. SOPHIA BROWN, Bookkeeper - Office Manager

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*Part-time
**Resigned

Thru the Years

1920 The Atlanta Urban League was organized and chartered.

1921 A staff member was appointed to the Board of Directors of the International Big Brother Federation.

1922 "Banking scouts," organized to encourage thrift in the public schools for Negro children, deposited $3,500 in city banks.

1923 A free training program and placement bureau for Negro workers was operated.

1924 Atlanta Community Fund was organized and the Atlanta Urban League was accepted as a member agency.

1925 Assisted in securing Negro matrons at police court.

1926 Established a maternal and baby clinic with the cooperation of city and state health departments and the Georgia Division of the U. S. Children's Bureau.

1927 Cooperated in successful efforts to continue six night schools for Negroes.

1928 Field work training for students of the Atlanta School of Social Work was begun.

1929 Began efforts to secure development of additional park and recreation areas for Negroes.

1930 Cooperated in making a survey of colored blind in Atlanta for the Georgia Association of Workers for the Blind.

1931 Established a working relationship with the local office of the U. S. Department of Labor for clearance of problems affecting Negro workers.

1932 Conducted training courses to increase efficiency and to raise the working and living standards of Negro employed and unemployed workers.

1933 Efforts made to insure Negro participation in benefits of New Deal legislation.

1934 Neighborhood club program extended.

1935 Conducted classes for illiterates under FERA program.

1936 Cooperated in the adjustment of problems of the Negro community caused by the tornado disaster in Gainesville.

1937 Organized Atlanta Vocational Guidance Council and conducted programs of interpretation on Social Security Act.

1938 Directed study of Negro unemployment.

1939 Cooperated in securing enforcement of regulation guaranteeing employment of Negroes as 20 percent of the skilled workers in the U. S. Public Housing Program.

1940 Conference held by Negro and white ministers to consider improvement of race relations in Atlanta through the churches.

1941 Concentrated work to adjust grievances of Negro workers at the War Department's Atlanta General Depot.

1942 Organized Council for Defense Training and registered 5,000 applicants for war training, resulting in Washington High Aircraft School which was the first aircraft training unit for Negroes in the South.

1943 Continued programs of interpretation to Negroes of wartime programs of manpower utilization, price control and rationing. Cooperative efforts resulted in employment by the Bell Aircraft Company of a Negro employment interviewer, personnel counselor and three Negro nurses.

1944 Report of Public School Facilities for Negroes published.

1945 Citizens Committee on Public Education organized and its program started.

The work of one year cannot be separated from that of the years before nor from that of the years to come. The need for preventive social work continues. Therefore, "let us work, not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone, but together, as American citizens, for the common good of our common city — our common country."

RUTH STANDISH BALDWIN
First President of the
National Urban League

TIMELESS

The Task of Preventive Social Work

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

"One problem of our modern world, perhaps at the moment the greatest problem, has arisen from the necessity of curing ourselves, as far as that is humanly possible, of every form of blindness which makes it difficult for us to communicate, to achieve understandings, and to act effectively with others in the interest of a common cause."

ROBERT E. PARK

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Purpose

To encourage, assist and engage in the improvement of economic, industrial, social, and cultural conditions of the Negro population.

To discover community needs affecting Negroes and to interest individuals and groups in undertaking to meet them.

To coordinate and cooperate with existing agencies and organizations to further its aims.

To promote the improvement of race relations and to further cooperation of all groups in behalf of the common welfare.

The Atlanta Urban League is a social agency working primarily in the field of community organization. Its purpose, procedures, and program seek to develop, to maintain, to extend,

and to coordinate social welfare resources, in order that they may be increasingly available to meet the needs of the Negro third of the population of Atlanta.

The basic philosophy underlying the development of program in the Atlanta Urban League conceives the primary function of the agency to be "preventive social work." It regards, therefore, as within its provinces, such fact finding, public opinion building, organizational and agency cooperation, as are related to the "improvement of the economic, industrial, social and cultural conditions of the Negro population."

The League's board and committees bring together Negro and white citizens who are actively interested and intimately acquainted with the needs of the Negro population. These groups provide the channels for cooperative consideration of advisable courses of action in situations which affect the peace and well being of the entire city.

The Atlanta Urban League was chartered in 1920. It is one of the oldest of the fifty-six affiliates of the National Urban League. The National Urban League was founded in 1910 at the time of the first exodus of Negroes from rural to urban areas, and from Southern to Northern communities. Its original purpose was to help teach Negroes from rural areas how to live and adjust to life in the city. "The present day objectives of the National Urban League include introducing Negroes into new areas of employment, securing improved health and medical services, better housing and the removal of situations which produce racial tensions."

THE YEAR'S WORK

The Community

The Negro population of metropolitan Atlanta, according to the most recent estimates, constitutes 34.77 percent of the estimated total population of 535,000 persons.

Except for a relatively small outlying community in one census tract of DeKalb County, the Atlanta Negro population lies fairly close to the downtown section of the city in four densely populated areas, one in each quadrant of the city. These areas

are popularly known as "Old Fourth Ward," "South Atlanta—Summerhill," "Pittsburgh,' and "West Side.'

The Negro third of our city's population lives hemmed in, in areas covering only 6.47 square miles or 18.8 percent of the total land area. There is a relatively low percentage of homes owned by Negroes in Atlanta as compared with other Southern cities, but the median value of Negro owned homes exceeds the value of Negro owned homes in any other Southern city. Two out of every three Negroes in Atlanta who are fourteen years of age and over, work. Recent studies reveal an upward trend in the amount of income received by the majority of Negro families studied. However, in almost all families reporting an income of $1,000 or more there are two or more wage earners.

According to a 1944 survey of Negro business in Atlanta, the income of Negroes supported 845 business enterprises excluding two large financial institutions. These enterprises showed an annual volume of business of approximately $3,720,000. Within recent years, both the number and volume of business and commercial enterprises owned and operated by Negroes have increased. This upward trend is likely to continue as long as Atlanta continues to grow and prosper economically. Atlanta has the largest Negro professional population in the South. On the other hand, it has more Negroes employed in the insecure, poorly paid service industries than any other Southern city.

In this general setting, the Atlanta Urban League works upon developing social welfare resources to meet the community's needs in employment, education, health, and veterans service.

Education

In August 1946, the immediate objective of the Citizens Committee on Public Education was achieved when the citizens of Atlanta voted approval on a bond issue providing reasonably for Negro school improvement. In 1944, the Atlanta Urban League published a report on public school facilities for Negroes in Atlanta. This was the first step in directing the public's attention to prevailing conditions in the Negro schools, and to the inadequacy of the plans of the Board of Education, which at that time proposed to spend only one million for Ne-

gro schools out of a ten million post-war improvement program. The League's organization of the Citizens Committee on Public Education was the second step in the program to let the people know the extent of financing necessary in order to decrease the gap in educational facilities provided for the Negro and white children of our community. During the year and a half's work of the Citizens Committee on Public Education, the first two kindergartens were opened in public schools for Negro children. Clerks were employed in all elementary schools which had formerly operated without clerical assistance, and one full-time librarian was engaged in an elementary school. A revised plan of the Board of Education, which in its development, had applied the same standards for determining needs for white and Negro schools, was adopted and incorporate without change by city officials for inclusion in the bond program. It provided an additional three million dollars for Negro school improvement. The majority of Negro children still have less than a full day in school, are housed in overcrowded classrooms, in school buildings without assembly rooms, gymnasiums, libraries, or cafeterias. However, there is now a possibility for improving facilities when the building program financed by the bond issue gets underway.

A neighborhood educational program was carried on during the year as a related part of the effort to secure improved public school facilities. The purpose of this program was to encourage and develop civic responsibility through the use of neighborhood leadership, in the 1,200 city blocks where Negroes live. People were helped in the planning and carrying out of programs for community betterment. This neighborhood education program was made available to communities in other parts of the state and was carried on under the leadership and with the cooperation of many different civic organizations in other communities.

Employment

The opportunity to earn a living is a first consideration for everyone. The Atlanta Urban League has continued its work with management and labor groups and governmental agencies in behalf of work opportunities for Negroes in the fields where opportunity is limited. A special effort has been directed to-

ward opening jobs for Negro veterans which would permit their contribution of war-gained experiences and skills to our peace time economy. This has included assistance to veterans in securing on-the-job-training placements, as well as regular work opportunities. Special attention has been given to public utilities, transportation industries, and the new manufacturing industries which will operate in this area.

Household Employment

The Atlanta Urban League organized an Advisory Committee on Household Employment, in an effort to promote joint consideration of the problems surrounding recruiting, training, placing and establishing standards for the employment of household workers. The committee includes women familiar with the points of view of employers and employees. An experimental six weeks training course for household workers was operated in early 1946. Trainees were recruited by the United States Employment Service, and the course was conducted by the Atlanta Board of Education, Vocational Training Division. Certificates were issued by the Board of Education and placement of certified trainees was made by the United States Employment Service. The evaluation of this experimental course by the Advisory Committee recommended that a household workers training center be operated as a regular part of the public vocational training program. The committee is continuing its cooperation with the appropriate committees of the city and county in order to expedite this recommendation.

Veterans Affairs

In early 1946, the Atlanta Urban League devoted major attention to reaching recently discharged Negro veterans, to assist them in interpreting the G. I. Bill of Rights and to discover their major problems. Informal veterans councils were organized in the four housing projects. These councils, and the more than 650 Negro veterans, who individually sought the help of the Atlanta Urban League during 1946, were the means of determining the particular community situations complicating the re-adjustment for the veterans. The need for additional and more accessible guidance and counseling service was one of the

important needs revealed. Housing and its many related problems was another.

With the cooperation of the Veterans Administration and the college administrators in the Atlanta University Center, a Veterans Guidance Center was opened at Atlanta University in September 1946. This center, with a staff of Negro counseling and training officers employed by the Veterans Administration has made available additional services for the assistance of the Negro veteran. Hundreds have used its services since it began operation. The Atlanta Urban League continues to assist and inform veterans about their rights under existing legislation. During two months of late 1946, more than 245 veterans were aided by the Atlanta Urban League in filling out terminal leave application blanks.

The organization of a Temporary Coordinating Committee on Housing has brought together the several community interests affected by the acute housing needs for cooperative consideration of remedial measures. This committee in cooperation with the Mayor's Housing Committee, the Chamber of Commerce Housing Committee and other civic and governmental agencies, has initiated studies and procedures of useful immediate and long time influence.

Health

Three major factors determine, to a great extent, the health status of any group; socio-economic level, educational level, and availability of health and medical care. In each of these categories Negroes are literally at the bottom of the pile.

The general Negro mortality rate is 30 to 40 percent higher than the rate for white persons; and between the ages of 20 and 24, three times as many Negro as white women die.

Negroes may expect to live 10 to 12 years less than other people.

Negro mothers and infants continue to die in greater proportions.

The number of Negro physicians during the past ten years decreased 5 percent in the nation as a whole and 12 percent

in the South; while the total number of physicians in the nation increased 12 percent. The South, with ten million Negroes has a little over 2,000 Negro physicians. It has been stated that there should be a ratio of 1 physician per 1,500 population in order to safeguard the health of civilians.

Negroes in Atlanta no longer die faster than they are born .... but although the birth rate of Atlanta Negroes is higher than it is in many other Southern cities, its infant mortality rate for Negroes exceeds that of the majority. The Atlanta Negro's birth rate exceeds the white rate but Negro infant mortality is almost twice as high. In 1946, of the 2,179 Negro children born in Atlanta 182 were delivered in homes, 55 with midwives attending; whereas of the 4,467 white children only 86 were delivered in homes and only 3 were delivered by midwives.

Facts like these reflect the serious and long experienced need for improvement in the medical care of the Negro third of the population of Atlanta. The need is experienced at all economic levels in the Negro community. There is need for improved medical facilities and services, both public and private. The consequences of ill health influence directly the economic and social welfare of the whole city. Thus, the personal experience of sickness, death and disease is really shared by the whole community.

The purpose of the Atlanta Urban League's health program is to increase the public's understanding of the health problem of the Negro population, and the relation of the problems to the health and welfare of the entire city.

Late in 1946, a study was begun of the Hospital and Clinic Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta. The purpose of the study is to provide accurate determination of the need, in order that it may be taken into account by the community's planning. The study report will be released in 1947.

The health education program has continued with special attention being given to nutrition, venereal disease, and tuberculosis. The League cooperates with the City Health Department, the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association and the Atlanta Chapter of the American Red Cross in their programs of health education.

A volunteer committee has been organized to sponsor baby clinics to be operated in several sections of the city where at present such services do not exist. The cooperation of neighborhood churches, parent-teachers associations, the Atlanta Medical Association and the City Health Department has been obtained to insure support of the service.

Cooperative Community Relationships

In the fall of 1945, a Continuing Community Council was organized in order to:

1. Plan and promote a year around program of education and interpretation of the Red Feather Social Services existing for Negroes in the community;
2. Give information as a basis for lay participation in the various agencies;
3. Point up the needs for social services within the community.

The Council is composed of representatives from all social welfare agencies serving Negroes in Atlanta, and from the several sections of the city which are organized for the house-to-house canvass during the Community Chest campaign. Interpretive programs were presented in different sections of the city during 1946. The Atlanta Urban League provides the staff assistance for the Council and its Program Committee.

Other Agency Relationships

Staff members of the Atlanta Urban League have worked as board and committee members of the Gate City Day Nursery Association, the Atlanta Youth Federation, sponsored by the Y.M.C.A., the Georgia Workers Education Service, the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind, the Greater Atlanta Community Chest and the Community Planning Council.

The Atlanta Urban League is one of the agencies used by the Atlanta University School of Social Work to provide its students with practical field work experience. The League thereby shares in the preparation of professional social workers who contribute to the leadership of the South and the nation.

The executive was a member of the National Consumer Advisory Committee of the Office of Price Administration until the work of the committee was completed in December 1946. A relationship to the processes of planning and support of significant economic programs is maintained through the executive's membership on the Consumer Advisory Committee to the President's Council of Economic Advisers and on the board of the National Association of Consumers.

The Atlanta Urban League serves as an information center for facts about the Negro population, and about the social problems which affect it. The agency cooperates with the Social Science Institute of Fisk University and works closely with the research centers at Atlanta University and the National Urban League.

As Time Goes On

The organized effort to meet the present and ever changing welfare needs of the people is not complete. The task of preventive social work needs more resources of time and strength, of intelligence and finance.

The Atlanta Urban League invites those who would like to have a part in these tasks to join its membership. The work of the year ahead will go forward, strengthened as it faces the future by the confidence and hope that preventive social work may not forever be timeless.

The Atlanta Urban League invites your support. Basic Membership ..... $ 1.00

Opportunity Membership (Includes subscription to Opportunity, quarterly Journal of Negro life) 2.00

Contributing Membership (Includes subscription to Opportunity) 5.00

Supporting Membership (Includes subscription to Opportunity) 10.00

SUMMARIZED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1 thru October 31, 1946

Atlanta Community Fund, Inc.	$12,127.80
Donations and Gifts	1,863.70
Memberships	268.00
Received—Miscellaneous	117.33
Total Receipts	$14,376.83
Expenditures	$13,767.23
Excess of income over expenditures for 10 months ending October 31, 1946	$ 609.60

(As audited and certified by Atlanta Community Fund auditors)

•

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

Walnut 2355

Affiliated with the National Urban League

The Atlanta Community Planning Council

Member Agency of the Greater Atlanta Community Chest

A Red Feather Agency

The Atlanta Urban League

invites

your membership

and

support

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

For Social Service Among Negroes

PURPOSE:

To encourage, assist and engage in the improvement of economic, industrial, social and cultural conditions of the Negro population.

To discover community needs affecting Negroes and to interest individuals and groups in undertaking to meet them.

To coordinate and cooperate with existing agencies and organizations to further its aims.

To promote the improvement of race relations and to further cooperation of all groups in behalf of common welfare.

I wish to support the program of the Atlanta Urban League.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Amount Enclosed $ _____ Date _____

Basic Annual Membership	$ 1.00
Opportunity Membership (Includes Opportunity—Quarterly Journal of Negro Life)	2.00
Contributing Membership (Includes Opportunity—Quarterly Journal of Negro Life)	5.00
Supporting Membership (Includes Opportunity—Quarterly Journal of Negro Life)	10.00

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta 3, Georgia

WAlnut 2355

Your PART IN

Getting equitable public school facilities for ALL children in Atlanta.

- **GET THE FACTS**

  Read the Atlanta Urban League's *Report of Public School Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta.*

- **DECIDE**

  Whether post-war improvements in public school facilities should equalize opportunities offered *all* children in our city—

  If *you decide* that our city *should* provide equal educational facilities for all children—

- **EXPRESS YOUR OPINION –**

  To your family

  To your friends

  To your organizations

  To the Board of Education

  To your city government officials

A FULL DAY'S SCHOOLING FOR EVERY CHILD

Is There a "Ceiling" in Education?

The proposed post-war building program for Atlanta public schools offers no new hope to the Negro school child in Atlanta.

Although *one-third* of Atlanta's school-age children are Negroes—Atlanta's investment in land and buildings for Negro schools is only *one-sixth* of the total investment.

*This was true in 1941-42, when the proportion was *five-sixths* for whites, *one-sixth* for Negroes.

**It was true in 1943-44, when the proportion was still *five-sixths* for whites, *one-sixth* for Negroes.

***And now, it is discouraging to note, the proposed post-war building program for Atlanta public schools

shrinks the Negroes' share to *less than one-sixth.*

Our city's expenditure per Negro pupil educated is but little more than *one-third* of the amount expended for each white child.

The result is:

The "double session" under which Negro children receive only *three and a half hours of schooling daily* instead of the six hours received by white children, and that in overcrowded classrooms;

A lamentable lack of vocational training facilities; *one* kindergarten for approximately 1,600 Negro children of kindergarten age;

Poor library facilities—an average of 1.4 books for each Negro child, compared with an average of 6.5 for each white child.

Our Negro school children spend about a half a school day in buildings without space and equipment for wholesome, supervised play; without adequate or attractive libraries; without sanitary supervised cafeterias; without places for school and community assemblies.

To civic-minded Atlantans this is indeed a dismal educational picture.

Is It Permanent?

It would be less dismal if, over the years, there were signs of improvement in a situation that must inevitably exact its price in social disorganization, juvenile delinquency, crime and poor citizenship.

But the post-war building proposals of the Board of Education give no such signs. Instead, it allocates approximately 15 cents of each dollar for Negro children. Thus, it not only fails to meet existing needs, but strengthens and perpetuates the inequalities of public education offered Negroes in Atlanta.

It suggests, contrary to every democratic principle, a *permanent* low ceiling in education—a sub-standard level of public schooling for Negro children in Atlanta.

Surely, this is a condition which no Atlantan with a sense of social responsibility wishes to countenance.

What Is Needed?

The most serious defects of Atlanta's educational program will be remedied only when there is provided a FULL DAY'S SCHOOLING FOR EVERY CHILD.

This means more teachers and more buildings for Negro pupils.

Specifically, *it means* two additional high schools (*one vocational*) for Negroes; four additional elementary schools for Negroes; eighty-six additional classrooms for existing schools for Negroes; auditoriums, gymnasiums, cafeterias, library rooms, and adequate sanitary facilities for all Negro schools.

It means at least 353 additional teachers for Negro public schools.

It means that at least four times as much money as is now included in the proposals of the Board of Education for post-war building should be allocated for the improvement of Negro schools.

Such addition *does not mean* taking anything away from the plans for improvements of other schools in the Atlanta public school system.

It does mean the correction of a situation, the social consequences of which have been too evident, too long.

It does mean adding to the strength and well-being of the whole community.

* * *

*"Atlanta's Investment in School Buildings and Land." Report of the Superintendent, Atlanta Public Schools—1941-42, pp. 77-78.

**"Making Americans." Superintendent's Annual Report, Atlanta Public Schools—1943-44, p. 77.

***Proposed Post-war Building Program for Atlanta Public Schools. Superintendent's Annual Report, Atlanta Public Schools, 1943-44, pp. 38-39.

* * *

Additional copies of this pamphlet may be obtained from

The Citizens Committee on Public Education

239 Auburn Avenue, Northeast

Room 400

Phone WAlnut 2355

7-15-45—10M

Your PART IN

Getting Equitable Public School Facilities for All Children in Atlanta

- ***GET THE FACTS—***
  - Read the Atlanta Urban League's **Report of Public School Facilities for Negroes in Atlanta.**

- ***DECIDE*** whether it is sound community policy to restrict the opportunity of one-third of our city's population to be trained for serviceable living.
  - If **you decide** that our city **should** provide equitable public school facilities for all children—

- ***EXPRESS YOUR OPINION***

  To your family

  To your friends

  To your organization

  To the Board of Education

HELP OTHERS TO GET THE FACTS

The Atlanta Urban League

INVITES YOU TO ATTEND

ITS

27th Annual Meeting

Thursday Evening, May 1, 8:00 p.m.

☆

Atlanta Chamber of Commerce Auditorium

33 PRYOR STREET, N. E.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

☆

DR. CHARLES H. HOUSTON

SPEAKER

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Charles Hamilton Houston, Attorney

A.B., Amherst College, LLB, Harvard University; SJD., Harvard University.

Formerly: Dean of Howard University School of Law, Washington, D. C. 1929 - 1935; Special Counsel to N. A. A. C. P. 1935 - 1940.

At present: General Counsel for the Association of Colored Railway Trainmen and Locomotive Firemen, and for the International Association of Railway Employees. Vice-president of the American Council of Race Relations.

Member: National Lawyers Guild; National Bar Association; Legal Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE

Arlene Kaufman

33 ounces of prevention...

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO ADD ANOTHER OUNCE

As far back as 1920, thoughtful Atlanta citizens realized that the best way to solve many of our problems was to *prevent* their becoming problems. So . . . the Atlanta Urban League was born. Let's look at a few of the accomplishments.

THRU THE YEARS

1920 The Atlanta Urban League was organized and chartered.

1921 A staff member was appointed to the Board of Directors of the International Big Brother Federation.

1922 "Banking scouts," organized to encourage thrift in the public schools for Negro children, deposited $3,500 in city banks.

1923 A free training program and placement bureau for Negro workers was operated.

1924 Atlanta Community Fund was organized and the Atlanta Urban League was accepted as a member agency.

1925 Assisted in securing Negro matrons at police court.

1926 Established the first maternal and baby clinic for Negroes with the cooperation of city and state health departments and the Georgia Division of the U. S. Children's Bureau.

1927 Cooperated in successful efforts to continue six night schools for Negroes.

1928 Field work training for students of the Atlanta School of Social Work was begun.

1929 Began efforts to secure development of additional park and recreation areas for Negroes.

1930 Cooperated in making a survey of colored blind in Atlanta for the Georgia Association of Workers for the Blind.

1931 Established a working relationship with the local office of the U. S. Department of Labor for clearance of problems affecting Negro workers.

1932 Conducted training courses to increase efficiency and to raise the working and living standards of Negro employed and unemployed workers.

1933 Efforts made to insure Negro participation in benefits of legislation.

1934 Neighborhood club program extended.

1935 Conducted classes for illiterates under FERA program.

1936 Cooperated in the adjustment of problems of the Negro community caused by the tornado disaster in Gainesville.

1937 Organized Atlanta Vocational Guidance Council and conducted programs of interpretation on Social Security Act.

1938 Directed study of Negro unemployment.

1939 Cooperated in securing enforcement of regulation guaranteeing employment of Negroes as 20 percent of the skilled workers in the U. S. Public Housing Program.

1940 Conference held by Negro and white ministers to consider improvement of race relations in Atlanta through the churches.

1941 Concentrated work to adjust grievances of Negro workers at the War Department's Atlanta General Depot.

1942 Organized Council for Defense Training and registered 5,000 applicants for war training, resulting in Washington High Aircraft School which was the first aircraft training unit for Negroes in the South.

1943 Continued programs of interpretation to Negroes of war-time programs of manpower utilization, price control and rationing. Cooperative efforts resulted in employment by the Bell Aircraft Company of a Negro employment interviewer, personnel counselor and three Negro nurses.

1944 Report of Public School Facilities for Negroes published.

1945 Citizens Committee on Public Education organized and its program started.

1946 School bond program voted with equitable share for Negro school improvements.

1947 Report on Hospital Care of the Negro Population of Atlanta, published.

Proposed Areas for Expansion of Negro Housing in Atlanta published.

1948 Four Negro land owners agree to develop Fair Haven Subdivision, in the Number One expansion area, with the Atlanta Urban League as sponsor.

Veterans Housing Cooperative, organized to develop Urban Villa.

1949 Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority announces plans for new Negro hospital.

First Fair Haven homes sold.

1950 Highpoint Apartments developed in second expansion area—990 public housing units proposed in the same area.

1951 Trustee Board for Negro Hospital appointed by Hospital Authority in preparation for opening of new hospital.

1952 Red Feather "Come and See" Tours produce largest number of Chest Campaign Workers—Negro Division exceeds largest goal.

Corporation formed to acquire land in expansion areas.

Prevention is our Business

Much has been accomplished through the years! So much remains to be done! Won't you invest your "ounce of prevention" in the welfare of your town and county?

Many people will give to disaster funds, to dramatic situations that require immediate attention.

Only the thoughtful, the deeply concerned, the people of innate good will, give to *prevent* disaster.

Won't you send *your* contribution *today?*

THE ATLANTA URBAN LEAGUE
239 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Basic Membership	$ 1
Contributing Membership . .	$ 5
Supporting Membership . .	$10

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO ADD ANOTHER OUNCE

The Atlanta Urban League is an agency whose primary function is PREVENTION. Its function is "putting out the fire before it starts". Its work in housing, education and health has won editorial praise from Atlanta's daily papers.

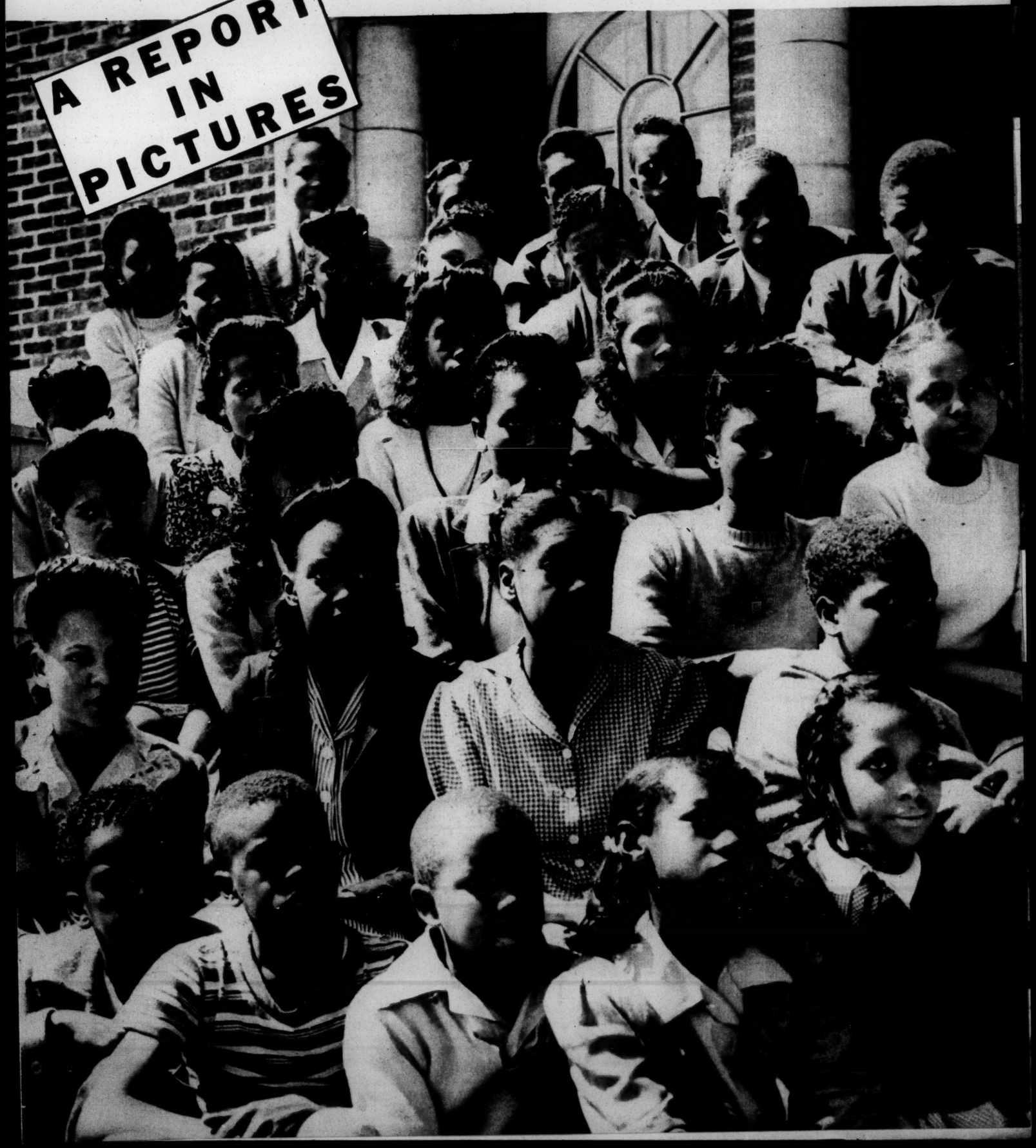
Day by day the League works for community planning and the development of community resources. Its record is an impressive one, its service unique.

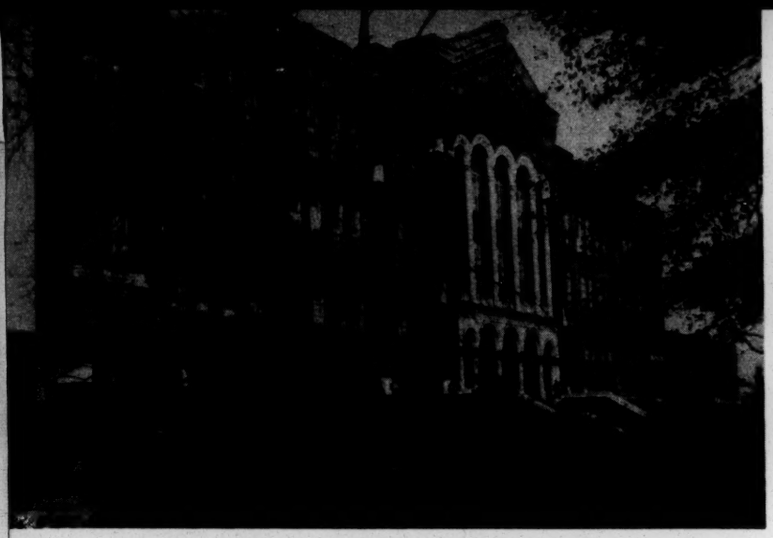
The work of one year cannot be separated from that of the years before nor from that of the years to come. The need of preventive social work continues. Therefore, "let us work, not as colored people nor as white people for the narrow benefit of any group alone, but together, as American citizens, for the common good of our common city —our common country."

THE NEGRO SCHOOL CHILD IN ATLANTA

Atlanta Urban League

A REPORT IN PICTURES

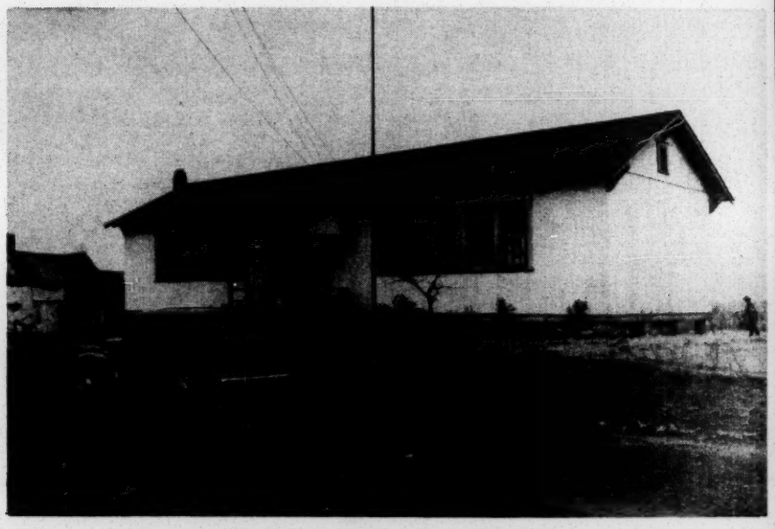




A few Negro schools—Washington High, for example—look good from the outside, even though they lack such elementary facilities as adequate libraries, assembly rooms, cafeterias, and gymnasiums.

Behind the beautiful front there are classrooms like this. Is it shocking to find schools like this within the city limits of Atlanta?

There is not room enough in Negro schools, so it is necessary for children to "double up" and for teachers to teach two "shifts" of students. This is known as the "double session".

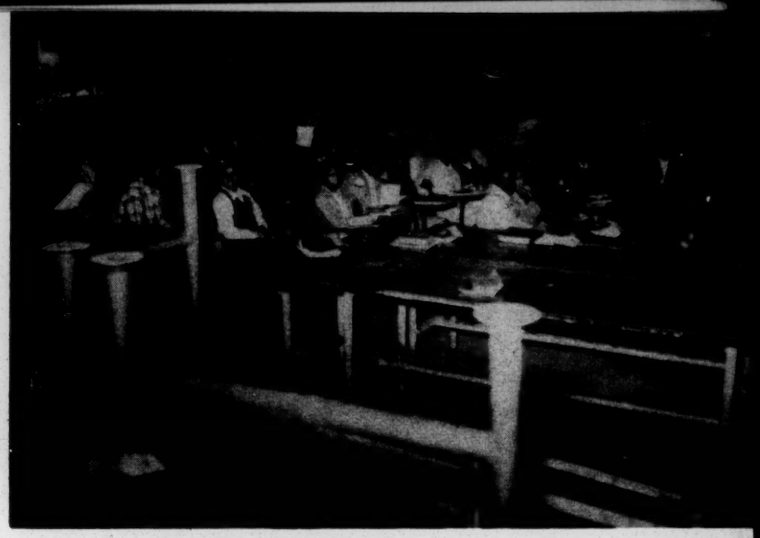


Negro elementary and junior high school pupils get only 3½ hours of schooling per day instead of the six hours given in white schools.

"Outdoor Assembly" because there is no indoor assembly room. Negro schools have no auditoriums, no gymnasiums, only a few ill-equipped shops.

Although there is a kindergarten in each elementary school for white children, there are only two kindergartens for approximately 1,600 Negro children of kindergarten age—both very recent additions.

Bush Mountain, one of our city's public schools, does not provide even the minimum sanitary necessities of running water and flush toilets.



An educational program which countenances this is, at best, mediocre. At worst, it breeds personal maladjustments, social disorganization and crime.

In spite of the "double session" Negro schools are overcrowded. Teachers in Negro elementary and junior high schools have an average of 52 pupils in each class, compared with 29 in white classes.

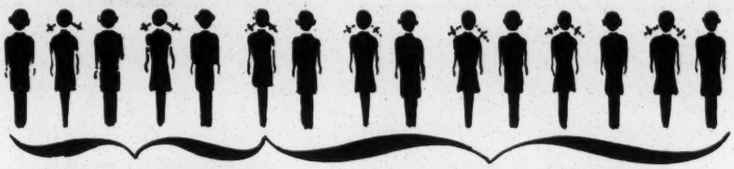
These boys are bringing in the school's drinking water from a nearby well. Decent school conditions and a full day in school should be provided for them in the interest of our entire city's welfare.

Many schools for Negro children, like this one, were begun twenty years ago, and have never been completed.

These young people need more and better school buildings; more and better school equipment; more and better instruction. Not until these needs are fully met can Atlanta Negro youth receive the basic chance to develop good and useful citizenship.

HOW OUR SCHOOLS ARE SHARED

OF THE **70,894** ATLANTA CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE



26,528 (37.4%) ARE NEGROES

44,456 (62.6%) ARE WHITES

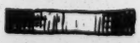
YET... OF THE **65** PUBLIC SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN ATLANTA...

ONLY 13 (20%) ARE FOR NEGROES

WHILE 52 (80%) ARE FOR WHITES

OR IN TERMS OF INVESTMENT IN SCHOOL LAND AND BUILDINGS, AS OF DECEMBER, 1941, WE HAVE INVESTED...

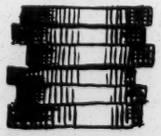
$1.00



for Negro Children

for every

$6.00



for White Children

More than one-third of Atlanta's school age children are Negroes, but Atlanta's present investment in land and buildings for Negro schools is only one-sixth of the total investment.

Our city's expenditure per Negro pupil is but little more than one-third of the amount spent for each white child. The correction of these conditions means adding to the strength and well being of the whole community. It means correction of conditions where social consequences have been too evident, too long.

CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

239 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Room 400

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Mrs. Bethune Fights Race Ban At Daytona Beach Auditorium

Chi. Def. 15 Oct 50

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla. — Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune joined a group of leading citizens this week in protesting a ruling which bans Negroes from the new $750,000 city auditorium.

The group gathered at the home of the noted woman educator after the ruling was announced by Chairman Richard Primm of the Auditorium Advisory board. Primm stated there were not any accommodations for colored in the new building.

G. D. Rogers, legal committee chairman of the Westside Business and Professional Men's Association, said the protesting group would thrash "the matter out in court" since other means of settling the issue had failed.

A writ of mandamus was sought before Circuit Judge Frederick, asking the City Commission, the Auditorium Advisory Board and the Mayor to show cause why the auditorium should be operated without the admission of Negroes.

The auditorium was dedicated last Thursday evening.

The suit, Rogers said, will be stressed on the fact that Negroes as freeholders helped pay for the building with their taxes.

Members of the committee filing the suit are Bernard Smith, Joseph Harris, Dr. E. A. Graham, Mrs. Florence Small, Herbert Thompson, president of the West Side Business and Professional Men's Association, John Dickerson, secretary of the Association and Clifford Jenkins, treasurer.

Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Bldg., Miami, Fla.

MIAMI DAILY NEWS
November 29, 1949

SUIT WOULD OPEN HALL TO NEGROES

JACKSONVILLE, Nov. 29 (AP)

Three Daytona Beach businessmen are seeking a federal court order to open the city's new Peabody auditorium to use by Negroes.

Joe Harris, J. H. Dickerson, Herbert Thompson and J. A. Waldon, who identified themselves as taxpayers, residents of Daytona Beach, and members and officers of the west side business and professional men's association, filed the suit.

The city built the auditorium, the plaintiffs said, out of money raised through a bond election. They asserted efforts to gain admission for themselves and their families to the auditorium had been refused "solely on the ground of their race and color".

They claim that they and all other persons similarly situated have a right of admission to the auditorium when it is open to use upon the same basis of any other citizen regardless of race, creed and color.

# # #

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
327 NORTH LA SALLE STREET
CHICAGO, ILL.
212 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AL
for Harold Flemming

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Frances Levenson and Sol Rabkin

DATE: September 30, 1952

SUBJECT: Harris v. City of Daytona Beach, 105 Fed. Supp. 572

Digest:

Federal District Court for the Southern District of Florida holds that Negroes cannot be refused admission to an auditorium constructed with municipal funds where the jim crow auditorium has inferior physical facilities and artistic, cultural and entertainment performances.

* * * * * * * *

On June 23, 1952, a declaratory judgment and permanent injunction was issued by the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Florida in a suit brought by a group of Negro citizens and residents of Daytona Beach because they were refused admission to a municipally owned and operated auditorium solely because of their race and color. From the agreed statement of facts it appeared that the city had built and was operating two auditoriums--the Peabody Auditorium in the white section of the city was erected at a cost of $808,182.28, has permanent seats for 2,560 people and customarily features entertainments, recitals, stage plays, musical and vocal concerts and the like. The second auditorium is called the Negro Recreational Center, is located in the Negro section of the city, cost the municipality $72,734.55, has a seating capacity of 1,400 by use of temporary seats, and is used as a gymnasium, for basketball games, etc. A few unsuccessful attempts have been made to feature Negro artists and cultural performances.

The plaintiffs asserted their right to be admitted to the Peabody Auditorium under the "equal protection of the laws" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution and the defendants argued that the Negro Recreational Center provided a "substantially equal" facility.

The Court said:

> Actually, under existing conditions, if one of these Negro plaintiffs wants to see and hear Nelson Eddy, or Lauritz Melchior sing, or the United States Marine Band play, or the Virginia Barter Theatre Players perform, they must go to another state to do so. Yet, right in their own city--a governmental arm of the State of which they are citizens--that City, of which they are also citizens, sponsors public performances by these and similar artists. From these performances they are excluded solely by reason of their color. It seems to me that the clear answer is that they do not enjoy <u>equality in fact</u> in this particular with white citizens.

The Court pointed out that the right of each plaintiff to equal protection of the laws is a personal right and cannot be made "contingent on other Negroes seeking the same right and opportunity." Conceivably it may never be practical or financially possible to offer "similar or substantially equal performances in the Negro Recreational Center." And even if it were, the plaintiffs who demand these opportunities now, "cannot be required to await the acquisition of culture and the price of a ticket by sufficient numbers of their race to make such performances a reality."

The Court thereupon enjoined the city from discriminating against Negroes in admission to the Peabody Auditorium but allowed the defendants a reasonable time to prepare suitable administrative regulations and make necessary structural changes to provide "equal and separate accommodations and equal privileges and opportunities in the use of" the auditorium.

It is interesting to note that whereas the Court held that the plaintiffs cannot be required to await the "acquisition of culture and the price of a ticket" by other Negroes, the injunction as finally issued did defer the plaintiffs' right to be admitted to the auditorium until the city made the necessary alterations to safeguard segregation.

fl-sr/bwl

March 18, 1953

Mr. Reed Sarratt
JOURNAL & SENTINEL
P. O. Box 2509
Winston Salem, N. C.

Dear Reed:

We have caught echoes of the controversy over the use of the Winston-Salem municipal auditorium, and I am glad to pass along to you such information as we have on the general subject.

In 1947 we undertook an informal check of the racial policies governing the use of municipal auditoriums in Atlanta; Raleigh; Charleston; Jackson, Mississippi; Columbia; Birmingham; Nashville; and Richmond. In all except Jackson, Negroes were customarily admitted to white-sponsored events, with segregated seating, usually in the balcony. Jackson allowed bi-racial audiences only for weekly wrestling matches, and was the only city of the group which did not permit all-Negro audiences to make use of the auditorium.

While we can't claim to know of every modification that may have taken place in the policies of even these selected cities, I don't believe that the pattern has changed very much since 1947. Certainly, it is safe to say that the general rule is to permit Negroes the full run of the auditorium for Negro-sponsored events, and usually to admit Negroes on a segregated basis for events of a more general nature.

The manner in which segregation is enforced varies a good deal, depending on the nature and sponsorship of the event. When an event is of particular interest to Negroes, it is not unusual for seats on the main floor to be set aside for them. In some cities, including Atlanta, the location of the segregated sections is often left to the promoters, the only requirement being that both races must be separately accomodated. That occasionally leads to some controversy, as recently, when a promoter required Negroes to use a side entrance and exit rather than the main ones. (So far as I know, Birmingham is the only city that consistently enforces separate entrances and exits for the two races.)

A couple of recent developments are to the point. Only last year New Orleans broke its longstanding precedent of denying all Negro groups the use of the auditorium and seats on the main floor. Previously New Orleans had allowed them only gallery seats for white-sponsored events.

More significant was the decision, June 23, 1952, of the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Florida in the case of Harris vs. City of Daytona Beach. You are probably acquainted with this decision, but I will summarize it briefly. Daytona Beach had built an expensive new auditorium in the white section which featured a number of entertainment and cultural events. A second building, called the Negro Recreational Center, was provided for Negroes, though it was hardly comparable in size and facilities. On the challenge of a group of Negro citizens, the court enjoined the city from denying Negroes admittance to the main auditorium. The central point of the court's ruling was that equal protection of the laws is a personal right and cannot be made "contingent upon other Negroes seeking the same right and opportunity." The plaintiffs who demand the opportunity to attend events in the main auditorium "cannot be required to await the acquisition of culture and the price of a ticket by sufficient numbers of their race ~~in~~ (to make such performances a) reality" in the Negro recreational center.

I hope this general information will be of some use to you. If we can help further, let me know.

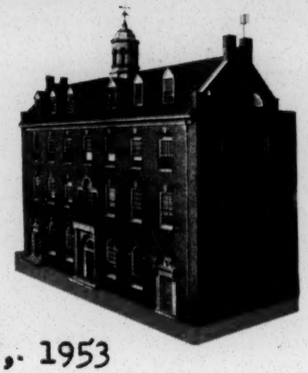
Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information

HCF:ec

PIEDMONT PUBLISHING COMPANY

WINSTON-SALEM TWIN CITY
JOURNAL AND SENTINEL
MORNING SUNDAY EVENING



WINSTON-SALEM 1, N. C.

P. O. Box 2509

March 17, 1953

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for sending me copies of the statements I requested.

I am delighted you have seen fit to subscribe to the Sunday JOURNAL & SENTINEL. I regret to say that you will see none of my work in it, because that is the one issue of our papers with which I have nothing at all to do. Santford Martin is the editor of the Sunday editorial page. I think that you will find the Sunday JOURNAL & SENTINEL to be interesting for several reasons. One is that Chester Davis has a full page article almost every Sunday, and they are uniformly excellent. Another is that we carry a full page of Negro news on Sunday.

While I am writing, I should like to ask you for some information, if you have it. A controversy is developing in Winston-Salem over use of our municipal auditorium by Negroes. I have been trying to determine the policies of other North Carolina cities which have auditoriums by direct correspondence. Have you any information as to what the practice is in the South generally in this regard?

Our auditorium is controlled by our School Board which has recently formalized what previously had been an unwritten rule that the auditorium is reserved

for the exclusive use of whites. This means that Negroes are not admitted to the auditorium except as custodial employes. They may not attend any event in the auditorium. The auditorium is not made available to them for events of their own sponsorship. I should like to know whether this policy is representative of the policy of other cities in the South.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Editorial Director

RS:mab